



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

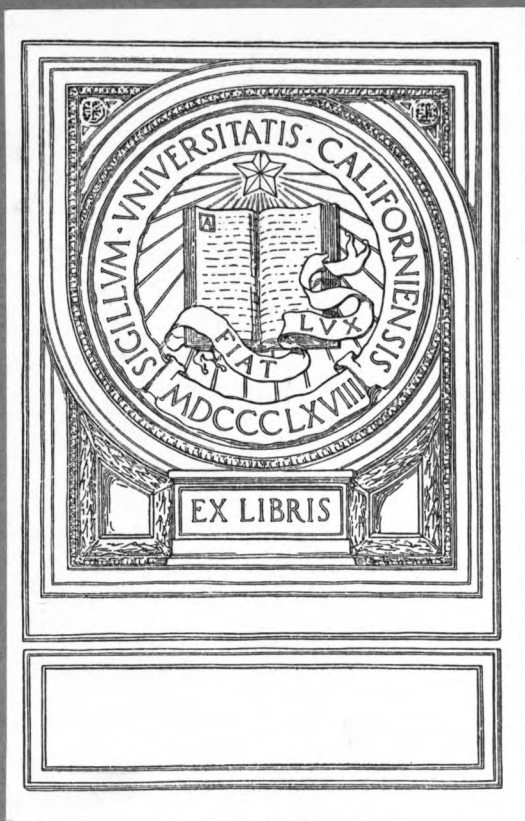
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UC-NRLF



B 3 021 312



7

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

VOLUME X

PART I. THE DHAMMAPADA

PART II. THE SUTTA-NIPÂTA

London

HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

7 PATERNOSTER ROW

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOLUME X

PART I

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

[*All rights reserved*]

THE DHAMMAPADA

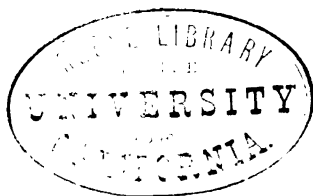
A COLLECTION OF VERSES

BEING ONE OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE
BUDDHISTS

TRANSLATED FROM PÂLI

BY

F. MAX MÜLLER



Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

[*All rights reserved*]

685

M 946

V. 10

20475

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION TO THE DHAMMAPADA	ix-lv

DHAMMAPADA.

CHAPTER	1.	The Twin-verses	3
	2.	On Earnestness	9
	3.	Thought	12
	4.	Flowers	16
	5.	The Fool	20
	6.	The Wise Man (<i>Pandita</i>)	23
	7.	The Venerable (Arhat)	27
	8.	The Thousands	31
	9.	Evil	34
	10.	Punishment	36
	11.	Old Age	41
	12.	Self	45
	13.	The World	47
	14.	The Buddha (the Awakened)	49
	15.	Happiness	53
	16.	Pleasure	56
	17.	Anger	58
	18.	Impurity	60
	19.	The Just	64
	20.	The Way	67
	21.	Miscellaneous	70
	22.	The Downward Course	74
	23.	The Elephant	77
	24.	Thirst	80
	25.	The Bhikshu (Mendicant)	85
	26.	The Brâhmana (Arhat)	89
Index			97

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the
 Translations of the Sacred Books of the East (see the
 end of this volume) 221

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE DHAMMAPADA.

THE DHAMMAPADA, A CANONICAL BOOK.

THE Dhammapada forms part of the Pāli Buddhist canon, though its exact place varies according to different authorities, and we have not as yet a sufficient number of complete MSS. of the Tipitaka to help us to decide the question¹.

Those who divide that canon into three Piṭakas or baskets, the Vinaya-piṭaka, Sutta-piṭaka, and Abhidhamma-piṭaka, assign the Dhammapada to the Sutta-piṭaka. That Piṭaka consists of five Nikāyas: the Dīgha-nikāya, the Magghima-nikāya, the Samyutta-nikāya, the Aṅguttara-nikāya, and the Khuddaka-nikāya. The fifth, or Khuddaka-nikāya, comprehends the following works: 1. Khuddakapāṭha; 2. DHAMMAPADA; 3. Udāna; 4. Itivuttaka; 5. Suttanipāta; 6. Vimānavatthu; 7. Petavatthu; 8. Theragāthā; 9. Therīgāthā; 10. Gāthaka; 11. Niddesa; 12. Paṭisambhidā; 13. Apadāna; 14. Buddhavaṃsa; 15. Kariyā-piṭaka.

According to another division², however, the whole Buddhist canon consists of five Nikāyas: the Dīgha-nikāya, the Magghima-nikāya, the Samyutta-nikāya, the Aṅguttara-nikāya, and the fifth, the Khuddaka-nikāya, which Khuddaka-nikāya is then made to comprehend the whole of the Vinaya (discipline) and Abhidhamma (metaphysics), together with the fifteen books beginning with the Khuddakapāṭha.

The order of these fifteen books varies, and even, as it would seem, their number. The Dīghabhāṣaka school

¹ See Feer, *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 263. There is now at least one complete MS. of the Tipitaka, the Phayre MS., at the India Office, and Professor Forchhammer has just published a most useful List of Pāli MSS., collected in Burma, the largest collection hitherto known.

² See Childers, s. v. Nikāya, and extracts from Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Brahmajāla-sutta.

admits twelve books only, and assigns them all to the Abhidhamma, while the *Magghimabhânakas* admit fifteen books, and assign them to the Sutta-piṭaka. The order of the fifteen books is: 1. *Gâtaka* [10]; 2. *Mahâniddesa* [11]; 3. *Kullaniddesa* [11]; 4. *Paṭisambhidâmagga* [12]; 5. *Suttanipâta* [5]; 6. DHAMMAPADA [2]; 7. *Udâna* [3]; 8. *Itivuttaka* [4]; 9. *Vimânavatthu* [6]; 10. *Petavatthu* [7]; 11. *Theragâthâ* [8]; 12. *Therîgâthâ* [9]; 13. *Kariyâpiṭaka* [15]; 14. *Apadâna* [13]; 15. *Buddhavamsa* [14]¹.

The *Khuddaka-pâṭha* is left out in the second list, and the number is brought to fifteen by dividing *Niddesa* into *Mahâ-niddesa* and *Kulla-niddesa*.

There is a commentary on the Dhammapada in Pâli, and supposed to be written by Buddhaghosa², in the first half of the fifth century A.D. In explaining the verses of the Dhammapada, the commentator gives for every or nearly every verse a parable to illustrate its meaning, which is likewise believed to have been uttered by Buddha in his intercourse with his disciples, or in preaching to the multitudes that came to hear him.

DATE OF THE DHAMMAPADA.

The only means of fixing the date of the Dhammapada is trying to ascertain the date of the Buddhist canon of which it forms a part, or the date of Buddhaghosa, who wrote a commentary on it. This, however, is by no means easy, and the evidence on which we have to rely is such that we must not be surprised if those who are accustomed to test historical and chronological evidence

¹ The figures within brackets refer to the other list of books in the *Khuddaka-nikâya*. See also p. xxviii.

² M. Léon Feer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 266, mentions another commentary of a more philosophical character, equally ascribed to Buddhaghosa, and having the title *Vivara Bra Dhammapada*, i. e. *L'auguste Dhammapada dévoilé*. Professor Forchhammer in his 'List of Manuscripts,' 1879-80, mentions the following works in connection with the Dhammapada: *Dhammapada-Nissayo*; Dh. P. *Atthakathâ* by Buddhaghosa; Dh. P. *Atthakathâ Nissayo*, 3 vols., containing a complete translation of the commentary; Dh. P. *Vatthu*. Of printed books he quotes: *Kayanupassanakyam*, a work based on the *Garâvago*, Mandalay, 1876 (390 pages), and *Dhammapada-desanakyam*, printed in 'British Burma News.'

in Greece and Rome, decline to be convinced by it. As a general rule, I quite agree that we cannot be too sceptical in assigning a date to ancient books, particularly if we intend to use them as documents for tracing the history of human thought. To the initiated, I mean to those who have themselves worked in the mines of ancient Oriental literature, such extreme scepticism may often seem unscientific and uncalled for. They are more or less aware of hundreds of arguments, each by itself, it may be, of small weight, but all combined proving irresistible. They are conscious, too, of having been constantly on the look out for danger, and, as all has gone on smoothly, they feel sure that, in the main, they are on the right road. Still it is always useful to be as incredulous as possible, particularly against oneself, and to have before our eyes critics who will not yield one inch beyond what they are forced to yield by the strongest pressure of facts.

The age of our MSS. of the canonical books, either in Pāli or Sanskrit, is of no help to us. All Indian MSS. are comparatively modern, and one who has probably handled more Indian MSS. than anybody else, Mr. A. Burnell, has lately expressed his conviction that 'no MS. written one thousand years ago is now existent in India, and that it is almost impossible to find one written five hundred years ago, for most MSS. which claim to be of that date are merely copies of old MSS. the dates of which are repeated by the copyists¹.'

Nor is the language, whether Sanskrit or Pāli, a safe guide for fixing dates. Both languages continue to be written to our own time, and though there are some characteristic marks to distinguish more modern from more ancient Buddhist Sanskrit and Pāli, this branch of critical scholarship requires to be cultivated far more extensively and accurately before true scholars would venture to fix the date of a Sanskrit or Pāli text on the strength of linguistic evidence alone².

¹ Indian Antiquary, 1880, p. 233.

² See some important remarks on this subject in Fausböll's Introduction to Sutta-nipāta, p. xi.

The Buddhists themselves have no difficulty in assigning a date to their sacred canon. They are told in that canon itself that it was settled at the First Council, or immediately after the death of Buddha, and they believe that it was afterwards handed down by means of oral tradition, or actually written down in books by order of Kâsyapa, the president of the First Council¹. Buddhaghosa, a learned and in some respects a critical scholar, living in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., asserts that the canon which he had before him, was the same as that fixed by the First Council².

Several European students have adopted the same opinion, and, so far as I know, no argument has yet been advanced showing the impossibility of the native view, that some collection of Buddha's doctrines was made immediately after his death at Râgagaha, and that it was finally settled at what is called the Second Council, or the Council of Vesâlî. But what is not impossible is not therefore true, nor can anything be gained by appealing to later witnesses, such as, for instance, Hiouen Thsang, who travelled through India in the seventh century, and wrote down anything that he could learn, little concerned whether one statement tallied with the other or not³. He says that the Tipitaka was written down on palm leaves by Kâsyapa at the end of the First Council. But what can be the weight of such a witness, living more than a thousand years after the event, compared with that, for instance, of the Mahāvamsa, which dates from the fifth century of our era, and

¹ Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* (Rangoon, 1866), p. 350; but also p. 120 note.

² See Childers, s. v. *Tipitaka*. There is a curious passage in Buddhaghosa's account of the First Council. 'Now one may ask,' he says, 'Is there or is there not in this first Parâgika anything to be taken away or added?' I reply, There is nothing in the words of the Blessed Buddha that can be taken away, for the Buddhas speak not even a single syllable in vain, yet in the words of disciples and devatâs there are things which may be omitted, and these the elders who made the recension, did omit. On the other hand, additions are everywhere necessary, and accordingly, whenever it was necessary to add anything, they added it. If it be asked, What are the additions referred to? I reply, Only sentences necessary to connect the text, as 'at that time,' 'again at that time,' 'and so forth.'

³ Pèlerin's *Bouddhistes*, vol. i. p. 158.

tells us in the account of Mahinda's missionary journey to Ceylon (241/318), that the son of Asoka had to spend three years in learning the Tipitaka by heart from the mouth of a teacher¹? No mention is then made of any books or MSS., when it would have been most natural to do so². At a later time, during the reign of King Vattagâmani³ (88-76 B.C.), the same chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, tells us that 'the profoundly wise priests had theretofore orally (*mukhapâthēna*) perpetuated the Pāli of the *Pitakattaya* and its *Attakathā* (commentary), but that at this period the priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people assembled, and in order that the religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books (*potthakesu likhāpayum*)⁴.'

No one has yet questioned the dates of the *Dīpavamsa*, about 400 A.D., or of the first part of the *Mahāvamsa*, between 459-477 A.D., and though no doubt there is an interval of nearly 600 years between the composition of the *Mahāvamsa* and the recorded writing down of the Buddhist canon under Vattagâmani, yet we must remember that the Ceylonese chronicles were confessedly founded on an older *Attakathā* preserved in the monasteries of the island, and representing an unbroken line of local tradition.

My own argument therefore, so long as the question was only whether we could assign a pre-Christian date to the Pāli Buddhist canon, has always been this. We have the commentaries on the Pāli canon translated from Sinhalese into Pāli, or actually composed, it may be, by Buddhaghosa. Buddhaghosa confessedly consulted various

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 37; *Dīpavamsa* VII, 28-31; Buddhaghosa's Parables, p. xviii.

² Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 351.

³ Dr. E. Müller (*Indian Antiquary*, Nov. 1880, p. 270) has discovered inscriptions in Ceylon, belonging to Devanapiya Maharâga Gâmini Tissa, whom he identifies with Vattagâmani.

⁴ The same account is given in the *Dīpavamsa* XX, 20, and in the *Sârasaṅgraha*, as quoted by Spence Hardy, *Legends*, p. 192. As throwing light on the completeness of the Buddhist canon at the time of King Vattagâmani, it should be mentioned that, according to the commentary on the *Mahāvamsa* (Turnour, p. liii), the sect of the *Dhammarutikas* established itself at the *Abhayavihāra*, which had been constructed by Vattagâmani, and that one of the grounds of their secession was their refusing to acknowledge the *Parivāra* (thus I read instead of *Pariwāna*) as part of the *Vinaya-pitaka*. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (VII, 42) Mahinda knew the *Parivāra*.

MSS., and gives various readings, just as any modern scholar might do. This was in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., and there is nothing improbable, though I would say no more, in supposing that some of the MSS., consulted by Buddhaghosa, dated from the first century B.C., when Vattagâmani ordered the sacred canon to be reduced to writing.

There is one other event with reference to the existence of the sacred canon in Ceylon, recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*, between the time of Buddhaghosa and Vattagâmani, viz. the translation of the Suttas from Pâli into the language of Ceylon, during the reign of Buddhādāsa, 339–368 A. D. If MSS. of that ancient translation still existed, they would, no doubt, be very useful for determining the exact state of the Pâli originals at that time¹. But even without them there seems no reason to doubt that Buddhaghosa had before him old MSS. of the Pâli canon, and that these were in the main the same as those written down at the time of Vattagâmani.

BUDDHAGHOSA'S AGE.

The whole of this argument, however, rested on the supposition that Buddhaghosa's date in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. was beyond the reach of reasonable doubt. 'His age,' I had ventured to say in the Preface to Buddhaghosa's Parables (1870), 'can be fixed with greater accuracy than most dates in the literary history of India.' But soon after, one of our most celebrated Pâli scholars, the great Russian traveller, Professor Joh. Minayeff, expressed in the *Mélanges Asiatiques* (13/25 April, 1871) the gravest doubts as to Buddhaghosa's age, and thus threw the whole Buddhist chronology, so far as it had then been accepted by all, or nearly all scholars, back into chaos. He gave as his chief reason that Buddhaghosa was not, as I supposed, the contemporary of Mahânâma, the

¹ A note is added, stating that several portions of the other two divisions also of the *Piṭakattaya* were translated into the Sinhalese language, and that these alone are consulted by the priests, who are unacquainted with Pâli. On the other hand, it is stated that the Sinhalese text of the *Attakathâ* exists no longer. See Spence Hardy, *Legends*, p. xxv, and p. 69.

author of the *Mahāvamsa*, but of another *Mahânâma*, the king of Ceylon.

Professor Minayeff is undoubtedly right in this, but I am not aware that I, or anybody else, had ever questioned so palpable a fact. There are two *Mahânâmas*; one, the king who reigned from 410–432 A.D.; the other, the supposed author of the *Mahāvamsa*, the uncle and protector of King Dhātusena, 459–477. ‘Dhātusena,’ I had written, ‘was the nephew of the historian *Mahânâma*, and owed the throne to the protection of his uncle. Dhātusena was in fact the restorer of a national dynasty, and after having defeated the foreign usurpers (the Damilo dynasty) “he restored the religion which had been set aside by the foreigners”’ (*Mahāv.* p. 256). Among his many pious acts it is particularly mentioned that he gave a thousand, and ordered the *Dīpavamsa* to be promulgated. As *Mahânâma* was the uncle of Dhātusena, who reigned from 459–477, he may be considered as a trustworthy witness with regard to events that occurred between 410 and 432. Now the literary activity of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon falls in that period¹.

These facts being admitted, it is surely not too great a stretch of probability to suppose, as I did, that a man whose nephew was king in 459–477, might have been alive in 410–432, that is to say, might have been a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. I did not commit myself to any further theories. The question whether *Mahânâma*, the uncle of Dhātusena, was really the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, the question whether he wrote the second half of the 37th chapter of that work, or broke off his chronicle in the middle of that chapter, I did not discuss, having no new materials to bring forward beyond those on which Turnour and those who followed him had founded their conclusions, and which I had discussed in my *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1859), p. 267. All I said was, ‘It is difficult to determine whether the 38th as well as the (whole of the) 37th chapter came from the pen of *Mahânâma*, for

¹ ‘Ungefähr 50 Jahre älter als *Mahânâma* ist Buddhaghosha,’ see Westergaard, *Über Buddha's Todesjahr*, p. 99.

the *Mahāvamsa* was afterwards continued by different writers, even to the middle of the last century. But, taking into account all the circumstances of the case, it is most probable that Mahânâma carried on the history to his own time, to the death of Dhātusena, 477 A.D.¹

What I meant by 'all the circumstances of the case' might easily be understood by any one who had read Turnour's Preface to the *Mahāvamsa*. Turnour himself thought at first that Mahânâma's share in the *Mahāvamsa* ended with the year 301 A.D., and that the rest of the work, called the *Sulu Wansé*, was composed by subsequent writers¹. Dharmakīrti is mentioned by name as having continued the work to the reign of Prākrama Bāhu (A.D. 1266). But Turnour afterwards changed his mind². Considering that the account of Mahāsena's reign, the first of the Seven Kings, terminates in the middle of a chapter, at verse 48, while the whole chapter is called the *Sattarāgiko*, 'the chapter of the Seven Kings,' he naturally supposed that the whole of that chapter, extending to the end of the reign of his nephew Dhātusena, might be the work of Mahânâma, unless there were any strong proofs to the contrary. Such proofs, beyond the tradition of writers of the MSS., have not, as yet, been adduced³.

But even if it could be proved that Mahânâma's own pen did not go beyond the 48th verse of the 37th chapter, the historical trustworthiness of the concluding portion of that chapter, containing the account of Buddhaghosa's literary activity, nay, even of the 38th chapter, would be little affected thereby. We know that both the *Mahāvamsa* and the somewhat earlier *Dīpavamsa* were founded on the Sinhalese *Atthakathās*, the commentaries and chronicles preserved in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. We also know that that Vihāra was demolished by Mahāsena, and deserted by nearly all its inmates for the space of nine years (p. 235), and again for the space of nine months

¹ Introduction, p. ii. The *Kūlavamsa* is mentioned with the *Mahāvamsa*, both as the works of Mahânâma, by Professor Forchhammer in his List of Pāli MSS.

² Introduction, p. xci.

³ See Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1875, p. 196.

(p. 237). We can well understand therefore why the older history, the *Dîpavamsa*, should end with the death of Mahâ-sena (died 302 A.D.), and why in the *Mahâvamsa* too there should have been a break at that date. But we must not forget that, during Mahânâma's life, the Mahâvihâra at Anurâdhapura was restored, that some kind of chronicle, called the *Dîpavamsa*, whether it be a general name of any 'chronicle of the island,' or of our *Dîpavamsa*, or, it may be, even of our *Mahâvamsa*, was ordered to be published or promulgated (*dîpetum*) under Dhâtusena, the nephew and protégé of Mahânâma. Therefore, even if we do not insist on the personal authorship of Mahânâma, we may certainly maintain that historical entries had been made in the chronicles of Anurâdhapura during Dhâtusena's reign, and probably under the personal auspices of Mahânâma, so that if we find afterwards, in the second half of the 37th chapter of his *Mahâvamsa*, an account of events which had happened between the destruction of the Mahâvihâra and the reign of Dhâtusena, and among them an account of so important an event as the arrival of Buddhaghosa from Magadha and his translation of the Sinhalese *Atthakathâ* into the language of Magadha, we may well suppose that they rest on the authority of native chronicles, written not long after the events, and that therefore, 'under all the circumstances of the case,' the age of Buddhaghosa can be fixed with greater accuracy than most dates in the literary history of India.

There is one difficulty still remaining with regard to the date of the historian Mahânâma which might have perplexed Turnour's mind, and has certainly proved a stumbling-block to myself. Turnour thought that the author of the commentary on the *Mahâvamsa*, the *Vamsatthappakâsini*, was the same as the author of the *Mahâvamsa*, viz. Mahânâma. The date of that commentary, however, as we know now, must be fixed much later, for it speaks of a schism which took place in the year 601 A.D., during the reign of Agrabôdhi (also called Dhâtâpatisso). Turnour¹ looked

¹ Introduction, p. liii.

upon that passage as a later interpolation, because he thought the evidence for the identity of the author and the commentator of the *Mahāvamsa* too strong to be set aside. He trusted chiefly to a passage in the commentary, and if that passage had been correctly rendered, the conclusion which he drew from it could hardly be resisted. We read in the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 254):

‘Certain members of the Moriyān dynasty, dreading the power of the (usurper) Subho, the *bālattho*, had settled in various parts of the country, concealing themselves. Among them there was a certain landed proprietor *Dhātusena*, who had established himself at *Nandivāpi*. His son named *Dhâtâ*, who lived at the village *Ambiliyāgo*, had two sons, *Dhātusēna* and *Sīlatissabodhi*, of unexceptional descent. Their mother’s brother (*Mahânâma*), devoted to the cause of religion, continued to reside (at *Anurādhapura*) in his sacerdotal character, at the edifice built by the minister *Dīghasandana*. The youth *Dhātusena* became a priest in his fraternity, and on a certain day, while he was chaunting at the foot of a tree, a shower of rain fell, and a *Nāga*, seeing him there, encircled him in his folds, and covered him and his book with his hood. . . . Causing an image of *Mahâ Mahinda* to be made, and conveying it to the edifice (*Ambamālaka*) in which the *thera*’s body had been burnt, in order that he might celebrate a great festival there, and that he might also promulgate the contents of the *Dīpavamsa*, distributing a thousand pieces, he caused it to be read aloud¹.

If we compare with this extract from the *Mahāvamsa* a passage from the commentary as translated by Turnour, we can well understand how he arrived at the conclusion that it was written by the same person who wrote the *Mahāvamsa*.

Turnour translates (p. liv):

‘Upon these data by me, the *thera*, who had, with due

¹ Mr. Turnour added a note in which he states that *Dīpavamsa* is here meant for *Mahāvamsa*, but whether brought down to this period, or only to the end of the reign of *Mahāsena*, to which alone the *Tīkā* extends, there is no means of ascertaining (p. 257).

solemnity, been invested with the dignified title of Mahânâma, resident at the parivena founded by the minister Dîghasandana, endowed with the capacity requisite to record the narrative comprised in the Mahāvamsa, in due order, rejecting only the dialect in which the Singhalese *Atthakathâ* are written, but retaining their import and following their arrangement, the history, entitled the Palapadôruvamsa (*Padyapadânuvamsa*), is compiled. As even in times when the despotism of the ruler of the land, and the horrors arising from the inclemencies of the seasons, and when panics of epidemics and other visitations prevailed, this work escaped all injury; and moreover, as it serves to perpetuate the fame of the Buddhas, their disciples, and the Paché Buddhas of old, it is also worthy of bearing the title of *Vamsatthappakâsinî*.'

As the evidence of these two passages in support of the identity of the author and the commentator of the Mahāvamsa seemed to me very startling, I requested Mr. Rhys Davids to copy for me the passage of the commentary.

The passage runs as follows :

Yâ ettavatâ mahāvamsatthânusâra kusaleṇa Dîghasandana-nâpatinâ kârâpita-mahâparivenavâsinâ Mahânâmo ti garûhi gahitanâmadheyyena therena pubba-Sîhala-bhâsîtaya Sîhalatthakathâya bhâsantaram eva vaggiya atthasâram eva gahetva tantinayânurûpena katassa imassa Padyapadânuvamsassa atthavannanâ mayâ tam eva sannissitena âraddhâ, padesissariya-dubbutthibhaya-rogabhayâdi-vividha-antarâya-yuttakâle pi anantarâyena nitthânam upagatâ, sâ buddha-buddhasâvaka-pakkakabuddhâdînam porânânam kikkam pubbavamsatthappakâsanato ayam Vamsatthappakâsinî nâma ti dhâretabbâ. . . . Padyapadânuvamsavannanâ Vamsatthappakâsinî nitthitâ.

Mr. Rhys Davids translates this :

'The commentary on this *Padyapadânuvamsa*, which (latter work) was made (in the same order and arrangement, and retaining the sense, but rejecting the dialect, of the Sinhalese commentary formerly expressed in the Sinhalese tongue) by the elder who bore the name of Mahânâma, which he had

received from the venerable, who resided at the Mahâparivena built by the minister Dighasanda, and who was well able to conform to the sense of the Mahâvamsa—(this commentary) which was undertaken by me out of devotion to that (history), and which (though thus undertaken) at a time full of danger of various kinds—such as the danger from disease, and the danger from drought, and the danger from the government of the province—has been safely brought to a conclusion—this (commentary), since it makes known the meaning of the history of old, the mission of the ancients, of the Buddhas, of their disciples, and of the Pakkêka Buddhas, should bear the name Vamsatthappakâsinî. . . .

‘End of the Vamsatthappakâsinî, the commentary on the Padyapadânuvamsa.’

This shows clearly that Turnour made a mistake in translating this exceedingly involved, yet perfectly intelligible, passage, and that so far from proving that the author of the commentary was the same person as the author of the text¹, it proves the very contrary. Nay, I feel bound to add, that we might now argue that as the commentator must have lived later than 601 A. D., the fact that he too breaks off at verse 48 of chapter 37, seems to show that at his time also the Mahâvamsa did not extend as yet beyond that verse. But even then, the fact that with the restoration of the Mahâvihâra of Anurâdhapura an interest in historical studies revived in Ceylon, would clearly show that we may trust the date of Buddhaghosa, as fixed by the second part of the 37th chapter of the Mahâvamsa, at all events till stronger evidence is brought forward against such a date.

Now I am not aware of any such evidence². On the contrary, making allowance for a difference of some ten or twenty years, all the evidence which we can gain from other quarters tends to confirm the date of Buddha-

¹ Dr. Oldenberg informs me that the commentator quotes various readings in the text of the Mahâvamsa.

² The passage, quoted by Professor Minayeff from the Sâsanavamsa, would assign to Buddhaghosa the date of 930 - 543 = 387 A. D., which can easily be reconciled with his accepted date. If he is called the contemporary of Siripâla, we ought to know who that Siripâla is.

ghosa¹. I therefore feel no hesitation in here reprinting that story, as we find it in the *Mahāvamsa*, not free from legendary ingredients, it is true, yet resting, I believe, on a sound foundation of historical fact.

‘A Brāhman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo-tree (in Magadha), accomplished in the “*viggā*” (knowledge) and “*sippa*” (art), who had achieved the knowledge of the three Vedas, and possessed great aptitude in attaining acquirements; indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over *Gambudīpa*, established himself, in the character of a disputant, in a certain *vihāra*², and was in the habit of rehearsing, by night and by day with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain. A certain Mahāthera, Revata, becoming acquainted with him there, and (saying to himself), “This individual is a person of profound knowledge, it will be worthy (of me) to convert him;” enquired, “Who is this who is braying like an ass?” The Brāhman replied to him, “Thou canst define, then, the meaning conveyed in the bray of asses.” On the Thera rejoining, “I can define it;” he (the Brāhman) exhibited the extent of the knowledge he possessed. The Thera criticised each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He who had been thus refuted, said, “Well, then, descend to thy own creed;” and he propounded to him a passage from the *Abhidhamma* (of the *Piṭakattaya*). He (the Brāhman) could not divine the signification of that passage, and enquired, “Whose manta is this?”—“It is Buddha’s manta.” On his exclaiming, “Impart it to me;” the Thera replied, “Enter the sacerdotal order.” He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the *Piṭakattaya*, subsequently coming to this conviction, “This is the sole road” (to salvation), became a convert to that faith. As he was as profound in his eloquence (ghosa) as Buddha himself, they conferred on him the appellation of *Buddhaghosa* (the

¹ See Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, pp. 351, 381.

² On this *vihāra*, its foundation and character, see Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, vol. i. p. liii; Hiouen-thsang, III, p. 487 seq.

voice of Buddha); and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddha. Having there (in Gāmbudīpa) composed an original work called *Ñānodaya* (Rise of Knowledge), he, at the same time, wrote the chapter called *Atthasālinī*, on the *Dhammasaṅgani* (one of the commentaries on the *Abhidhamma*).

‘Revata Thera then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a general commentary on the *Piṭakattaya*, thus addressed him: “The text alone of the *Piṭakattaya* has been preserved in this land, the *Atthakathā* are not extant here, nor is there any version to be found of the schisms (*vāda*) complete. The Sinhalese *Atthakathā* are genuine. They were composed in the Sinhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahinda, who had previously consulted the discourses (*kathāmagga*) of Buddha, authenticated at the three convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sāriputta and others, and they are extant among the Sinhalese. Preparing for this, and studying the same, translate them according to the rules of the grammar of the *Māgadhās*. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world.”

‘Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage rejoicing therein, departed from thence, and visited this island in the reign of this monarch (i. e. Mahānāma, 410–432). On reaching the Mahāvihāra (at Anurādhapura), he entered the Mahāpadhāna hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the vihāra, and listened to the Sinhalese *Atthakathā*, and the Theravāda, from the beginning to the end, propounded by the Thera Saṅghapāla; and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the doctrines of the Lord of Dhamma. Thereupon paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned: “I am desirous of translating the *Atthakathā*; give me access to all your books.” The priesthood, for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave only two gāthās, saying, “Hence prove thy qualification; having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let thee have all our books.” From these (taking these gāthā for his text), and

consulting the *Piṭakattaya*, together with the *Atthakathā*, and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the work called the *Visuddhimagga*. Thereupon, having assembled the priesthood, who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of Buddha, at the Bo-tree, he commenced to read out the work he had composed. The devatās, in order that they might make his (Buddhaghosa's) gifts of wisdom celebrated among men, rendered that book invisible. He, however, for a second and third time re-composed it. When he was in the act of producing his book for the third time, for the purpose of propounding it, the devatās restored the other two copies also. The assembled priests then read out the three books simultaneously. In those three versions there was no variation whatever from the orthodox Theravādas in passages, in words, or in syllables. Thereupon, the priesthood rejoicing, again and again fervently shouted forth, saying, "Most assuredly this is Metteya (Buddha) himself," and made over to him the books in which the *Piṭakattaya* were recorded, together with the *Atthakathā*. Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthākara-vihāra (at Anurādhapura), he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Māgadhās, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Sinhalese *Atthakathā* (into Pāli). This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all beings, whatever their language.

'All the Theras and Āṭhāriyas held this compilation in the same estimation as the text (of the *Piṭakattaya*). Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Gambudīpa, to worship at the Bo-tree (at Uruvelāya, or Uruvilvā, in Magadha).'

Here¹ we have a simple account of Buddhaghosa² and

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 250, translated by Turnour.

² The Burmese entertain the highest respect for Buddhaghosa. Bishop Bigandet, in his *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (Rangoon, 1866), writes: 'It is perhaps as well to mention here an epoch which has been, at all times, famous in the history of Buddhism in Burma. I allude to the voyage which a Religious of Thaton, named Budhagosa, made to Ceylon, in the year of religion 943 = 400 A.D. The object of this voyage was to procure a copy of the scriptures. He succeeded in his undertaking. He made use of the Burmese, or rather Talaing

his literary labours written by a man, himself a priest, and who may well have known Buddhaghosa during his stay in Ceylon. It is true that the statement of his writing the same book three times over without a single various reading, partakes a little of the miraculous; but we find similar legends mixed up with accounts of translations of other sacred books, and we cannot contend that writers who believed in such legends are therefore altogether unworthy to be believed as historical witnesses.

But although the date which we can assign to Buddhaghosa's translation of the commentaries on the Pāli Tipi-taka proves the existence of that canon, not only for the beginning of the fifth century of our era, but likewise, though it may be, with less stringency, for the first century before our era, the time of Vattagâmani, the question whether Buddhaghosa was merely a compiler and translator of old commentaries, and more particularly of the commentaries brought to Ceylon by Mahinda (241 B.C.), or whether he added anything of his own¹, requires to be more carefully examined. The Buddhists themselves have no difficulty on that point. They consider the *Atthakathâs* or commentaries as old as the canon itself. To us, such a supposition seems improbable, yet it has never been proved to be impossible. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that Mahinda, the son of Asoka, who had become a priest, learnt the whole of the Buddhist canon, as it then was, in three years (p. 37)²; and that at the end of the Third Council he was despatched to Ceylon, in order to establish there the religion of Buddha (p. 71). The king of Ceylon, Devānampiya Tissa, was converted, and Buddhism soon became the dominant

characters, in transcribing the manuscripts, which were written with the characters of Magatha. The Burmans lay much stress upon that voyage, and always carefully note down the year it took place. In fact, it is to Buddhaghosa that the people living on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban owe the possession of the Buddhist scriptures. From Thaton, the collection made by Buddhaghosa was transferred to Pagan, six hundred and fifty years after it had been imported from Ceylon.' See *ibid.* p. 392.

¹ He had written the *Ñānodaya*, and the *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the Dhamma-saṅgāsi, before he went to Ceylon. Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, p. 251.

² He learnt the five Nikāyas, and the seven sections (of the Abhidhamma); the two Vibhaṅgas of the Vinaya, the Parivāra and the Khandhaka. See *Dīpavamsa* VII, 42.

religion of the island. The *Tipitaka* and the *Atthakathâ*, such as they had been collected or settled at the Third Council in 242 B.C., were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda, who promulgated them orally, the *Tipitaka* in Pâli, the *Atthakathâ* in Sinhalese, together with an additional *Atthakathâ* of his own. It does not follow that Mahinda knew the whole of that enormous literature by heart, for, as he was supported by a number of priests, they may well have divided the different sections among them, following the example of Ânanda and Upâli at the First Council. The same applies to their disciples also. But the fact of their transmitting the sacred literature by oral tradition¹ was evidently quite familiar to the author of the *Mahāvamsa*. For when he comes to describe the reign of *Vattagâmani* (88–76 B.C.) he simply says: ‘The profoundly wise priests had heretofore orally perpetuated the Pâli *Pitakattaya* and its *Atthakathâ* (commentaries). At this period these priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversions of the true doctrines), assembled; and in order that the religion might endure for ages, wrote the same in books.’ No valid objection has yet been advanced to our accepting Buddhaghosa’s *Atthakathâs* as a translation and new redaction of the *Atthakathâs* which were reduced to writing under *Vattagâmani*², and these again as a translation of the old *Atthakathâs* brought to Ceylon by Mahinda³. There is *prima facie* evidence in favour of the truth of historical events vouched for by such works as the *Dîpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* so far back at least as Mahinda, because we know that historical events were recorded in the monasteries of Ceylon long before Mahânâma’s time. Beyond Mahinda we move in legendary history, and must be ready to surrender every name and every date as soon as rebutting evidence has been produced, but not till then.

I cannot, therefore, see any reason why we should not treat the verses of the *Dhammapada*, if not as the utterances of Buddha, at least as what were believed by the

¹ On the importance of oral tradition in the history of Sanskrit literature see the writer’s *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, pp. 497–524.

² *Mahāvamsa*, p. 207; *Dîpavamsa* XX, 20.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 251.

members of the Council under Asoka, in 242 B.C., to have been the utterances of the founder of their religion; nor can I see that Professor Minayeff has shaken the date of Buddhaghosa and the general credibility of the Ceylonese tradition, that he was the translator and editor of commentaries which had existed in the island for many centuries, whether from the time of Vattagâmani or from the time of Mahinda.

DATE OF THE BUDDHIST CANON.

We now return to the question of the date of the Buddhist canon, which, as yet, we have only traced back to the first century before Christ, when it was reduced to writing in Ceylon under King Vattagâmani. The question is, how far beyond that date we may trace its existence in a collected form, or in the form of the three Pitakas or baskets. There may be, and we shall see that there is, some doubt as to the age of certain works, now incorporated in the Tipitaka. We are told, for instance, that some doubt attached to the canonicity of the *Kariyâ-pitaka*, the *Apadâna*, and the *Buddhavaṃsa*¹, and there is another book of the *Abhidhamma-pitaka*, the *Kathâvatthu*, which was reported to be the work of Tissa Moggaliputta, the president of the Third Council. Childers, s. v., stated that it was composed by the apostle Moggaliputtatissa, and delivered by him at the Third Mahâsaṅgîti. The same scholar, however, withdrew this opinion on p. 507 of his valuable Dictionary, where he says: 'It is a source of great regret to me that in my article on *Kathâvatthupakkaranam* I inadvertently followed James D'Alwis in the stupendous blunder of his assertion that the *Kathâvatthu* was added by Moggaliputtatissa' at the Third Convocation. The *Kathâvatthu* is one of the *Abhidhamma* books, mentioned by Buddhaghosa as having been rehearsed at the First Convocation, immediately after Gotama's death; and the passage in *Mahâvaṃsa* upon which D'Alwis rests his assertion is as follows, *Kathâvatthupakkaranam paravâdappamaddanam abhâsi Tissatthero ka tasmim saṅgîti-mandale*, which simply means 'in that Convocation-assem-

¹ See Childers, s. v. *Nikâya*.

bly the Thera Tissa also recited (Buddha's) heresy-crushing Kathâvatthuppakarana.'

This mistake, for I quite agree with Childers that it was a mistake, becomes however less stupendous than at first sight it would appear, when we read the account given in the *Dîpavamsa*. Here the impression is easily conveyed that Moggaliputta was the author of the Kathâvatthu, and that he recited it for the first time at the Third Council. 'Wise Moggaliputta,' we read¹, 'the destroyer of the schismatic doctrines, firmly established the Theravâda, and held the Third Council. Having destroyed the different (heretical) doctrines, and subdued many shameless people, and restored splendour to the (true) faith, he proclaimed (pakâsayi) (the treatise called) Kathâvatthu.' And again: 'They all were sectarians², opposed to the Theravâda; and in order to annihilate them and to make his own doctrine resplendent, the Thera set forth (desesi) the treatise belonging to the Abhidhamma, which is called Kathâvatthu³.'

At present, however, we are not concerned with these smaller questions. We treat the canon as a whole, divided into three parts, and containing the books which still exist in MSS., and we want to find out at what time such a collection was made. The following is a short abstract of the Tipiṭaka, chiefly taken from Childers' Pâli Dictionary:

I. Vinaya-piṭaka.

1. Vibhaṅga⁴.

Vol. I, beginning with Pârâgika, or sins involving expulsion.

Vol. II, beginning with Pâḷittiya, or sins involving penance.

2. Khandhaka.

Vol. I, Mahâvagga, the large section.

Vol. II, Kullavagga, the small section.

3. Parivârapâṭha, an appendix and later resumé (25 chapters). See p. xiii, n. 4; p. xxiv, n. 2.

¹ *Dîpavamsa* VII, 40.

² *Dîpavamsa* VII, 55.

³ Dr. Oldenberg, in his *Introduction to the Vinaya-piṭaka*, p. xxxii.

⁴ Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka* I, p. xvi, treats it as an extended reading of the Pâtimokkha.

II. Sutta-piṭaka.

1. *Dīgha-nikāya*, collection of long suttas (34 suttas)¹.
2. *Magghima-nikāya*, collection of middle suttas (152 suttas).
3. *Samyutta-nikāya*, collection of joined suttas.
4. *Anguttara-nikāya*², miscellaneous suttas, in divisions the length of which increases by one.
5. *Khuddaka-nikāya*³, the collection of short suttas, consisting of—
 1. *Khuddakapāṭha*, the small texts⁴.
 2. *Dhammapada*, law verses (423)⁵.
 3. *Udāna*, praise (82 suttas).
 4. *Itivuttaka*, stories referring to sayings of Buddha.
 5. *Suttanipāta*, 70 suttas⁶.
 6. *Vimānavatthu*, stories of *Vimānas*, celestial palaces.
 7. *Petavatthu*, stories of *Pretas*, departed spirits.
 8. *Theragāthā*, stanzas of monks.
 9. *Therīgāthā*, stanzas of nuns.
 10. *Gāṭaka*, former births (550 tales)⁷.
 11. *Niddesa*, explanations of certain suttas by *Sāriputta*.

¹ The *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, ed. by Childers, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, translated with other Suttas by Rhys Davids (S. B. E. vol. xi). Sept Suttas Palis, par Grimblot, Paris, 1876.

² The first four are sometimes called the Four *Nikāyas*, the five together the Five *Nikāyas*. They represent the *Dharma*, as settled at the First and Second Councils, described in the *Kullavagga* (Oldenberg, I, p. xi).

³ Sometimes *Khuddaka-nikāya* stands for the whole *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, with the fifteen divisions here given of *Khuddaka-nikāya*. In the commentary on the *Brahmagāla-sutta* it is said that the *Dīghanikāya* professors rehearsed the text of the *Gāṭaka*, *Mahā* and *Kulla Niddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimāna*, and *Petavatthu*, *Thera* and *Therī Gāthā*, and called it *Khuddakagantha*, and made it a canonical text, forming part of the *Abhidhamma*; while the *Magghimanikāya* professors assert that, with the addition of the *Kariyāpitaka*, *Apadāna*, and *Buddhavamsa*, the whole of this *Khuddakagantha* was included in the *Suttapiṭaka*. See Childers, s. v. *Nikāya*. See also p. x.

⁴ Published by Childers, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1869.

⁵ Published by Fausböll, 1855.

⁶ Thirty translated by Sir Coomāra Swāmy; the whole by Fausböll, in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. x.

⁷ Published by Fausböll, translated by Rhys Davids.

12. *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the road of discrimination, and intuitive insight.
13. *Apadāna*¹, legends.
14. *Buddhavaṃsa*¹, story of twenty-four preceding Buddhas and of Gotama.
15. *Kariyāpiṭaka*¹, basket of conduct, Buddha's meritorious actions².

III. Abhidhamma-piṭaka.

1. *Dhammasaṅgani*, numeration of conditions of life³.
2. *Vibhaṅga*, disquisitions (18).
3. *Kathāvatthupakaraṇa*, book of subjects for discussion (1000 suttas).
4. *Puggalapaññatti* or *paññatti*, declaration on puggala, or personality.
5. *Dhātukathā*, account of dhātus or elements.
6. *Yamaka*, pairs (ten divisions).
7. *Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa*, book of causes.

Taking this collection as a whole we may lay it down as self-evident that the canon, in its collected form, cannot be older than any of the events related therein.

There are two important facts for determining the age of the Pāli canon, which, as Dr. Oldenberg⁴ has been the first to show, should take precedence of all other arguments, viz.

1. That in the *Tipiṭaka*, as we now have it, no mention is made of the so-called Third Council, which took place at Pāṭaliputta, under King Asoka, about 242 B.C.

2. That in the *Tipiṭaka*, as we now have it, the First Council of Rāgagaha (477 B.C.) and the Second Council of Vesālī (377 B.C.) are both mentioned.

From these two facts it may safely be concluded that the Buddhist canon, as handed down to us, was finally closed

¹ Buddhaghosa does not say whether these were recited at the First Council.

² Partly translated by Gogerly, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon*, 1852.

³ Cf. Gogerly, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon*, 1848, p. 7.

⁴ See Oldenberg's *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxv. The kings Agātasatru (485-453 B.C.), Udāyin (453-437 B.C.), and Munda (437-429 B.C.) are all mentioned in the *Tipiṭaka*. See Oldenberg, *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, XXXIV, pp. 752, 753.

after the Second and before, or possibly at, the Third Council. Nay, the fact that the description of the two Councils stands at the very end of the *Kullavagga* may be taken, as Dr. Oldenberg remarks, as an indication that it was one of the latest literary contributions which obtained canonical authority, while the great bulk of the canon may probably claim a date anterior to the Second Council.

This fact, namely, that the collection of the canon, as a whole, must have preceded the Second Council rests on an argument which does great credit to the ingenuity of Dr. Oldenberg. The Second Council was convoked to consider the ten deviations¹ from the strict discipline of the earliest times. That discipline had been laid down first in the *Pâtimokkha* rules, then in the commentary now included in the *Vibhaṅga*, lastly in the *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga*. The rules as to what was allowed or forbidden to a *Bhikkhu* were most minute², and they were so firmly established that no one could have ventured either to take away or to add anything to them as they stood in the sacred code. In that code itself a distinction is made between the offences which were from the first visited with punishment (*pârâgika* and *pâkittiya*) and those misdemeanours and crimes which were put down as punishable at a later time (*dukkata* and *thullakkaya*). With these classes the code was considered as closed, and if any doubt arose as to the criminality of certain acts, it could be settled at once by an appeal to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. Now it so happens that, with one exception, the ten deviations that had to be considered at the Second Council, are not provided for in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*; and I quite agree with Dr. Oldenberg's argument that, if they had been mentioned in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the Second Council would have been objectless. A mere appeal to chapter and verse in the existing *Piṭaka* would then have silenced all dissent. On the other side, if it had been possible to add anything to the canon, as it then existed, the ten, or nine, deviations might have been con-

¹ Oldenberg, Introduction, p. xxix.

² Oldenberg, loc. cit. p. xx.

demned by a few additional paragraphs of the canon, without convoking a new Council.

I think we may be nearly certain, therefore, that we possess the principal portion of the Vinaya-piṭaka as it existed before the Council of Vesālī.

So far I quite agree with Dr. Oldenberg. But if he proceeds to argue¹ that certain portions of the canon must have been finally settled before even the First Council took place, or was believed to have taken place, I do not think his arguments conclusive. He contends that in the Parinibbāna-sutta, which tells of the last days of Buddha's life, of his death, the cremation of his body, and the distribution of his relics, and of Subhadda's revolt, it would have been impossible to leave out all mention of the First Council, if that Council had then been known. It is true, no doubt, that Subhadda's disloyalty was the chief cause of the First Council, but there was no necessity to mention that Council. On the contrary, it seems to me that the unity of the Parinibbāna-sutta would have been broken if, besides telling of the last days of Buddha, it had also given a full description of the Council. The very title, the Sutta of the Great Decease, would have become inappropriate, if so important a subject as the first Saṅgīti had been mixed up with it. However, how little we may trust to such general arguments, is best shown by the fact that in some very early Chinese renderings of the Hīnayāna text of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta the story is actually carried on to the First Council, two (Nos. 552 and 119) mentioning the rehearsal under Kāśyapa, while the third (No. 118) simply states that the Tipiṭaka was then collected².

¹ Loc. cit. pp. xxvi-xxviii.

² There are several Chinese translations of Sūtras on the subject of the Mahāparinirvāṇa. Three belong to the Mahāyāna school: 1. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, translated by Dharmarakṣa, about 414-423 A. D.; afterwards revised, 424-453 (Nos. 113, 114). 2. Translation by Fa-hian and Buddhahadra, about 415 A. D.; less complete (No. 120). 3. Translation (vaipulya) by Dharmarakṣa I, i. e. Ku Fa-hu, about 261-308 A. D. (No. 116). Three belong to the Hīnayāna school: 1. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, translated by Po-fa-tsu, about 290-306 A. D. (No. 552). 2. Translation under the Eastern Tsin dynasty, 317-420 A. D. (No. 119). 3. Translation by Fa-hian, about 415 A. D. (No. 118).

We must be satisfied therefore, so far as I can see at present, with fixing the date, and the latest date, of a Buddhist canon at the time of the Second Council, 377 B.C. That some works were added later, we know; that many of the treatises included in the canon existed before that Council, can hardly be doubted. The second chapter of the Dhammapada, for instance, is called the Appamâda-vagga, and if the Mahāvamsa (p. 25) tells us that at the time when Asoka was converted by Nigrodha, that Buddhist priest explained to him the Appamâda-vagga, we can hardly doubt that there existed then a collection (vagga) of verses on Appamâda, such as we now possess in the Dhammapada and in the Samyutta-nikâya¹.

With regard to the Vinaya, I should even feel inclined to admit, with Dr. Oldenberg, that it must have existed in a more or less settled form before that time. What I doubt is whether such terms as Piṭaka, basket, or Tipiṭaka, the three baskets, i.e. the canon, existed at that early time. They have not been met with, as yet, in any of the canonical books; and if the Dīpavamsa (IV, 32) uses the word 'Tipiṭaka,' when describing the First Council, this is due to its transferring new terms to older times. If Dr. Oldenberg speaks of a Dvi-piṭaka² as the name of the canon before the third basket, that of the Abhidhamma, was admitted, this seems to me an impossible name, because at the time when the Abhidhamma was not yet recognised as a third part of the canon, the word piṭaka had probably no existence as a technical term³.

We must always, I think, distinguish between the three portions of the canon, called the basket of the Suttas, the

¹ Feer, *Revue Critique*, 1870, No. 24, p. 377.

² Introduction, pp. x, xii.

³ Dr. Oldenberg informs me that piṭaka occurs in the Kaṅkīsuttanta in the *Magghima Nikāya* (Turnour's MS., fol. the), but applied to the Veda. He also refers to the tipīṭakâṭṭhāyas mentioned in the Western Cave inscriptions as compared with the Pañānekāyāka in the square Asoka character inscriptions (Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. lvi, No. 52). In the *Sūtrakṛd-aṅga* of the Gainas, too, the term piḍagam occurs (MS. Berol. fol. 77 a). He admits, however, that piṭaka or tipīṭaka, as the technical name of the Buddhist canon, has not yet been met with in that canon itself, and defends Dvīpiṭaka only as a convenient term.

basket of Vinaya, and the basket of Abhidhamma, and the three subjects of Dhamma (sutta), Vinaya, and Abhidhamma, treated in these baskets. The subjects existed and were taught long before the three baskets were definitely arranged. Dhamma had originally a much wider meaning than Sutta-piṭaka. It often means the whole teaching of Buddha; and even when it refers more particularly to the Sutta-piṭaka, we know that the Dhamma there taught deals largely with Vinaya and Abhidhamma doctrines. Even the fact that at the First Council, according to the description given in the *Kullavagga*, the Vinaya and Dhamma only were rehearsed, though proving the absence at that time of the Abhidhamma, as a separate Piṭaka, by no means excludes the subject of the Abhidhamma having been taught under the head of Dhamma. In the *Mahākaruṇāpundarīka-sūtra* the doctrine of Buddha is divided into Dharma and Vinaya; the Abhidharma is not mentioned. But the same text knows of all the twelve Dharmapraṣaṅganāni¹, the 1. Sūtra; 2. Geyā; 3. Vyākaraṇa; 4. Gāthā; 5. Udāna; 6. Nidāna; 7. Avadāna; 8. Itivṛttaka; 9. Gāthaka; 10. Vaipulya; 11. Adbhutadharma; 12. Upadesa; some of these being decidedly metaphysical.

To my mind nothing shows so well the historical character both of the *Kullavagga* and of Buddhaghosa in the Introduction to his commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*, as that the former, in its account of the First Council, should know only of the Vinaya, as rehearsed by Upāli, and the Dhamma, as rehearsed by Ānanda, while the much later Buddhaghosa, in his account of the First Council², divides the Dhamma into two parts, and states that the second part, the Abhidhamma, was rehearsed after the first part, the Dhamma. Between the time of the *Kullavagga* and the time of Buddhaghosa the Abhidhamma must have assumed its recognised position by the side of Vinaya and Sutta. It must be left to further researches to determine, if possible,

¹ See Academy, August 28, 1880, Division of Buddhist Scriptures.

² Oldenberg, Introduction, p. xii; Turnour, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vi, p. 510 seq.

the time when the name of *pitaka* was first used, and when *Tipitaka* was accepted as the title of the whole canon.

Whenever we see such traces of growth, we feel that we are on historical ground, and in that sense Dr. Oldenberg's researches into the growth of the *Vinaya*, previous to the Second Council, deserve the highest credit. He shows, in opposition to other scholars, that the earliest elements of *Vinaya* must be looked for in the short *Pâtimokkha* rules, which were afterwards supplemented by explanations, by glosses and commentaries, and in that form answered for some time every practical purpose. Then followed a new generation who, not being satisfied, as it would seem, with these brief rules and comments, wished to know the occasion on which these rules had been originally promulgated. What we now call the *Vibhaṅga*, i. e. the first and second divisions of the *Vinaya-pitaka*, is a collection of the stories, illustrating the origin of each rule, of the rules themselves (the *Pâtimokkha*), and of the glosses and comments on these rules.

The third and fourth books, the *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga*, are looked upon as possibly of a slightly later date. They treat, in a similar manner as the *Vibhaṅga*, on the rules not included in that collection, and give a general picture of the outward life of the monks. While the *Vibhaṅga* deals chiefly with the original so-called *pârâgika*, *saṅghâdisesa*, and *pâkittiya* offences, the *Khandhaka*, i. e. the *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga*, treats of the so-called *dukkaṭa* and *thullakāya* crimes. The arrangement is the same, story, rule, and comment succeeding each other in regular sequence.

If we follow the guidance of the *Vinaya-pitaka*, we should be able to distinguish the following steps in the growth of Buddhism before the Second Council of Vesālī :

1. Teaching of Buddha and his disciples (543/477 A. D. Buddha's death).
2. Collection of *Pâtimokkha* rules (first code).
3. Comment and glosses on these rules.
4. Stories in illustration of these rules (*vibhaṅga*).
5. *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga* (*Khandhaka*).

6. Council of Vesâlî for the repression of ten abuses
(443/377 A.D.)

7. Description of First and Second Councils in *Kullavagga*.

The *Kullavagga* ascribes the settlement of the canon to the First Council, and does not even claim a revision of that canon for the Second Council. The *Dîpavamsa* claims a revision of the canon by the 700 Arhats for the Second Council.

CHRONOLOGY.

In order to bring the Council of Vesâlî in connection with the chronology of the world, we must follow the Buddhist historians for another century. One hundred and eighteen years after the Council of Vesâlî they place the anointment of King Asoka, during whose reign a Third Council, under the presidency of Tissa Moggaliputta, took place at Pâtaliputta, the new capital adopted by that king, instead of Râgagaha and Vesâlî. This Council is chiefly known to us through the writings of the southern Buddhists (*Dîpavamsa*, *Mahāvamsa*, and *Buddhaghosa*), who belong to the school of Moggaliputta (Theravâda or Vibhaggavâda), which ruled supreme at Pâtaliputta, while Upagupta, the chief authority of the northern Buddhists, is altogether ignored in the Pâli chronicles.

Now it is well known that Asoka was the grandson of Kandagutta, and Kandagutta the contemporary of Alexander the Great. Here we see land, and I may refer to my History of Sanskrit Literature, published in 1859, for the process by which the storm-tossed ship of Indian chronology has been landed in the harbour of real historical chronology. We are told by the monks of the Mahāvihâra in Ceylon that Asoka was crowned, according to their computation, 146 + 18 years before the accession of Dutthagâmani, 161 B.C., i. e. 325 B.C.; that between his coronation and his father's death four years had elapsed (329 B.C.); that his father Bindusâra had reigned twenty-eight years¹ (357–329 B.C.), and Bindusâra's father, Kan-

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, p. 21.

dagutta, twenty-four years (381-357). As we know that *Kandagutta*, whom the Ceylonese place 381-357 B.C., was king of India after Alexander's conquest, it follows that Ceylonese chronology is wrong by more than half a century. For reasons stated in my *History of Sanskrit Literature*, I fix the exact fault in Ceylonese chronology as sixty-six years, assigning to *Kandagutta* the dates 315-291, instead of 381-357. This gives us 291-263 for Bindusâra, 259 for Asoka's abhisheka; $259 + 118 = 377$ for the Council of Vesâlî, and $377 + 100 = 477$ for Buddha's death, instead of 543 B.C.¹

These dates are, of course, approximate only, and they depend on one or two points on which people may differ. But, with that reservation, I see no ground whatever for modifying the chronological system which I put forward more than twenty years ago. Professor Westergaard and Professor Kern, who have since suggested different dates for the death of Buddha, do not really differ from me in principle, but only in their choice of one or the other alternative, which I readily admit as possible, but not as more certain than my own. Professor Westergaard², for instance, fixes Buddha's death at 368 (370), instead of 477. This seems a wide difference, but it is so in appearance only.

Following Justinus, who says that Sandrokyptos³ had conquered the empire of India at the time when Seleucus laid the foundations of his own greatness, I had accepted 315⁴, half-way between the murder of Porus and the taking of Babylon by Seleucus, as the probable beginning

¹ According to Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 361, the era of Buddha's death was introduced by Agâtasatru, at the conclusion of the First Council, and began in the year 146 of the older Eetzana era (p. 12). See, however, Rhys Davids, *Num. Orient.* vi, p. 38. In the *Kâranda-vyûha*, p. 96, a date is given as 300 after the Nirvâna, 'tritiye varshasate gate mama parinirvritasya.' In the *Asoka-avadâna* we read, *mama nirvritim ârabhya satavarshagata Upagupto nâma bhikshur utpatsyati.*

² *Über Buddha's Todesjahr* (1860), 1862.

³ The Greek name Sandrokyptus shows that the Pâli corruption *Kandagutta* was not yet the recognised name of the king.

⁴ Mr. Rhys Davids accepts 315 B.C. as the date when, after the murder of king Nanda, *Kandragupta* stepped into the vacant throne, though he had begun to count his reign seven or eight years before. *Buddhism*, p. 220.

of *Kandragupta's* reign. Westergaard prefers 320 as a more likely date for *Kandragupta*, and therefore places the death of the last Nanda and the beginning of *Asoka's* royal pretensions 268. Here there is a difference between him and me of five years, which depends chiefly on the view we take as to the time when Seleucus really laid what Justinus calls the foundation of his future greatness. Secondly, Westergaard actually adopts the idea, at which I only hinted as possible, that the southern Buddhists made two *Asokas* out of one, and two Councils out of one. Trusting in the tradition that 118 years elapsed between Buddha's death and the Council under *Asoka* (at *Pāṭaliputra*), and that the Council took place in the king's tenth year (as was the case with the imaginary *Kālāsoka's* Council), he gets $268 - 10 = 258$ as the date of the Council, and 368 or 370 as the date of Buddha's death¹.

The two points on which Westergaard differs from me, seem to me questions which should be kept before our mind in dealing with early Buddhist history, but which, for the present at least, admit of no definite solution.

The same remark seems to me to apply to the calculations of another eminent Sanskrit scholar, Professor Kern². He lays great stress on the general untrustworthiness of Indian chronology, and I am the last to differ from him on that point. He then places the beginning of *Kandragupta's* reign in 322 B.C. Allowing twenty-four years to him and twenty-eight to his son *Bindusāra*, he places the beginning of *Asoka's* reign in 270. *Asoka's* inscriptions would fall about 258. As *Asoka* reigned thirty-six or thirty-seven years, his death would fall in 234 or 233 B.C. Like Westergaard, Professor Kern too eliminates *Kālāsoka*, as a kind of chronological *Asoka*, and the Council of *Vaisālī*, and therefore places Buddha's death, according to the northern tradition, 100 or 110 years before *Dharmāsoka*, i.e. $270 + 100$ or $+ 110 = 370$ or 380³; while, according to the southern

¹ Westergaard, loc. cit. p. 128.

² Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten, 1873.

³ See Professor Kern's remark in *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 79.

tradition, that 118 years elapsed between Asoka's accession and Buddha's death, the Ceylonese monks would seem originally to have retained $270 + 118^1 = 388$ B.C. as Buddha's Nirvâṇa, a date which, as Professor Kern holds, happens to coincide with the date assigned to the death of Mahāvīra, the founder of the Gaina religion.

Here we see again that the moot point is the beginning of Kāndragupta's reign in accordance with the information supplied by Greek historians. Professor Kern places it in 322, Westergaard in 320, I myself in 315. That difference once granted, Dr. Kern's reasoning is the same as my own. According to the traditions which we follow, Buddha's death took place 100, 110, 118, or 228 years before Asoka. Hence Professor Westergaard arrives at 368 or 370 B.C. Professor Kern at 370 (380) or 388 B.C., I myself at 477 B.C. Every one of these dates is liable to certain objections, and if I prefer my own date, 477 B.C., it is simply because it seems to me liable to neither more nor less reservations than those of Professor Westergaard and Professor Kern, and because, so long as we always remember the grounds of our differences, namely, the beginning of Kāndragupta's reign, and the additional century, every one of these dates furnishes a good hypothesis to work on, until we can arrive at greater certainty in the ancient chronology of India.

To my mind all dates beyond Kāndragupta are as yet purely tentative, resting far more on a chronological theory than on actual tradition; and though I do not doubt the historical character of the Council of Vaisālī, I look upon the date assigned to it, on the authority of the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, as, for the present, hypothetical only.

¹ When Professor Kern states that the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 22) places the Third Council 218 years after Buddha's death, this is not so. Asoka's abhisheka takes place in that year. The prophecy that a calamity would befall their religion, 118 years after the Second Council (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 28), does not refer to the Council, but to Kāṇḍāsoka's accession, $477 - 218 = 259$ B.C.

B. C.

557. Buddha born.

552. Bimbisâra born.

537-485. Bimbisâra, 5 years younger than Buddha, was 15 when crowned, 30 or 31 when he met Buddha in 522.

485-453. Agâtasatru (4×8 years).477. Buddha's death ($485 - 8 = 477$).

477. COUNCIL AT RÂGAGRIHA under Kâsyapa, Ânanda, and Upâli.

453-437. Udâyibhadra (2×8 years).437-429. { Anuruddhaka (8 years).
 { Munda (at Pâtaliputra).429-405. Nâgadâsaka (3×8 years).

405-387. Sisunâga (at Vaisâlî).

387-359. Kâlâsoka.

377. COUNCIL AT VAISÂLÎ, under Yasas and Revata, a disciple of Ânanda ($259 + 118 = 377$).

359-337. Ten sons of Kâlâsoka (22 years).

337-315. Nine Nandas (22 years); the last, Dhana-nanda, killed by Kânakya.

315-291. Kandragupta ($477 - 162 = 315$; 3×8 years)¹.

291-263. Bindusâra.

263-259. Asoka, sub-king at Uggayinî, as pretender—his brothers killed.

259. Asoka anointed at Pâtaliputra ($477 - 218 = 259$).

256. Asoka converted by Nigrodha (D. V. VI, 18).

256-253. Building of Vihâras, Sthûpas, &c.

255. Conversion of Tishya (M. V. p. 34).

253. Ordination of Mahendra (born $477 - 204 = 273$).

251. Tishya and Sumitra die (D. V. VII, 32).

242. COUNCIL AT PÂTALIPUTRA ($259 - 17 = 242$; $477 - 236 = 241$), under Tishya Maudgalîputra ($477 - 236 = 241$; D. V. VII, 37).

241. Mahendra to Ceylon.

222. Asoka died ($259 - 37 = 222$).

193. Mahendra died (D. V. XVII, 93).

161. Duttâgâmani.

88-76. Vattagâmani, canon reduced to writing.

A. D.

400. Dîpavamsa.

420. Buddhaghosha, Pâli commentaries.

459-477. Mahâvamsa.

¹ Westergaard, 320-296; Kern, 322-298.

Though the preceding table, embodying in the main the results at which I arrived in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, still represents what I hold to be true or most probable with respect to Indian chronology, previous to the beginning of our era, yet I suppose I may be expected to say here a few words on the two latest attempts to fix the date of Buddha's death ; the one by Mr. Rhys Davids in the *Numismata Orientalia*, Part VI, 1877, the other by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1877 and 1878¹. Mr. Rhys Davids, to whom we owe so much for the elucidation of the history of Buddha's religion, accepts Westergaard's date for the beginning of Kāndragupta's reign, 320 B.C., instead of 322 (Kern), 315 (myself); and as he assigns (p. 41) to Bindusāra 25 years instead of 28 (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 21), he arrives at 268 as the year of Asoka's coronation². He admits that the argument derived from the mention of the five foreign kings in one of Asoka's inscriptions, dated the twelfth year of his reign, is too precarious to enable us to fix the date of Asoka's reign more definitely, and though, in a general way, that inscription confirms the date assigned by nearly all scholars to Asoka in the middle of the third century B.C., yet there is nothing in it that Asoka might not have written in 247 quite as well as in 258-261. What chiefly distinguishes Mr. Rhys Davids' chronology from that of his predecessors is the shortness of the period between Asoka's coronation and Buddha's death. On the strength of an examination of the list of kings and the list of the so-called patriarchs, he reduces the traditional 218 years to 140 or 150, and thus arrives at 412 B.C. as the probable beginning of the Buddhist era.

In this, however, I cannot follow him, but have to follow Dr. Bühler. As soon as I saw Dr. Bühler's first essay on the Three New Edicts of Asoka, I naturally felt delighted at the unexpected confirmation which he furnished of the date which I had assigned to Buddha's death, 477 B.C. And though I am quite aware of the

¹ Three New Edicts of Asoka, Bombay, 1877 ; Second Notice, Bombay, 1878.

² Mr. Rhys Davids on p. 50 assigns the 25 years of Bindusāra rightly to the Purāṇas, the 28 years to the Ceylon Chronicles.

danger of unexpected confirmations of one's own views, yet, after carefully weighing the objections raised by Mr. Rhys Davids and Professor Pischel against Dr. Bühler's arguments, I cannot think that they have shaken Dr. Bühler's position. I fully admit the difficulties in the phraseology of these inscriptions: but I ask, Who could have written these inscriptions, if not Asoka? And how, if written by Asoka, can the date which they contain mean anything but 256 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa? These points, however, have been argued in so masterly a manner by Dr. Bühler in his 'Second Notice,' that I should be afraid of weakening his case by adding anything of my own, and must refer my readers to his 'Second Notice.' Allowing that latitude which, owing to the doubtful readings of MSS., and the constant neglect of odd months, we must allow in the interpretation of Buddhist chronology, Asoka is the only king we know of who could have spoken of a thirty-fourth year since the beginning of his reign and since his conversion to Buddhism. And if he calls that year, say the very last of his reign (222 B.C.), 256 after the departure of the Master, we have a right to say that as early as Asoka's time, Buddha was believed to have died about 477 B.C. Whether the inscriptions have been accurately copied and rightly read is, however, a more serious question, and the doubts raised by Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahāvagga*, p. xxxviii) make a new collation of the originals absolutely indispensable, before we can definitely accept Dr. Bühler's interpretation.

I cannot share Dr. Bühler's opinion¹ as to the entire worthlessness of the *Gaina* chronology in confirming the date of Buddha's death. If the *Svetāmbara* *Gainas* place the death of Mahāvīra 470 before Vikramāditya, i. e. 56 B.C. + 470 = 526 B.C., and the *Digambaras* 605, i. e. 78 A.D. deducted from 605 = 527 B.C., this so far confirms Dr. Bühler's and Dr. Jacobi's brilliant discovery that Mahāvīra was the same as *Nigantʰa* Nātaputta, who died at Pāvā during Buddha's lifetime². Most likely 527 is too early a date, while another

¹ Three Edicts, p. 21; Second Notice, pp. 9, 10.

² See Jacobi, *Kalpa-sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, and Oldenberg, *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, XXXIV, p. 749.

tradition fixing Mahāvīra's death 155 years before Kāndragupta¹, 470 B.C., is too late. Yet they both show that the distance between Asoka (259–222 B.C.), the grandson of Kāndragupta (315–291 B.C.), and the contemporaries of Buddha was by the Gainas also believed to be one of two rather than one century.

When I saw that the date of Buddha's death, 477 B.C., which in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859) I had myself tried to support by such arguments as were then accessible, had received so powerful a support by the discovery of the inscriptions of Sahāsrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt, due to General Cunningham, who had himself always been an advocate of the date 477 B.C., and through their careful decipherment by Dr. Bühler, I lost no time in testing that date once more by the *Dīpavamsa*, that Ceylonese chronicle having lately become accessible through Dr. Oldenberg's edition and translation². And here I am able to say that, before having read Dr. Bühler's Second Notice, I arrived, though by a somewhat different way, at nearly the same conclusions as those so well worked out by Dr. Bühler in his restoration of the Episcopal Succession (therāvali) of the Buddhists, and therefore feel convinced that, making all such allowances as the case requires, we know now as much of early Buddhist chronology as could be known at the time of Asoka's Council, 242 B.C.

Taking the date of Buddha's death 477 B.C. for granted, I found that Upāli, who rehearsed the Vinaya at the First Council, 477 B.C., had been in orders sixty years in the twenty-fourth year of Agātasatru, i. e. 461 B.C., which was the sixteenth year A.B. He must therefore³ have been born in 541 B.C., and he died 447 B.C., i. e. thirty years A.B., at the age of 94. This is said to have been the sixth year of Udāyi, and so it is, $453 - 6 = 447$ B.C.

In the year 461 B.C. Dāsaka received orders from Upāli, who was then 80 years of age; and when Dāsaka had been

¹ Oldenberg, loc. cit. p. 750.

² The *Dīpavamsa*, an ancient Buddhist historical record. London, 1879.

³ Assuming twenty to be the minimum age at which a man could be ordained.

in orders forty-five years (*Dīpavaṃsa* IV, 41), he ordained Saunaka. This would give us $461 - 45 = 416$ B.C., while the tenth year of Nāgadāsa, $429 - 10$, would give us 419 A.D. Later on the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 78) allows an interval of forty years between the ordinations of Dāsaka and Saunaka, which would bring the date of Saunaka's ordination to 421 B.C., instead of 419 or 416 B.C. Here there is a fault which must be noted. Dāsaka died $461 - 64 = 397$ A.D., which is called the eighth year of Sisunāga, and so it is, $405 - 8 = 397$ A.D.

When Saunaka had been in orders forty years, i. e. $416 - 40 = 376$, Kālāsoka is said to have reigned a little over ten years, i. e. $387 - 11 = 376$ A.D., and in that year Saunaka ordained Siggava. He died $416 - 66 = 350$ A.D., which is called the sixth year of the Ten, while in reality it is the ninth, $359 - 6 = 353$ A.D. If, however, we take 419 as the year of Saunaka's ordination, his death would fall $419 - 66 = 353$ B.C.

Siggava, when he had been in orders sixty-four years, ordained Tishya Maudgalīputra. This date $376 - 64 = 312$ B.C. is called more than two years after Kāndragupta's accession, and so it very nearly is, $315 - 2 = 313$.

Siggava died when he had been in orders seventy-six years, i. e. $376 - 76 = 300$ A.D. This year is called the fourteenth year of Kāndragupta, which it very nearly is, $315 - 14 = 301$.

When Tishya had been in orders sixty¹ years, he ordained Mahendra, $312 - 60 = 252$ B.C. This is called six years after Asoka's coronation, $259 - 6 = 253$, and so it very nearly is. He died $312 - 80 = 232$ B.C., which is called the twenty-sixth year of Asoka, and so it very nearly is.

¹ I take 60 (80), as given in *Dīpavaṃsa* V, 95, 107, instead of 66 (86), as given in *Dīpavaṃsa* V, 94.

BUDDHIST PATRIARCHS.

	Birth.	Ordination.	Ordination of successor.	Death.	Age.	Patriarchate.
Upâli	(Generally 20 years before ordination.)	527	461	447	94	30
Dâsaka		461	416	397	84	50
			419			
		45 } 42 } 40 }	421 }			
Saunaka	„	416	376	350 353	86	44 (47)
		419	379			
		421 (40)	381 }			
Siggava	„	376½ (64)	312½	300½	96	50 (52)
Tishya	„	312½ (60)	253	233	100	68
Mahendra	273	253	„	193	80	40
						282 (284)

If we test the dates of this table by the length of time assigned to each patriarchate, we find that Upâli ruled thirty years, from Buddha's death, 477 to 447; Dâsaka fifty years. To Saunaka forty-four years are assigned, instead of forty-seven, owing to a fault pointed out before; and to Siggava fifty-two years, or fifty-five¹ instead of fifty. Tishya's patriarchate is said to have lasted sixty-eight years, which agrees with previous statements.

Lastly, the years of the death of the six patriarchs, as fixed according to the reigns of the kings of Magadha, agree extremely well.

Upâli died in the sixth year of Udâyi, i. e. 453—6=447 B.C.

Dâsaka died in the eighth year of Sisunâga, i. e. 405—8=397 B.C.

Saunaka died in the sixth year of the Ten, i. e. 359—6=353 B.C., showing again the difference of three years.

¹ The combined patriarchates of Saunaka and Siggava are given as 99 by the *Dîpavamsa*.

Siggava died in the fourteenth year of *Kandragupta*, i. e. 315—14=301 B.C.

Tishya died in the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh year of *Asoka*, i. e. 259—27=233 B.C.

This general and more than general agreement between dates taken from the history of the kings and the history of the patriarchs leaves on my mind a decided impression of a tradition which, though not strictly historical, in our sense of the word, represents at all events the result of such enquiries as could be made into the past ages of Buddhism at the time of *Asoka*. There are difficulties in that tradition which would certainly have been avoided, if the whole chronology had been simply made up: but there is no doubt a certain method too perceptible throughout, which warns us that we must not mistake a smooth chronology for solid history.

THE TITLE OF DHAMMAPADA.

The title of *Dhammapada* has been interpreted in various ways. It is an ambiguous word, and has been accepted as such by the Buddhists themselves. *Dhamma* has many meanings. Under one aspect it means religion, particularly the religion taught by *Buddha*, the law which every Buddhist should accept and observe. Under another aspect *dhamma* is virtue, or the realisation of the law.

Pada also has many meanings. In the *Abhidhânapadîpikâ* it is explained by place, protection, *Nirvâna*, cause, word, thing, portion, foot, footstep.

Hence *dhammapada* may mean 'footstep of religion,' and thus the title was first rendered by Gogerly, only that he used the plural instead of the singular, and called it 'The Footsteps of Religion,' while *Spence Hardy* still more freely called it 'The Paths of Religion.' It may be quite true, as pointed out by *Childers*, that *pada* by itself never means path. But it means footstep, and the footstep towards a thing is much the same as what we call the path to a thing. Thus we read, verse 21, '*appamâdo amatapadam*,' earnestness is the step, i.e. the path that leads to immor-

tality. Again, 'pamâdo makḥuno padam' can hardly mean anything but that thoughtlessness is the path of death, is the path that leads to death. The commentator, too, rightly explains it here by amatasya adhigamupâya, the means of obtaining immortality, i. e. Nirvâna, or simply by upâyo, and even by maggo, the way. If we compare verses 92 and 93 of our text, and verses 254 and 255, we see that pada is used synonymously with gati, going. In the same manner dhammapada would mean the footstep or the footpath of virtue, i. e. the path that leads to virtue, and supply a very appropriate title for a collection of moral precepts. In verses 44 and 45 'path of virtue' seems to be the most appropriate meaning for dhammapada¹, and it is hardly possible to assign any other meaning to it in the following verse (*Kundasutta*, v. 6) :

Yo dhammapade sudesite
 Magge gîvati saññato satimâ,
 Anavagga-padâni sevamâno
 Tatîyam bhikkhum âhu maggagîvim,

'He who lives restrained and attentive in the way that has been well pointed out, in the path of the law, cultivating blameless words, such a Bhikkhu they call a Maggagîvi (living in the way).'

I therefore think that 'Path of Virtue,' or 'Footstep of the Law,' was the idea most prominent in the mind of those who originally framed the title of this collection of verses. It seems to me that Buddhaghosa also took the same view, for the verse which D'Alwis² quotes from the introduction of Buddhaghosa's commentary,—

Sampatta-saddhammapado satthâ dhammapadam subham
 Desesi,

and which he translates, 'The Teacher who had reached the very depths (lit. bottom) of Saddhamma, preached this holy Dhammapada,'—lends itself far better to another translation, viz. 'The Teacher who had gained a firm

¹ Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 285, nibbânam sugaṭen desitam.

² *Buddhist Nirvâna*, p. 62.

footing in the Good Law, showed (preached) the holy Path of the Law.'

Gogerly, again, who may generally be taken as a faithful representative of the tradition of the Buddhists still preserved in Ceylon, translates the title by the 'Footsteps of Religion,' so that there can be little doubt that the priests of that island accept Dhammapada in the sense of 'Vestiges of Religion,' or, from a different point of view, 'The Path of Virtue.'

M. L. Feer¹ takes a slightly different view, and assigning to pada the meaning of foot or base, he translates Dhammapada by *Loi fondamentale*, or *Base de la Religion*.

But it cannot be denied that the title of Dhammapada was very soon understood in a different sense also, namely, as 'Sentences of Religion.' Pada means certainly a foot of a verse, a verse, or a line, and dhammapadam actually occurs in the sense of a 'religious sentence.' Thus we read in verse 102, 'Though a man recite a hundred Gâthâs made up of senseless words, one dhammapadam, i. e. one single word or line of the law, is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.' But here we see at once the difficulty of translating the title of 'dhammapadam' by 'religious sentences.' Dhammapadam means one law verse, or wise saw, not many. Professor Fausböll, who in his excellent edition of the Dhammapada translated that title by 'a collection of verses on religion,' appeals to such passages as verses 44 and 102 in support of his interpretation. But in verse 42 dhammapadam sudesitam, even if it does not mean the path of the law, could never mean 'versus legis bene enarratos,' but only *versum legis bene enarratum*, as Dr. Fausböll himself renders *ekam dhammapadam*, in verse 102, by *unus legis versus*. Buddhaghosa, too, when he speaks of many law verses uses the plural, for instance², 'Be it known that the Gâthâ consists of the Dhammapadâni, Theragâthâ, Therīgâthâ, and those unmixed (detached) Gâthâ not comprehended in any of the above-named Suttânta.'

¹ *Revue Critique*, 1870, p. 378.

² D'Alwis, *Pâli Grammar*, p. 61.

The only way in which Dhammapada could be defended in the sense of 'Collection of Verses of the Law,' would be if we took it for an aggregate compound. But such aggregate compounds, in Sanskrit at least, are possible with numerals only; for instance, *tribhuvanam*, the three worlds; *ṣaturyugam*, the four ages¹. It might therefore be possible in Pāli, too, to form such compounds as *daśa-padam*, a collection of ten *padas*, a work consisting of ten *padas*, a decamerone, but it would in no wise follow that we could in that language attempt such a compound as *Dhammapadam*, in order to express a collection of law verses². Mr. Beal³ informs us that the Chinese seem to have taken *Dhammapada* in the sense of 'stanzas of law,' 'law texts,' or 'scripture texts.'

It should be remembered, also, that the idea of representing life, and particularly the life of the faithful, as a path of duty or virtue leading to deliverance, (in Sanskrit *dharmapatha*,) is very familiar to Buddhists. The four great truths of their religion⁴ consist in the recognition of the following principles: 1. that there is suffering; 2. that there is a cause of that suffering; 3. that such cause can be removed; 4. that there is a way of deliverance, viz. the doctrine of Buddha. This way is the *āṣṭāṅga-mārga*, the eightfold way⁵, taught by Buddha, and leading to *Nirvāṇa*⁶. The faithful advances on that road, *padāṭṭha-padam*,

¹ See M. M.'s Sanskrit Grammar, § 519.

² Mr. D'Alwis' arguments (*Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, pp. 63-67) in support of this view, viz. the *dhammapada* may be a collective term, do not seem to me to strengthen my own conjecture.

³ *Dhammapada* from Chinese, p. 4.

⁴ Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 496.

⁵ Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 520, 'Ajoutons, pour terminer ce que nous trouvons à dire sur le mot *magga*, quelque commentaire qu'on en donne d'ailleurs, que suivant une définition rapportée par Turnour, le *magga* renferme une sous-division que l'on nomme *paṭipadā*, en sanscrit *pratipad*. Le *magga*, dit Turnour, est la voie qui conduit au *Nibbāna*, la *paṭipadā*, littéralement "la marche pas à pas, ou le degré," est la vie de rectitude qu'on doit suivre, quand on marche dans la voie du *magga*.'

⁶ See Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 496. Should not *ṣaturvidha-dharmapada*, mentioned on p. 497, be translated by 'the fourfold path of the Law?' It can hardly be the fourfold word of the Law.

step by step, and it is therefore called *paṭipadā*, lit. the step by step.

If we make allowance for these ambiguities, inherent in the name of *Dhammapada*, we may well understand how the Buddhists themselves play with the word *pada* (see v. 45). Thus we read in Mr. Beal's translation of a Chinese version of the *Prātimoksha* ¹:

‘Let all those who desire such birth,
Who now are living in the world,
Guard and preserve these Precepts, as feet.’

TRANSLATION.

In translating the verses of the *Dhammapada*, I have followed the edition of the Pāli text, published in 1855 by Dr. Fausböll, and I have derived great advantage from his Latin translation, his notes, and his copious extracts from Buddhaghosa's commentary. I have also consulted translations, either of the whole of the *Dhammapada*, or of portions of it, by Burnouf, Gogerly ², Upham, Weber, and others. Though it will be seen that in many places my translation differs from those of my predecessors, I can only claim for myself the name of a very humble gleaner in this field of Pāli literature. The greatest credit is due to Dr. Fausböll, whose editio princeps of the *Dhammapada* will mark for ever an important epoch in the history of Pāli scholarship; and though later critics have been able to point out some mistakes, both in his text and in his translation, the value of their labours is not to be compared with that of the work accomplished single-handed by that eminent Danish scholar.

In revising my translation, first published in 1870 ³, for

¹ Catena, p. 207.

² ‘Several of the chapters have been translated by Mr. Gogerly, and have appeared in *The Friend*, vol. iv, 1840.’ (Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 169.)

³ *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, translated from Burmese by Captain T. Rogers, R. E. With an Introduction, containing Buddha's *Dhammapada*, translated from Pāli by F. Max Müller. London, 1870.

the Sacred Books of the East, I have been able to avail myself of 'Notes on Dhammapada,' published by Childers in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (May, 1871), and of valuable hints as to the meaning of certain words and verses scattered about in the Pâli Dictionary of that much regretted scholar, 1875. I have carefully weighed the remarks of Mr. James D'Alwis in his 'Buddhist Nirvâna, a review of Max Müller's Dhammapada' (Colombo, 1871), and accepted some of his suggestions. Some very successful renderings of a number of verses by Mr. Rhys Davids in his 'Buddhism,' and a French translation, too, of the Dhammapada, published by Fernand Hû¹, have been consulted with advantage.

It was hoped for a time that much assistance for a more accurate understanding of this work might be derived from a Chinese translation of the Dhammapada², of which Mr. S. Beal published an English translation in 1878. But this hope has not been entirely fulfilled. It was, no doubt, a discovery of great interest, when Mr. Beal announced that the text of the Dhammapada was not restricted to the southern Buddhists only, but that similar collections existed in the north, and had been translated into Chinese. It was equally important when Schiefner proved the existence of the same work in the sacred canon of the Tibetans. But as yet neither a Chinese nor a Tibetan translation of the Pâli Dhammapada has been rendered accessible to us by translations of these translations into English or German, and what we have received instead, cannot make up for what we had hoped for.

The state of the case is this. There are, as Mr. Beal informs us, four principal copies of what may be called Dhammapada in Chinese, the first dating from the Wu dynasty, about the beginning of the third century A.D. This translation, called Fa-kheu-king, is the work of a

¹ Le Dhammapada avec introduction et notes par Fernand Hû, suivi du Sutra en 42 articles, traduit du Tibetain, par Léon Feer. Paris, 1878.

² Texts from the Buddhist Canon, commonly known as Dhammapada, translated from the Chinese by Samuel Beal. London, 1878.

Shaman Wei-*ki*-lan and others. Its title means 'the Sûtra of Law verses,' *kheu* being explained by *gâthâ*, a verse, a word which we shall meet with again in the Tibetan title, *Gâthâsaṅgraha*. In the preface the Chinese translator states that the Shamans in after ages copied from the canonical scriptures various *gâthâs*, some of four lines and some of six, and attached to each set of verses a title, according to the subject therein explained. This work of extracting and collecting is ascribed to Tsun-*ke*-Fa-kieou, i. e. Ārya-Dharmatrāta, the author of the *Samyuktābhidharma-sāstra* and other works, and the uncle of Vasumitra. If this Vasumitra was the patriarch who took a prominent part in the Council under Kanishka, Dharmatrāta's collection would belong to the first century B.C.; but this is, as yet, very doubtful.

In the preface to the Fa-*kheu*-king we are told that the original, which consisted of 500 verses, was brought from India by Wai-*ki*-lan in 223 A.D., and that it was translated into Chinese with the help of another Indian called Tsiang-sin. After the translation was finished, thirteen sections were added, making up the whole to 752 verses, 14,580 words, and 39 chapters¹.

If the Chinese translation is compared with the Pāli text, it appears that the two agree from the 9th to the 35th chapter (with the exception of the 33rd), so far as their subjects are concerned, though the Chinese has in these chapters 79 verses more than the Pāli. But the Chinese translation has eight additional chapters in the beginning (viz. On Intemperance, Inciting to Wisdom, The *Srāvaka*, Simple Faith, Observance of Duty, Reflection, Loving-kindness, Conversation), and four at the end (viz. *Nirvāṇa*, Birth and Death, Profit of Religion, and Good Fortune), and one between the 24th and 25th chapter of the Pāli text (viz. Advantageous Service), all of which are absent in our Pāli texts. This, the most ancient

¹ Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 30. The real number of verses, however, is 760. In the Pāli text, too, there are five verses more than stated in the Index; see M. M., *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, p. ix, note; Beal, loc. cit. p. 11, note.

Chinese translation of Dharmatrâta's work, has not been rendered into English by Mr. Beal, but he assures us that it is a faithful reproduction of the original. The book which he has chosen for translation is the Fa-kheu-pi-ü, i. e. parables connected with the Dhammapada, and translated into Chinese by two Shamans of the western Tsin dynasty (A.D. 265-313). These parables are meant to illustrate the teaching of the verses, like the parables of Buddhaghosa, but they are not the same parables, nor do they illustrate all the verses.

A third Chinese version is called *Kuh-yan-king*, i. e. the *Sûtra of the Dawn* (*avadâna?*), consisting of seven volumes. Its author was Dharmatrâta, its translator *Ku-fo-nien* (*Buddhasmṛiti*), about 410 A.D. The MS. of the work is said to have been brought from India by a Shaman *Saṅghabhadaṅga* of Kipin (Cabul), about 345 A.D. It is a much more extensive work in 33 chapters, the last being, as in the Pâli text, on the *Brâhmaṇa*.

A fourth translation dates from the Sung dynasty (800 or 900 A.D.), and in it, too, the authorship of the text is ascribed to *Ârya-Dharmatrâta*.

A Tibetan translation of a Dhammapada was discovered by Schiefner in the 28th volume of the *Sûtras*, in the collection called *Udânavarga*. It contains 33 chapters, and more than 1000 verses, of which about one-fourth only can be traced in the Pâli text. The same collection is found also in the *Tangur*, vol. 71 of the *Sûtras*, foll. 1-53, followed by a commentary, the *Udânavarga-vivarana* by the *Âkârya Pragñâvarman*. Unfortunately Schiefner's intention of publishing a translation of it (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. viii. p. 560) has been frustrated by his death. All that he gives us in his last paper is the Tibetan text with translation of another shorter collection, the *Gâthâsaṅgraha* by *Vasubandhu*, equally published in the 72nd volume of the *Sûtras* in the *Tangur*, and accompanied by a commentary.

SPELLING OF BUDDHIST TERMS.

I had on a former occasion¹ pleaded so strongly in favour of retaining, as much as possible, the original Sanskrit forms of Pāli Buddhist terms, that I feel bound to confess openly that I hold this opinion no longer, or, at all events, that I see it is hopeless to expect that Pāli scholars will accept my proposal. My arguments were these: 'Most of the technical terms employed by Buddhist writers come from Sanskrit; and in the eyes of the philologist the various forms which they have assumed in Pāli, in Burmese, in Tibetan, in Chinese, in Mongolian, are only so many corruptions of the same original form. Everything, therefore, would seem to be in favour of retaining the Sanskrit forms throughout, and of writing, for instance, Nirvāṇa instead of the Pāli Nibbāna, the Burmese Niban or Nepbhān, the Siamese Niruphan, the Chinese Nipan. The only hope, in fact, that writers on Buddhism will ever arrive at a uniform and generally intelligible phraseology seems to lie in their agreeing to use throughout the Sanskrit terms in their original form, (instead of the various local disguises and disfigurements which they present in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Tibet, China, and Mongolia.)'

I fully admitted that many Buddhist words have assumed such a strongly marked local or national character in the different countries and in the different languages in which the religion of Buddha has found a new home, that to translate them back into Sanskrit might seem as affected, nay, prove in certain cases as misleading, as if, in speaking of priests and kings, we were to speak of presbyters and cynings. The rule by which I meant mainly to be guided was to use the Sanskrit forms as much as possible; in fact, everywhere except where it seemed affected to do so. I therefore wrote Buddhaghosha instead of the Pāli Buddhaghosa, because the name of that famous theologian, 'the Voice of Buddha,' seemed to lose its significance if turned

¹ Introduction to Buddhaghosha's Parables, 1870, p. 1.

into Buddhaghosa. But I was well aware what may be said on the other side. The name of Buddhaghosa, 'Voice of Buddha,' was given him after he had been converted from Brahmanism to Buddhism, and it was given to him by people to whom the Pāli word *ghosa* conveyed the same meaning as *ghosha* does to us. On the other hand, I retained the Pāli *Dhammapada* instead of *Dharmapada*, simply because, as the title of a Pāli book, it has become so familiar that to speak of it as *Dharmapada* seemed like speaking of another work. We are accustomed to speak of *Samanas* instead of *Sramanas*, for even in the days of Alexander's conquest, the Sanskrit word *Sramaṇa* had assumed the prakritized or vulgar form which we find in Pāli, and which alone could have been rendered by the later Greek writers (first by Alexander Polyhistor, 80–60 B.C.) by *σάμνατοι*¹. As a Buddhist term, the Pāli form *Samana* has so entirely supplanted that of *Sramaṇa* that, even in the *Dhammapada* (v. 388), we find an etymology of *Samana* as derived from *sam*, 'to be quiet,' and not from *sram*, 'to toil.' But if we speak of *Samanas*, we ought also to speak of *Bāhmanas* instead of *Brāhmanas*, for this word had been replaced by *bāhmaṇa* at so early a time, that in the *Dhammapada* it is derived from a root *vah*, 'to remove, to separate, to cleanse'².

I still believe that it would be best if writers on Buddhist literature and religion were to adopt Sanskrit throughout as the *lingua franca*. For an accurate understanding of the original meaning of most of the technical terms of Buddhism a knowledge of their Sanskrit form is indispensable; and nothing is lost, while much would be gained, if, even in the treating of southern Buddhism, we were to

¹ See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. p. 700, note. That Lassen is right in taking the *Σαμῆναι*, mentioned by Megasthenes, for Brahmanic, not for Buddhist ascetics, might be proved also by their dress. Dresses made of the bark of trees are not strictly Buddhistic.

² See *Dhammapada*, v. 388; Bastian, *Völker des östlichen Asien*, vol. iii. p. 412: 'Ein buddhistischer Mönch erklärte mir, dass die Brahmanen ihren Namen führten, als Leute, die ihre Sünden abgespült hätten.' See also *Lalitavistara*, p. 551, line 1; p. 553, line 7.

speak of the town of *Srāvastī* instead of *Sāvatthi* in Pāli, *Sevet* in Sinhalese ; of *Tripitaka*, 'the three baskets,' instead of *Tipitaka* in Pāli, *Tunpitaka* in Sinhalese ; of *Arthakathā*, 'commentary,' instead of *Atthakathā* in Pāli, *Atuwāva* in Sinhalese ; and therefore also of *Dharmapada*, 'the path of virtue,' instead of *Dhammapada*.

But inclinations are stronger than arguments. Pāli scholars prefer their Pāli terms, and I cannot blame them for it. Mr. D'Alwis (*Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 68) says : 'It will be seen how very difficult it is to follow the rule rigidly. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that in translating Pāli works, at least, much inconvenience may not be felt by the retention of the forms of the language in which the Buddhist doctrines were originally delivered.' For the sake of uniformity, therefore, I have given up my former plan. I use the Pāli forms when I quote from Pāli, but I still prefer the Sanskrit forms, not only when I quote from Sanskrit Buddhist books, but also when I have to speak of Buddhism in general. I speak of *Nirvāṇa*, *dharma*, and *bhikṣu*, rather than of *Nibbāṇa*, *dhamma*, and *bhikkhu*, when discussing the meaning of these words without special reference to southern Buddhism ; but when treating of the literature and religion of the Theravāda school I must so far yield to the arguments of Pāli scholars as to admit that it is but fair to use their language when speaking of their opinions.

DHAMMAPADA.

DHAMMAPADA.

CHAPTER I.

THE TWIN-VERSES.

1. All that we are is the result of what we have thought : it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage.

1. Dharma, though clear in its meaning, is difficult to translate. It has different meanings in different systems of philosophy, and its peculiar application in the phraseology of Buddhism has been fully elucidated by Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, p. 41 seq. He writes : 'Je traduis ordinairement ce terme par condition, d'autres fois par lois, mais aucune de ces traductions n'est parfaitement complète ; il faut entendre par dharma ce qui fait qu'une chose est ce qu'elle est, ce qui constitue sa nature propre, comme l'a bien montré Lassen, à l'occasion de la célèbre formule, "Ye dharmâ hetuprabhavâ." Etymologically the Latin *for-ma* expresses the same general idea which was expressed by *dhar-ma*. See also Burnouf, *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 524. Fausbøll translates : '*Naturae a mente principium ducunt*,' which shows that he rightly understood dharma in the Buddhist sense. Gogerly (see Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 28) translates : '*Mind precedes action*,' which, if not wrong, is at all events wrongly expressed ; while Professor Weber's rendering, '*Die Pflichten aus dem Herz folgern*,' is quite inadmissible. D'Alwis (*Buddhist Nirwana*, p. 70 seq.), following the commentary, proposes to give a more technical interpretation of this verse, viz. '*Mind is the leader of all its faculties. Mind is the chief (of all its faculties). The very mind is made up of those (faculties). If one speaks or acts with a polluted mind, then affliction follows him as the wheel follows the feet of the bearer (the bullock).*' To me this technical acceptance

2. All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.

3. 'He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,'—in those who harbour such thoughts hatred will never cease.

4. 'He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,'—in those who do not harbour such thoughts hatred will cease.

seems not applicable here, where we have to deal with the simplest moral precepts, and not with psychological niceties of Buddhist philosophy. It should be stated, however, that Childers, who first (s.v. *dhamma*) approved of my translation, seems afterwards to have changed his opinion. On p. 120 of his excellent Pāli Dictionary he said: 'Three of the five *khandhas*, viz. *vedanā*, *saññā*, and *saṅkhāra*, are collectively termed *dhammā* (plur.), "mental faculties," and in the first verse of *Dhammapada* the commentator takes the word *dhammā* to mean those three faculties. But this interpretation appears forced and unnatural, and I look upon Dr. Max Müller's translation, "All that we are is the result of what we have thought," as the best possible rendering of the spirit of the phrase *mano pubbaṅgamā dhammā*.' But on p. 577 the same scholar writes: 'Of the four mental *khandhas* the superiority of *viññāna* is strongly asserted in the first verse of *Dhammapada*, "The mental faculties (*vedanā*, *saññā*, and *saṅkhāra*) are dominated by Mind, they are governed by Mind, they are made up of Mind." That this is the true meaning of the passage I am now convinced; see D'Alwis, *Nirwana*, pp. 70-75.' I do not deny that this may have been the traditional interpretation, at all events since the days of Buddhaghosa, but the very legend quoted by Buddhaghosa in illustration of this verse shows that its simpler and purely moral interpretation was likewise supported by tradition, and I therefore adhere to my original translation.

2. See Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 169.

3. On *akkokkhi*, see *Kakkāyana* VI, 4, 17. D'Alwis, Pāli Grammar, p. 38 note. 'When *akkokkhi* means "he abused," it is derived from *krus*, not from *krudh*.' See Senart, *Kakkāyana*, l. c.

5. For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time : hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule.]

6. The world does not know that we must all come to an end here ;—but those who know it, their quarrels cease at once.

7. He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle, and weak, Mâra (the tempter) will certainly overthrow him, as the wind throws down a weak tree.

8. He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled, moderate in his food, faithful and strong, him Mâra will certainly not overthrow, any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.

9. He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress.

6. Pare is explained by 'fools,' but it has that meaning by implication only. It is *oi πολλοι*, cf. Vinaya, ed. Oldenberg, vol. i. p. 5, l. 4. Yamâmase, a 1 pers. plur. imp. Âtm., but really a *Le* in Pâli. See Fausbøll, Five Gâtakas, p. 38.

7. Mâra must be taken in the Buddhist sense of 'tempter,' or 'evil spirit.' See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 76 : 'Mâra est le démon de l'amour, du péché et de la mort ; c'est le tentateur et l'ennemi de Buddha.' As to the definite meaning of *vîrya*, see Burnouf, Lotus, p. 548.

In the Buddhistical Sanskrit, *kuśīda*, 'idle,' is the exact counterpart of the Pâli *kuśīta* ; see Burnouf, Lotus, p. 548. On the change of Sanskrit *d* into Pâli *t*, see Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 40 ; Weber, Ind. Studien, XIII, p. 135.

9. The dark yellow dress, the *Kâsâva* or *Kâshâya*, is the distinctive garment of the Buddhist priests. See Vishnu-sûtra LXIII, 36. The play on the words *anikkasâvo kâsâvam*, or in Sanskrit *anishkashâya/kâshâyam*, cannot be rendered in English. *Kashâya* means 'impurity,' *nish-kashâya*, 'free from impurity,' *anish-kashâya*, 'not free from impurity,' while *kâshâya* is the name of the yellowish

10. But he who has cleansed himself from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and regards also temperance and truth, he is indeed worthy of the yellow dress.

11. They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth, never arrive at truth, but follow vain desires.

12. They who know truth in truth, and untruth in untruth, arrive at truth, and follow true desires.

13. As rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind.

14. As rain does not break through a well-thatched house, passion will not break through a well-reflecting mind.

15. The evil-doer mourns in this world, and he

Buddhist garment. The pun is evidently a favourite one, for, as Fausböll shows, it occurs also in the Mahâbhârata, XII, 568 :

Anishkashâye kâshâyam îhârtham iti viddhi tam,

Dharmadhvagânâm mundânâm vrîtyartham iti me matiḥ.

‘Know that this yellow-coloured garment on a man who is not free from impurity, serves only for the purpose of cupidity ; my opinion is, that it is meant to supply the means of living to those shavelings, who carry their virtue or the dharma like a flag.’

(I read *vrîtyartham*, according to the Bombay edition, instead of *krîârtham*, the reading of the Calcutta edition.)

On the exact colour of the dress, see Bishop Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Budha of the Burmese*, Rangoon, 1866, p. 504. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 198.

10. With regard to *sîla*, ‘virtue,’ see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 547.

11, 12. *Sâra*, which I have translated by ‘truth,’ has many meanings in Sanskrit. It means the sap of a thing, then essence or reality ; in a metaphysical sense, the highest reality ; in a moral sense, truth. It is impossible in a translation to do more than indicate the meaning of such words, and in order to understand them fully, we must know not only their definition, but their history. See Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 64.

13. See Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 65.

15. *Kiliṭṭha* is *klishṭa*, a participle of *klis*. It means literally,

mourns in the next ; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil of his own work.

16. The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next ; he delights in both. He delights and rejoices, when he sees the purity of his own work.

17. The evil-doer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next ; he suffers in both. He suffers when he thinks of the evil he has done ; he suffers more when going on the evil path.

18. The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next ; he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done ; he is still more happy when going on the good path.

19. The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion (of the law), but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.

what is spoilt. The abstract noun *klesa*, 'evil or sin,' is constantly employed in Buddhist works ; see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 443.

16. Like *klisha* in the preceding verse, *visuddhi* in the present has a technical meaning. One of Buddhaghosa's most famous works is called *Visuddhi-magga*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 844 ; Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 67.

17, 18. 'The evil path and the good path' are technical expressions for the descending and ascending scale of worlds through which all beings have to travel upward or downward, according to their deeds ; see Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 5, note 4, and p. 449 ; Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 599 ; *Lotus*, p. 865, l. 7 ; l. 11. Fausbøll translates 'heaven and hell,' which comes to the same ; cf. vv. 126, 306.

19. In taking *sahitam* in the sense of *samhitam* or *samhitā*, I follow the commentator who says, *Tepiṭakassa Buddhavaṇanass' etam nāmaṃ*, but I cannot find another passage where the *Tipiṭaka*, or any portion of it, is called *Sahita*. *Samhita* in vv. 100-102 has a different meaning. The fact that some followers of Buddha were

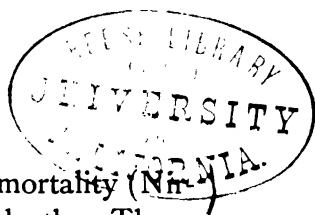
20. The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion (of the law), but, having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he, caring for nothing in this world or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood.

allowed to learn short portions only of the sacred writings by heart, and to repeat them, while others had to learn a larger collection, is shown by the story of *Kakkhupâla*, p. 3, of *Mahâkâla*, p. 26, &c. See Childers, s. v. *sahita*.

20. *Sâmañña*, which I have rendered by 'priesthood,' expresses all that belongs to, or constitutes a real *Samana* or *Sramana*, this being the Buddhist name corresponding to the *Brâhmana*, or priest, of the orthodox Hindus. Buddha himself is frequently called the Good *Samana*. Fausbøll takes the abstract word *sâmañña* as corresponding to the Sanskrit *sâmânya*, 'community,' but Weber has well shown that it ought to be taken as representing *srâmanya*. He might have quoted the *Sâmañña-phala-sutta*, of which Burnouf has given such interesting details in his *Lotus*, p. 449 seq. Fausbøll also, in his notes on v. 332, rightly explains *sâmañnatâ* by *srâmanyatâ*. See Childers, s. v. *sâmañña*.

Anupâdiyâno, which I have translated by 'caring for nothing,' has a technical meaning. It is the negative of the fourth *Nidâna*, the so-called *Upâdâna*, which Köppen has well explained by *Anhänglichkeit*, 'taking to the world, loving the world.' Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, p. 610. Cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 470.

CHAPTER II.

ON EARNESTNESS¹.

21. Earnestness is the path of immortality (Nirvâna), thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.

22. Those who are advanced in earnestness, having understood this clearly, delight in earnestness, and rejoice in the knowledge of the Ariyas (the elect).

23. These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvâna, the highest happiness.

¹ There is nothing in the tenth section of the Dhammapada, as translated by Beal, corresponding to the verses of this chapter.

21. Apramâda, which Fausböll translates by 'vigilantia,' Gogerly by 'religion,' Childers by 'diligence,' expresses literally the absence of that giddiness or thoughtlessness which characterizes the state of mind of worldly people. It is the first entering into oneself, and hence all virtues are said to have their root in apramâda. (Ye keṇi kusalâ dhammâ sabbe te appamâdamûlakâ.) I have translated it by 'earnestness,' sometimes by 'reflection.' 'Immortality,' amrita, is explained by Buddhaghosa as Nirvâna. Amrita is used, no doubt, as a synonym of Nirvâna, but this very fact shows how many different conceptions entered from the very first into the Nirvâna of the Buddhists. See Childers, s. v. nibbâna, p. 269.

This verse, as recited to Asoka, occurs in the Dîpavamsa VI, 53, and in the Mahâvamsa, p. 25. See also Sanatsugâtîya, translated by Telang, Sacred Books of the East, vol. viii. p. 138.

22. The Ariyas, the noble or elect, are those who have entered on the path that leads to Nirvâna; see Köppen, p. 396. Their knowledge and general status is minutely described; see Köppen, p. 436.

23. Childers, s. v. nibbâna, thinks that nibbâna here and in many other places means Arhatship.

24. If an earnest person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful, if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself, and lives according to law,—then his glory will increase.

25. By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm.

26. Fools follow after vanity, men of evil wisdom. The wise man keeps earnestness as his best jewel.

27. Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust! He who is earnest and meditative, obtains ample joy.

28. When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbing the terraced heights of wisdom, looks down upon the fools, serene he looks upon the toiling crowd, as one that stands on a mountain looks down upon them that stand upon the plain.

29. Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer, leaving behind the hack.

30. By earnestness did Maghavan (Indra) rise to the lordship of the gods. People praise earnestness; thoughtlessness is always blamed.

31. A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtless-

25. Childers explains this island again as the state of an Arhat (arahatta-phalam).

28. Cf. Childers, Dictionary, Preface, p. xiv. See Vinaya, ed. Oldenberg, vol. i. p. 5, s. f.

31. Instead of *saham*, which Dr. Fausbøll translates by 'vincens,' Dr. Weber by 'conquering,' I think we ought to read *dahan*, 'burning,' which was evidently the reading adopted by Buddha-

ness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.

32. A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state)—he is close upon Nirvâna.

ghosa. Mr. R. C. Childers, whom I requested to see whether the MS. at the India Office gives *saham* or *daham*, writes that the reading *daham* is as clear as possible in that MS. The fetters are meant for the senses. See verse 370.

32. See Childers, Notes, p. 5.

CHAPTER III.

THOUGHT.

33. As a fletcher makes straight his arrow, a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to guard, difficult to hold back,

34. As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on the dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Mâra (the tempter).

35. It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in and flighty, rushing wherever it listeth ;
| a tamed mind brings happiness.

36. Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list: thoughts well guarded ✓
/ bring happiness.

37. Those who bridle their mind which travels far, moves about alone, is without a body, and hides in the chamber (of the heart), will be free from the bonds of Mâra (the tempter).

38. If a man's thoughts are unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect.

39. If a man's thoughts are not dissipated, if

33. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 400.

34. On Mâra, see verses 7 and 8.

35-39. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. pp. 312, 400.

39. Fausböll traces *anavassuta*, 'dissipated,' back to the Sanskrit

his mind is not perplexed, if he has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful.

root *syai*, 'to become rigid;' but the participle of that root would be *śīta*, not *syuta*. Professor Weber suggests that *anavassuta* stands for the Sanskrit *anavasruta*, which he translates *unbefleckt*, 'unspotted.' If *avasruta* were the right word, it might be taken in the sense of 'not fallen off, not fallen away,' but it could not mean 'unspotted;' cf. *dhairyam* no 'susruvat', 'our firmness ran away.' I have little doubt, however, that *avassuta* represents the Sanskrit *avasruta*, and is derived from the root *sru*, here used in its technical sense, peculiar to the Buddhist literature, and so well explained by Burnouf in his Appendix XIV (*Lotus*, p. 820). He shows that, according to *Hemaṇḍandra* and the *Gīṇa-alaṅkāra*, *āśravakshaya*, Pāli *āsavaśamkhaya* is counted as the sixth *abhiññā*, wherever six of these intellectual powers are mentioned, instead of five. The Chinese translate the term in their own Chinese fashion by 'stillationis finis,' but Burnouf claims for it the definite sense of destruction of faults or vices. He quotes from the *Lalita-vistara* (*Adhyāya* XXII, ed. Rājendra Lal Mittra, p. 448) the words uttered by Buddha when he arrived at his complete Buddhahood:—

Sushkā āśravā na punaś śravanti,

'The vices are dried up, they will not flow again;'

and he shows that the Pāli Dictionary, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, explains *āsava* simply by *kāma*, 'love, pleasure of the senses.' In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, three classes of *āsava* are distinguished, the *kāmāsavā*, the *bhavāsavā*, and the *aviggāsavā*. See also Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 665; Childers, s. v. *āsavo*.

That *sru* means 'to run,' and is in fact a merely dialectic variety of *sru*, has been proved by Burnouf, while Boehtlingk thinks the substitution of *s* for *ś* is a mistake. *Āśrava* therefore, or *āśrava*, meant originally 'the running out towards objects of the senses' (cf. *saṅga*, *ālaya*, &c.), and had nothing to do with *āśrāva*, 'a running, a sore,' *Atharva-veda* I, 2, 4. This conception of the original purport of *ā + sru*, or *ava-sru* is confirmed by a statement of Colebrooke's, who, when treating of the *Gainas*, writes (*Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 382): '*Āśrava* is that which directs the embodied spirit (*āśravayati puruṣam*) towards external objects. It is the occupation and employment (*vr̥tti* or *pravṛtti*) of the senses or organs on sensible objects. Through the means of the senses it

40. Knowing that this body is (fragile) like a jar, and making this thought firm like a fortress, one should attack Mâra (the tempter) with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never rest.

41. Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log.

42. Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or

affects the embodied spirit with the sentiment of taction, colour, smell, and taste. Or it is the association or connection of body with right and wrong deeds. It comprises all the karmas, for they (*âsrayanti*) pervade, influence, and attend the doer, following him or attaching to him. It is a misdirection (*mithyâ-pravṛtti*) of the organs, for it is vain, a cause of disappointment, rendering the organs of sense and sensible objects subservient to fruition. *Samvara* is that which stops (*samvṛinoti*) the course of the foregoing, or closes up the door or passage to it, and consists in self-command or restraint of organs internal and external, embracing all means of self-control and subjection of the senses, calming and subduing them.'

For a full account of the *âsrayas*, see *Lalita-vistara*, ed. Calc. pp. 445 and 552, where *Kshîrâsraya* is given as a name of Buddha. *Âsrâva* occurs in *Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtras* II, 5, 9, where the commentator explains it by objects of the senses, by which the soul is made to run out. It is better, however, to take *âsrâva* here, too, as the act of running out, the affections, appetites, passions.

40. *Anivesana* has no doubt a technical meaning, and may signify, one who has left his house, his family and friends, to become a monk. A monk shall not return to his home, but travel about; he shall be *anivesana*, 'homeless,' *anâgâra*, 'houseless.' But I doubt whether this can be the meaning of *anivesana* here, as the sentence, let him be an anchorite, would come in too abruptly. I translate it therefore in a more general sense, let him not return or turn away from the battle, let him watch Mâra, even after he is vanquished, let him keep up a constant fight against the adversary, without being attached to anything or anybody.

an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly-directed mind ✓
will do us greater mischief.

43. Not a mother, not a father will do so much,
nor any other relative; a well-directed mind will
do us greater service.

43. See Beal, Dhammapada, p. 73.

CHAPTER IV.

FLOWERS¹.

44. Who shall overcome this earth, and the world of Yama (the lord of the departed), and the world of the gods? Who shall find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower?

45. The disciple will overcome the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. The disciple will find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower.

¹ See Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 75.

44, 45. If I differ from the translation of Fausböll and Weber, it is because the commentary takes the two verbs, *vigessati* and *paṭessati*, to mean in the end the same thing, i.e. *saṅkhi-karissati*, 'he will perceive.' I have not ventured to take *vigessate* for *viganissati*, though it should be remembered that the overcoming of the earth and of the worlds below and above, as here alluded to, is meant to be achieved by means of knowledge. *Paṭessati*, 'he will gather' (cf. vi-ṭi, *Indische Sprüche*, 4560), means also, like 'to gather' in English, 'he will perceive or understand,' and the *dhammapada*, or 'path of virtue,' is distinctly explained by *Buddhaghosa* as consisting of the thirty-seven states or stations which lead to *Bodhi*. (See *Burnouf*, *Lotus*, p. 430; *Hardy*, *Manual*, p. 497.) *Dhammapada* might, no doubt, mean also 'a law-verse,' and *sudesita*, 'well taught,' and this double meaning may be intentional here as elsewhere. *Buddha* himself is called *Mārga-darsaka* and *Mārga-desika* (cf. *Lal. Vist.* p. 551). There is a curious similarity between these verses and verses 6540-41, and 9939 of the *Sānti-parva*:

Pushpāṇīva viśinvantam anyatragatamanasam,

Anavāpteshu kâmeshu mrītyur abhyeti mānavam.

'Death approaches man-like one who is gathering flowers, and

46. He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learnt that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Mâra, and never see the king of death.

47. Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

48. Death subdues a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, before he is satiated in his pleasures.

49. As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour or scent, so let a sage dwell in his village.

50. Not the perversities of others, not their sins

whose mind is turned elsewhere, before his desires have been fulfilled.'

*Suptam vyâghram mahaugho vâ mrîtyur âdâya gakkhati,
Sañkînvânakam evainam kâmanâm avitriptikam.*

'As a stream (carries off) a sleeping tiger, death carries off this man who is gathering flowers, and who is not satiated in his pleasures.'

This last verse, particularly, seems to me clearly a translation from Pâli, and the kam of *sañkînvânakam* looks as if put in metri causâ.

46. The flower-arrows of Mâra, the tempter, are borrowed from Kâma, the Hindu god of love. For a similar expression see *Lalita-vistara*, ed. Calc. p. 40, l. 20, *mâyâmarîkîsadṛiṣâ vidyutphenopamâs kaṭapālâḥ*. It is on account of this parallel passage that I prefer to translate *marîkî* by 'mirage,' and not by 'sunbeam,' as Fausböll, or by 'solar atom,' as Weber proposes. The expression, 'he will never see the king of death,' is supposed to mean Arhatship by Childers, s. v. *nibbâna*, p. 270.

47. See Thiessen, *Die Legende von Kisâgotamî*, p. 9.

48. *Antaka*, 'death,' is given as an explanation of Mâra in the *Amarakosha* and *Abhidhânappadîpika* (cf. Fausböll, p. 210).

49. See Beal, *Catena*, p. 159, where vv. 49 and 50 are ascribed to Wessabhu, i. e. *Virvabhû*. See also *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 134.

of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should a sage take notice of.

51. Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.

52. But, like a beautiful flower, full of colour and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly.

53. As many kinds of wreaths can be made from a heap of flowers, so many good things may be achieved by a mortal when once he is born.

54. The scent of flowers does not travel against the wind, nor (that of) sandal-wood, or of Tagara and Mallikâ flowers; but the odour of good people travels even against the wind; a good man pervades every place.

55. Sandal-wood or Tagara, a lotus-flower, or a Vassikî, among these sorts of perfumes, the perfume of virtue is unsurpassed.

56. Mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandal-wood;—the perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest.

57. Of the people who possess these virtues, who live without thoughtlessness, and who are emanci-

51. St. Matthew xxiii. 3, 'For they say, and do not.'

54. Tagara, a plant from which a scented powder is made. Mallaka or mallikâ, according to Benfey, is an oil vessel. Hence tagaramallikâ was supposed to mean a bottle holding aromatic powder, or oil made of the Tagara. Mallikâ, however, is given by Dr. Eitel (Handbook of Chinese Buddhism) as the name of a flower now called Casturi (musk) on account of its rich odour, and Dr. Morris informs me that he has found mallikâ in Pâli as a name of jasmine. See also Childers, s. v.; Notes, p. 6; and Beal, Dhammapada, p. 76.

pated through true knowledge, Mâra, the tempter, never finds the way.

58, 59. As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow full of sweet perfume and delight, thus the disciple of the truly enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge among those who are like rubbish, among the people that walk in darkness.

58, 59. Cf. Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 76.

CHAPTER V.

THE FOOL.

60. Long is the night to him who is awake ; long is a mile to him who is tired ; long is life to the foolish who do not know the true law.

61. If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey ; there is no companionship with a fool.

62. ' These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me,' with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself ; how much less sons and wealth ?

63. The fool who knows his foolishness, is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.

64. If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.

65. If an intelligent man be associated for one minute only with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth, as the tongue perceives the taste of soup.

66. Fools of little understanding have themselves

60. ' Life,' *samsâra*, is the constant revolution of birth and death which goes on for ever until the knowledge of the true law or the true doctrine of Buddha enables a man to free himself from *samsâra*, and to enter into *Nirvâna*. See Buddhaghosha's Parables, Parable XIX, p. 134.

61. Cf. Suttanipâta, v. 46.

63. Cf. Beal, Dhammapada, p. 77.

65. Cf. Beal, Dhammapada, p. 78.

for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which must bear bitter fruits.

67. That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face.

68. No, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully.

69. As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief.

70. Let a fool month after month eat his food (like an ascetic) with the tip of a blade of Kusa grass, yet is he not worth the sixteenth particle of those who have well weighed the law.

71. An evil deed, like newly-drawn milk, does not turn (suddenly); smouldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool.

67. See Beal, l. c. p. 78.

69. Taken from the *Samyutta-nikâya*, where, however, we read *thânanhi* instead of *madhuvâ*; see Feer, *Comptes Rendus*, 1871, p. 64.

70. The commentator clearly takes *saṅkhâta* in the sense of *saṅkhyâta*, 'reckoned,' for he explains it by *ñâtadhammâ*, *tulita-dhammâ*. The eating with the tip of Kusa grass has reference to the fastings performed by the Brahmans, but disapproved of, except as a moderate discipline, by the followers of Buddha. This verse seems to interrupt the continuity of the other verses which treat of the reward of evil deeds, or of the slow but sure ripening of every sinful act. See Childers, s. v. *saṅkhâto*.

71. I am not at all certain of the simile, unless *muḥḥati*, as applied to milk, can be used in the sense of changing or turning sour. In *Manu* IV, 172, where a similar sentence occurs, the commentators are equally doubtful: *Nâdharmas karito loke sadyaḥ phalati gaur iva*, 'for an evil act committed in the world does not bear fruit at once, like a cow;' or 'like the earth (in due season);' or 'like milk.' See Childers, Notes, p. 6.

72. And when the evil deed, after it has become known, brings sorrow to the fool, then it destroys his bright lot, nay, it cleaves his head.

73. Let the fool wish for a false reputation, for precedence among the Bhikshus, for lordship in the convents, for worship among other people !

74. ' May both the layman and he who has left the world think that this is done by me ; may they be subject to me in everything which is to be done or is not to be done,' thus is the mind of the fool, and his desire and pride increase.

75. ' One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvâna ;' if the Bhikshu, the disciple of Buddha, has learnt this, he will not yearn for honour, he will strive after separation from the world.

72. I take *ñattam* for *gñāpitam*, the causative of *gñâtam*, for which in Sanskrit, too, we have the form without i, *gñāptam*. This *gñāptam*, 'made known, revealed,' stands in opposition to the *khanna*, 'covered, hid,' of the preceding verse. *Sukkamsa*, which Fausböll explains by *suklâmsa*, has probably a more technical and special meaning. Childers traces *ñattam* to the Vedic *gñâttram*, 'knowledge.' Fausböll refers to *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 445, v. 118.

75. *Viveka*, which in Sanskrit means chiefly understanding, has with the Buddhists the more technical meaning of separation, whether separation from the world and retirement to the solitude of the forest (*kâya-viveka*), or separation from idle thoughts (*ñitta-viveka*), or the highest separation and freedom (*Nirvâna*).

CHAPTER VI.

THE WISE MAN (PANDITA).

76. If you see an intelligent man who tells you where true treasures are to be found, who shows what is to be avoided, and administers reproofs, follow that wise man; it will be better, not worse, for those who follow him.

77. Let him admonish, let him teach, let him forbid what is improper!—he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated.

78. Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people for friends: have virtuous people for friends, have for friends the best of men.

79. He who drinks in the law lives happily with a serene mind: the sage rejoices always in the law, as preached by the elect (Ariyas).

80. Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; wise people fashion themselves.

78. It is hardly possible to take *mitte kalyâne* in the technical sense of *kalyâna-mitra*, 'ein geistlicher Rath,' a spiritual guide. Burnouf (Introd. p. 284) shows that in the technical sense *kalyâna-mitra* was widely spread in the Buddhist world.

79. Ariya, 'elect, venerable,' is explained by the commentator as referring to Buddha and other teachers.

80. See verses 33 and 145, the latter being a mere repetition of our verse. The *nettikâs*, to judge from the commentary and from the general purport of the verse, are not simply water-carriers, but builders of canals and aqueducts, who force the water to go where it would not go by itself. The Chinese translator says, 'the pilot manages his ship.' See Beal, l. c. p. 79.

81. As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise people falter not amidst blame and praise.

82. Wise people, after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake.

83. Good people walk on whatever befall, the good do not prattle, longing for pleasure, whether touched by happiness or sorrow wise people never appear elated or depressed.

84. If, whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous.

85. Few are there among men who arrive at the other shore (become Arhats); the other people here run up and down the shore.

83. The first line is very doubtful. I have adopted, in my translation, a suggestion of Mr. Childers, who writes, 'I think it will be necessary to take sabbattha in the sense of "everywhere," or "under every condition;" paññakhandādibhedesu, sabbadhammesu, says Buddhaghosha. I do not think we need assume that B. means the word vigahanti to be a synonym of vaganti. I would rather take the whole sentence together as a gloss upon the word vaganti : —vagantīti arahattañānena apakaddhantā khandarāgam vigahanti; vaganti means that, ridding themselves of lust by the wisdom which Arhatship confers, they cast it away.' I am inclined to think the line means 'the righteous walk on (unmoved) in all the conditions of life.' Nindā, pasamsā, sukha, dukkha are four of the eight lokadhammas, or earthly conditions; the remaining lokadhammas are lābha, alābha, yasa, ayasa.

In v. 245, passatā, 'by a man who sees,' means 'by a man who sees clearly or truly.' In the same manner vrag may mean, not simply 'to walk,' but 'to walk properly,' or may be used synonymously with pravrag.

85. 'The other shore' is meant for Nirvāna, 'this shore' for common life. On reaching Nirvāna, the dominion of death is

86. But those who, when the law has been well preached to them, follow the law, will pass across the dominion of death, however difficult to overcome.

87, 88. A wise man should leave the dark state (of ordinary life), and follow the bright state (of the Bhikshu). After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where there seemed to be no enjoyment. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all the troubles of the mind.

89. Those whose mind is well grounded in the (seven) elements of knowledge, who without cling-

overcome. The commentator supplies *târitvâ*, 'having crossed,' in order to explain the accusative *maññudheyyam*. Possibly *pâram essanti* should here be taken as one word, in the sense of overcoming.

87, 88. Dark and bright are meant for bad and good; cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 526, and *Dhp.* v. 167. Leaving one's home is the same as becoming a mendicant, without a home or family, an *anâgâra*, or anchorite. A man in that state of *viveka*, or retirement (see v. 75, note), sees, that where before there seemed to be no pleasure there real pleasure is to be found, or vice versâ. A similar idea is expressed in verse 99. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 474, where he speaks of 'Le plaisir de la satisfaction, né de la distinction.'

The five troubles or evils of the mind are passion, anger, ignorance, arrogance, pride; see Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 360, 443. As to *pariyodapeyya*, see verse 183, and *Lotus*, pp. 523, 528; as to *akizñtano*, see *Mahâbh.* XII, 6568, 1240.

89. The elements of knowledge are the seven *Sambodhyaṅgas*, on which see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 796. D'Alwis explains them as the thirty-seven *Bodhipakkhiya-dhammâ*. *Khīṇāsavâ*, which I have translated by 'they whose frailties have been conquered,' may also be taken in a more metaphysical sense, as explained in the note to v. 39. The same applies to the other terms occurring in this verse, such as *âdâna*, *anupâdâya*, &c. Dr. Fausbøll seems inclined to

ing to anything, rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been conquered, and who are full of light, are free (even) in this world.

take âsava in this passage, and in the other passages where it occurs, as the Pâli representative of âsraya. But âsraya, in Buddhist phraseology, means rather the five organs of sense with manas, 'the soul,' and these are kept distinct from the âsavas, 'the inclinations, the appetites, passions, or vices.' The commentary on the Abhidharma, when speaking of the Yogâkâras, says, 'En réunissant ensemble les réceptacles (âsraya), les choses reçues (âsrita) et les supports (âlambana), qui sont chacun composés de six termes, on a dix-huit termes qu'on appelle "Dhâtus" ou contenants. La collection des six réceptacles, ce sont les organes de la vue, de l'ouïe, de l'odorat, du goût, du toucher, et le "manas" (ou l'organe du cœur), qui est le dernier. La collection des six choses reçues, c'est la connaissance produite par la vue et par les autres sens jusqu'au "manas" inclusivement. La collection des six supports, ce sont la forme et les autres attributs sensibles jusqu'au "Dharma" (la loi ou l'être) inclusivement.' See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 449.

Parinibbuta is again a technical term, the Sanskrit parinivṛta meaning 'freed from all worldly fetters,' like vimukta. See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 590. See Childers, s.v. nibbâna, p. 270, and Notes on Dhammapada, p. 3; and D'Alwis, Buddhist Nirvâna, p. 75.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VENERABLE (ARHAT).

90. There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.

91. They depart with their thoughts well-collected, they are not happy in their abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

92. Men who have no riches, who live on recognised food, who have perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvâna), their path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

91. Satîmanto, Sanskrit *smṛitimantaḥ*, 'possessed of memory,' but here used in the technical sense of *sati*, the first of the Bodhyaṅgas. See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 797. Clough translates it by 'intense thought,' and this is the original meaning of *smar*, even in Sanskrit. See Lectures on the Science of Language, vol. ii. p. 332.

Uyyuṅganti, which Buddhaghosa explains by 'they exert themselves,' seems to me to signify in this place 'they depart,' i. e. they leave their family, and embrace an ascetic life. See note to verse 235. See also Rhys Davids, *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi. p. 22.

92. *Suññato* and *animitto* are adjectives belonging to *vimokho*, one of the many names of Nirvâna, or, according to Childers, s. v. *nibbâna*, p. 270, Arhatship; see Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 442, 462, on *sûnya*. The Sanskrit expression *sûnyatânimittâpranîhitam* occurs in *L'enfant égaré*, 5 a, l. 4. *Nimitta* is cause in the most general sense, i. e. what causes existence. The commentator explains it chiefly in a moral sense: *Râgâdinimittâbhâvena animittam*, *tehi ka vimuttan ti animitto vimokho*, i. e. owing to the absence of passion and other causes, without causation; because freed from

93. He whose appetites are stilled, who is not absorbed in enjoyment, who has perceived void and unconditioned freedom (*Nirvâna*), his path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

94. The gods even envy him whose senses, like horses well broken in by the driver, have been subdued, who is free from pride, and free from appetites.

95. Such a one who does his duty is tolerant like the earth, like Indra's bolt ; he is like a lake without mud ; no new births are in store for him.

96. His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man.

these causes, therefore it is called freedom without causation. See Childers, *Pâli Dictionary*, p. 270, col. 2, line 1.

The simile is intended to compare the ways of those who have obtained spiritual freedom to the flight of birds, it being difficult to understand how the birds move on without putting their feet on anything. This, at least, is the explanation of the commentator. The same metaphor occurs *Mahâbh. XII, 6763*. Childers translates, 'leaving no more trace of existence than a bird in the air.'

95. Without the hints given by the commentator, we should probably take the three similes of this verse in their natural sense, as illustrating the imperturbable state of an *Arahanta*, or venerable person. The earth is always represented as an emblem of patience; the bolt of Indra, if taken in its technical sense, as the bolt of a gate, might likewise suggest the idea of firmness ; while the lake is a constant representative of serenity and purity. The commentator, however, suggests that what is meant is, that the earth, though flowers are cast on it, does not feel pleasure, nor the bolt of Indra displeasure, although less savoury things are thrown upon it ; and that in like manner a wise person is indifferent to honour and dishonour. -

96. That this very natural threefold division, thought, word, and deed, the *trividha-dvâra* or the three doors of the Buddhists (*Hardy, Manual, p. 494*), was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to

97. The man who is free from credulity, but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest of men.

the Brahmans, has been proved against Dr. Weber by Professor Köppen in his 'Religion des Buddha,' I, p. 445. He particularly called attention to Manu XII, 4-8; and he might have added Mahâbh. XII, 4059, 6512, 6549, 6554; XIII, 5677, &c. Dr. Weber has himself afterwards brought forward a passage from the Atharva-veda, VI, 96, 3 (*yaḥ śakshushâ manasâ yaḥ ka vâṭâ upârîma*), which, however, has a different meaning. A better one was quoted by him from the Taitt. Ar. X, 1, 12 (*yan me manasâ, vâṭâ, karmanâ vâ dushkrîtam krîtam*). Similar expressions have been shown to exist in the Zend-avesta, and among the Manichæans (Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, III, p. 414; see also Boehtlingk's Dictionary, s. v. *kâya*, and Childers, s. v. *kâyo*). There was no ground, therefore, for supposing that this formula had found its way into the Christian liturgy from Persia, for, as Professor Cowell remarks (Journal of Philology, vol. vii. p. 215), Greek writers, such as Plato, employ very similar expressions, e.g. Protag. p. 348, 30, *πρὸς ἀπαν ἔργον καὶ λόγον καὶ διανόημα*. In fact, the opposition between words and deeds occurs in almost every writer, from Homer downwards; and the further distinction between thoughts and words is clearly implied even in such expressions as, 'they say in their heart.' That the idea of sin committed by thought was not a new idea, even to the Jews, may be seen from Prov. xxiv. 9, 'the thought of foolishness is sin.' In the Âpastamba-sûtras, lately edited by Professor Bühler, we find the expression, *atho yatkiṇka manasâ vâṭâ śakshushâ vâ saṅkalpayan dhyâyaty âhâbhivipasyati vâ tathaiva tad bhavatîtyupadisanti*, 'they say that whatever a Brahman intending with his mind, voice, or eye, thinks, says, or looks, that will be.' This is clearly a very different division, and it is the same which is intended in the passage from the Atharva-veda, quoted above. In the mischief done by the eye, we have, perhaps, the first indication of the evil eye. (Mahâbh. XII, 3417. See Dhammapada, vv. 231-234.)

On the technical meaning of *tâdi*, see Childers, s. v. D'Alwis (p. 78) has evidently received the right interpretation, but has not understood it. *Mâdrîsa* also is used very much like *tâdrîsa*, and from it *mârîso*, a venerable person, in Sanskrit *mârsha*.

98. In a hamlet or in a forest, in the deep water or on the dry land, wherever venerable persons (Arahanta) dwell, that place is delightful.

99. Forests are delightful ; where the world finds no delight, there the passionless will find delight, for they look not for pleasures.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE THOUSANDS.

100. Even though a speech be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of sense is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

101. Even though a Gâthâ (poem) be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of a Gâthâ is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

102. Though a man recite a hundred Gâthâs made up of senseless words, one word of the law is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

103. If one man conquer in battle a thousand times thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors.

104, 105. One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Mâra with Brahman could change into defeat the

100. This Sahasravarga, or Chapter of the Thousands, is quoted by that name in the Mahāvastu (Minayeff, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, VI, p. 583): Teshâm Bhagavân *gaṣilânâm* Dharmapadeshu sahasravargam bhâshati: 'Sahasram api vâṭânâm anarthapadasamhitânâm, ekârthavati sreyâ yâm srutvâ upasâmyati. Sahasram api gâthânâm anarthapadasamhitânâm, ekârthavati sreyâ yâm srutvâ upasâmyati' (MS. R. A. S. Lond.) Here the Pâli text seems decidedly more original and perfect.

104. *Gitam*, according to the commentator, stands for *gito* (lin-gavipallâso, i. e. viparyâsa); see also Senart in *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, p. 500.

The Devas (gods), Gandharvas (fairies), and other fanciful beings of the Brahmanic religion, such as the Nâgas, Sarpas, Garuḍas, &c.,

victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.

106. If a man for a hundred years sacrifice month after month with a thousand, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than a sacrifice for a hundred years.

107. If a man for a hundred years worship Agni (fire) in the forest, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.

108. Whatever a man sacrifice in this world as an offering or as an oblation for a whole year in order to gain merit, the whole of it is not worth a quarter (a farthing) ; reverence shown to the righteous is better.

were allowed to continue in the traditional language of the people who had embraced Buddhism. See the pertinent remarks of Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 134 seq., 184. On Mâra, the tempter, see v. 7. Sâstram Aiyar, On the *Gaina* Religion, p. xx, says : ' Moreover as it is declared in the *Gaina* Vedas that all the gods worshipped by the various Hindu sects, viz. Sîva, Brahma, Vishnu, Ganapati, Subramaniyan, and others, were devoted adherents of the above-mentioned Tîrthaṅkaras, the *Gainas* therefore do not consider them as unworthy of their worship ; but as they are servants of Arugan, they consider them to be deities of their system, and accordingly perform certain pûgâs in honour of them, and worship them also.' The case is more doubtful with orthodox Buddhists. ' Orthodox Buddhists,' as Mr. D'Alwis writes (*Attanagalu-vansa*, p. 55), ' do not consider the worship of the Devas as being sanctioned by him who disclaimed for himself and all the Devas any power over man's soul. Yet the Buddhists are everywhere idol-worshippers. Buddhism, however, acknowledges the existence of some of the Hindu deities, and from the various friendly offices which those Devas are said to have rendered to Gotama, Buddhists evince a respect for their idols.' See also Buddhaghosha's Parables, p. 162.

109. He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, viz. life, beauty, happiness, power.

110. But he who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting.

111. And he who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting.

112. And he who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength.

113. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end.

114. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place.

115. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law.

109. Dr. Fausböll, in a most important note, called attention to the fact that the same verse, with slight variations, occurs in Manu. We there read, II, 121 :

Abhivâdanasîlasya nityam vridhdhopasevinah,
Kativâri sampravardhante âyur vidyâ yasô balam.

Here the four things are, life, knowledge, glory, power.

In the Âpastamba-sûtras, I, 2, 5, 15, the reward promised for the same virtue is svargam âyus ka, 'heaven and long life.' It seems, therefore, as if the original idea of this verse came from the Brahmans, and was afterwards adopted by the Buddhists. How largely it spread is shown by Dr. Fausböll from the Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 259, where the same verse of the Dhammapada is mentioned as being in use among the Buddhists of Siam.

112. On kusîto, see note to verse 7.

CHAPTER IX.

EVIL.

116. If a man would hasten towards the good, he should keep his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.

117. If a man commits a sin, let him not do it again; let him not delight in sin: pain is the outcome of evil.

118. If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it: happiness is the outcome of good.

119. Even an evil-doer sees happiness as long as his evil deed has not ripened; but when his evil deed has ripened, then does the evil-doer see evil.

120. Even a good man sees evil days, as long as his good deed has not ripened; but when his good deed has ripened, then does the good man see happy days.

121. Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gather it little by little.

122. Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.

123. Let a man avoid evil deeds, as a merchant, if he has few companions and carries much wealth,

avoids a dangerous road ; as a man who loves life avoids poison.

124. He who has no wound on his hand, may touch poison with his hand ; poison does not affect one who has no wound ; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil.

125. If a man offend a harmless, pure, and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool, like light dust thrown up against the wind.

126. Some people are born again ; evil-doers go to hell ; righteous people go to heaven ; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvâna.

127. Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where a man might be freed from an evil deed.

128. Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where death could not overcome (the mortal).

125. Cf. Suttanipâta, v. 661 ; Indische Sprüche, 1582 ; Kathâsaritsâgara, 49, 222.

126. For a description of hell and its long, yet not endless sufferings, see Buddhaghosha's Parables, p. 132. The pleasures of heaven, too, are frequently described in these Parables and elsewhere. Buddha himself enjoyed these pleasures of heaven, before he was born for the last time. It is probably when good and evil deeds are equally balanced, that men are born again as human beings ; this, at least, is the opinion of the Gainas. Cf. Chintâmani, ed. H. Bower, Introd. p. xv.

127. Cf. St. Luke xii. 2, 'For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed ;' and Psalm cxxxix. 8-12.

CHAPTER X.

PUNISHMENT.

129. All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death ; remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

130. All men tremble at punishment, all men love life ; remember that thou art like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

131. He who seeking his own happiness punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death.

129. One feels tempted, no doubt, to take upama in the sense of 'the nearest (der Nächste), the neighbour,' and to translate, 'having made oneself one's neighbour,' i. e. loving one's neighbour as oneself. But as upamām, with a short a, is the correct accusative of upamā, we must translate, 'having made oneself the likeness, the image of others, having placed oneself in the place of others.' This is an expression which occurs frequently in Sanskrit ; cf. Hitopadesa I, 11 :

Prânâ yathâtmano 'bhîsh/â bhûtânâm api te tathâ,

Âtmaupamyena bhûteshu dayâm kurvanti sâdhavaḥ.

'As life is dear to oneself, it is dear also to other living beings : by comparing oneself with others, good people bestow pity on all beings.'

See also Hit. I, 12 ; Râm. V, 23, 5, âtmânâ upamâm krîtvâ sveshu dâreshu samyatâm, 'making oneself a likeness, i. e. putting oneself in the position of other people, it is right to love none but one's own wife.' Dr. Fausböll has called attention to similar passages in the Mahâbhârata, XIII, 5569 seq.

130. Cf. St. Luke vi. 31.

131. Dr. Fausböll points out the striking similarity between this verse and two verses occurring in Manu and the Mahâbhârata :—

132. He who seeking his own happiness does not punish or kill beings who also long for happiness, will find happiness after death.

133. Do not speak harshly to anybody; those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way. Angry speech is painful, blows for blows will touch thee.

134. If, like a shattered metal plate (gong), thou utter not, then thou hast reached Nirvâna; contention is not known to thee.

135. As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men.

136. A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds: but the wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burnt by fire.

137. He who inflicts pain on innocent and harmless persons, will soon come to one of these ten states:

Manu V, 45:

Yo 'himsakâni bhûtâni hinasty âmasukhekkhayâ,
Sa gîvams ka mritas kaiva na kvañit sukham edhate.

Mahâbhârata XIII, 5568:

Ahimsakâni bhûtâni dandena vinihanti yañ,
Âtmanañ sukham ikñhan sa pretya naiva sukhî bhavet.

If it were not for ahimsakâni, in which Manu and the Mahâbhârata agree, I should say that the verses in both were Sanskrit modifications of the Pâli original. The verse in the Mahâbhârata presupposes the verse of the Dhammapada.

133. See Mahâbhârata XII, 4056.

134. See Childers, s.v. nibbâna, p. 270, and s.v. kâmsa; D'Alwis, Buddhist Nirvâna, p. 35.

136. The metaphor of 'burning' for 'suffering' is very common in Buddhist literature. Everything burns, i.e. everything suffers, was one of the first experiences of Buddha himself. See v. 146.

138. He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction, or loss of mind,

139. Or a misfortune coming from the king, or a fearful accusation, or loss of relations, or destruction of treasures,

140. Or lightning-fire will burn his houses ; and when his body is destroyed, the fool will go to hell.

141. Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust,

138. 'Cruel suffering' is explained by *sîsaroga*, 'headache,' &c. 'Loss' is taken for loss of money. 'Injury of the body' is held to be the cutting off of the arm, and other limbs. 'Heavy afflictions' are, again, various kinds of diseases.

139. *Upasarga* means 'accident, misfortune.' Dr. Fausböll translates *râgato va upassaggam* by '*fulgentis (lunae) defectionem*;' Dr. Weber by '*Bestrafung vom König*;' Beal by 'some governmental difficulty.' *Abbhakkhânam*, Sanskrit *abhyâkhyânam*, is a heavy accusation for high treason, or similar offences. Beal translates, 'some false accusation.' The 'destruction of pleasures or treasures' is explained by gold being changed to coals (see *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, p. 98; *Thiessen, Kisâgotamî*, p. 6), pearls to cotton seed, corn to potsherd, and by men and cattle becoming blind, lame, &c.

141. Cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 355. Dr. Fausböll has pointed out that the same or a very similar verse occurs in a legend taken from the *Divyâvadâna*, and translated by Burnouf (*Introduction*, p. 313 seq.) Burnouf translates the verse: 'Ce n'est ni la coutume de marcher nu, ni les cheveux nattés, ni l'usage d'argile, ni le choix des diverses espèces d'aliments, ni l'habitude de coucher sur la terre nue, ni la poussière, ni la malpropreté, ni l'attention à fuir l'abri d'un toit, qui sont capables de dissiper le trouble dans lequel nous jettent les désirs non-satisfaits; mais qu'un homme, maître de ses sens, calme, recueilli, chaste, évitant de faire du mal à aucune créature, accomplisse la Loi, et il sera, quoique paré d'ornements, un Brâhmane, un Çramana, un Religieux.' See also *Suttanipâta*, v. 248.

Walking naked and the other things mentioned in our verse are outward signs of a saintly life, and these Buddha rejects because they do not calm the passions. Nakedness he seems to have

not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.

142. He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brâhmana, an ascetic (*sramana*), a friar (*bhikshu*).

143. Is there in this world any man so restrained by humility that he does not mind reproof, as a well-trained horse the whip?

144. Like a well-trained horse when touched by

rejected on other grounds too, if we may judge from the Sumâ-gadhâ-avadâna : 'A number of naked friars were assembled in the house of the daughter of Anâtha-pindîka. She called her daughter-in-law, Sumâgadhâ, and said, "Go and see those highly respectable persons." Sumâgadhâ, expecting to see some of the saints, like Sâriputra, Maudgalyâyana, and others, ran out full of joy. But when she saw these friars with their hair like pigeon wings, covered by nothing but dirt, offensive, and looking like demons, she became sad. "Why are you sad?" said her mother-in-law. Sumâgadhâ replied, "O mother, if these are saints, what must sinners be like?"'

Burnouf (Introduction, p. 312) supposed that the Gainas only, and not the Buddhists, allowed nakedness. But the Gainas, too, do not allow it universally. They are divided into two parties, the Svetambaras and Digambaras. The Svetambaras, clad in white, are the followers of Parsvanâtha, and wear clothes. The Digambaras, i. e. sky-clad, disrobed, are followers of Mahâvîra, resident chiefly in Southern India. At present they, too, wear clothing, but not when eating. See Sâstram Aiyar, p. xxi.

The *gaṭṭā*, or the hair platted and gathered up in a knot, was a sign of a Saiva ascetic. The sitting motionless is one of the postures assumed by ascetics. Clough explains *ukkuṭṭika* as 'the act of sitting on the heels;' Wilson gives for *utka/ukâsana*, 'sitting on the hams.' See Fausbøll, note on verse 140.

142. As to *dandanidhâna*, see Mahâbh. XII, 6559, and Suttanipâta, v. 34.

143, 144. I am very doubtful as to the real meaning of these verses. If their object is to show how reproof or punishment

the whip, be ye active and lively, and by faith, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by discernment of the law you will overcome this great pain (of reproof), perfect in knowledge and in behaviour, and never forgetful.

145. Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; good people fashion themselves.

should be borne, my translation would be right, though *alpabodhāti* in the sense of *parvi facere* is strange.

145. The same as verse 80. According to Fausböll and Subhūti we ought to render the verses by, 'What man is there found on earth so restrained by shame that he never provokes reproof, as a good horse the whip?' See Childers, s. v. *appabodhati*.

CHAPTER XI.

OLD AGE.

146. How is there laughter, how is there joy, as this world is always burning? Why do you not seek a light, ye who are surrounded by darkness?

147. Look at this dressed-up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many thoughts, which has no strength, no hold!

148. This body is wasted, full of sickness, and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life indeed ends in death.

148. Dr. Fausböll informs me that Childers proposed the emendation *maranantam* hi *gīvitam*. The following extract from a letter, addressed by Childers to Dr. Fausböll, will be read with interest:—
 ‘As regards Dh. v. 148, I have no doubt whatever. I quite agree with you that the idea (*mors est vita ejus*) is a profound and noble one, but the question is, Is the idea there? I think not. *Maranam* tamhi *gīvitam* is not Pāli, I mean not a Pāli construction, and years ago even it grated on my ear as a harsh phrase. The reading of your MSS. of the texts is nothing; your MSS. of Dhammapada are very bad ones, and it is merely the vicious Sinhalese spelling of bad MSS., like *kammamtam* for *kammantam*. But the comment sets the question at rest at once, for it explains *maranantam* by *maranapariyosānam*, which is exactly the same. I see there is one serious difficulty left, that all your MSS. seem to have tamhi, and not tam hi; but are you sure it is so? There was a Dhammapada in the India Office Library, and I had a great hunt for it a few days ago, but to my deep disappointment it is missing. I do not agree with you that the sentence “All Life is bounded by Death,” is trivial: it is a truism, but half the noblest passages in poetry are truisms, and unless I greatly mistake, this very passage will be found in many other literatures.’

Dr. Fausböll adds:—

‘I have still the same doubt as before, because of all my

149. Those white bones, like gourds thrown away in the autumn, what pleasure is there in looking at them ?

150. After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and there dwell in it old age and death, pride and deceit.

151. The brilliant chariots of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtue of good people never approaches destruction,—thus do the good say to the good.

152. A man who has learnt little, grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow.

153, 154. Looking for the maker of this tabernacle, I shall have to run through a course of many births, so long as I do not find (him); and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up

MSS. reading *maranam* tamhi. I do not know the readings of the London MSS. The explanation of the commentary does not settle the question, as it may as well be considered an explanation of my reading as of the reading which Childers proposed.—V. FAUSBÖLL.

149. In the *Rudrâyānāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* this verse appears as,

Yānīmāny apariddhāni vikshiptāni diso disaḥ,
Kapṭavarnāny asthīni tāni dṛish/vaiha kâ ratiḥ.

See Schiefner, *Mél. Asiat.* VIII, p. 589; *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 322.

150. The expression *mamsalohitalepanam* is curiously like the expression used in *Manu* VI, 76, *mâmsasonitalepanam*, and in several passages of the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 12462, 12053, as pointed out by Dr. Fausböll.

153, 154. These two verses are famous among Buddhists, for they are the words which the founder of Buddhism is supposed to have uttered at the moment he attained to Buddhahood. (See Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 180.) According to the *Lalita-vistara*, however, the words uttered on that solemn occasion were those

this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind, approaching the Eternal (*visaṅkhâra*, *nirvâna*), has attained to the extinction of all desires.

quoted in the note to verse 39. In the commentary on the *Brahmagâla* this verse is called the first speech of Buddha, his last speech being the words in the *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*, 'Life is subject to age; strive in earnest.' The words used in the *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta*, Chap. IV, 2, *Katunnam dhammânam ananubodhâ appaṭivedhâ evam idam digham addhânam sandhâvitam samsâritam mamañ k' eva tumhâkañ ka*, answer to the anticipation expressed in our verse.

The exact rendering of this verse has been much discussed, chiefly by Mr. D'Alwis in the *Attanuguluvansa*, p. cxxviii, and again in his *Buddhist Nirvâna*, p. 78; also by Childers, *Notes on Dhammapada*, p. 4, and in his *Dictionary*. Gogerly translated: 'Through various transmigrations I must travel, if I do not discover the builder whom I seek.' Spence Hardy: 'Through many different births I have run (to me not having found), seeking the architect of the desire-resembling house.' Fausböll: 'Multiplices generationis revolutiones percurrebam, non inveniens, domus (corporis) fabricatorem quaerens.' And again (p. 322): 'Multarum generationum revolutio mihi subeunda esset, nisi invenissem domus fabricatorem.' Childers: 'I have run through the revolution of countless births, seeking the architect of this dwelling and finding him not.' D'Alwis: 'Through transmigrations of numerous births have I run, not discovering, (though) seeking the house-builder.' All depends on how we take *sandhavissam*, which Fausböll takes as a conditional, Childers, following Trenckner, as an aorist, because the sense imperatively requires an aorist. In either case, the dropping of the augment and the doubling of the s are, however, irregular. *Sandhavissam* is the regular form of the future, and as such I translate it, qualifying, however, the future, by the participle present *anibbisan*, i. e. not finding, and taking it in the sense of, if or so long as I do not find the true cause of existence. I had formerly translated *anibbisan*, as not resting (*anirvisan*), but the commentator seems to authorise the meaning of not finding (*avindanto*, *alabhanto*), and in that case all the material difficulties of the verse seem to me to disappear.

'The maker of the tabernacle' is explained as a poetical expression for the cause of new births, at least according to the views of

155. Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, perish like old herons in a lake without fish.

156. Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, lie, like broken bows, sighing after the past.

Buddha's followers, whatever his own views may have been. Buddha had conquered Mâra, the representative of worldly temptations, the father of worldly desires, and as desires (*tamhâ*) are, by means of upâdâna and bhava, the cause of *gâti*, or 'birth,' the destruction of desires and the conquest of Mâra are nearly the same thing, though expressed differently in the philosophical and legendary language of the Buddhists. *Tamhâ*, 'thirst' or 'desire,' is mentioned as serving in the army of Mâra. (Lotus, p. 443.)

155. On *ghâyanti*, i. e. *kshâyanti*, see Dr. Bollensen's learned remarks, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XVIII, 834, and Boehtlingk-Roth, s. v. *kshâ*.

CHAPTER XII.

SELF.

157. If a man hold himself dear, let him watch himself carefully; during one at least out of the three watches a wise man should be watchful.

158. Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others; thus a wise man will not suffer.

159. If a man make himself as he teaches others to be, then, being himself well subdued, he may subdue (others); one's own self is indeed difficult to subdue.

160. Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find.

161. The evil done by oneself, self-begotten, self-bred, crushes the foolish, as a diamond breaks a precious stone.

162. He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be, as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds.

163. Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do.

157. The three watches of the night are meant for the three stages of life. Cf. St. Mark xiii. 37, 'And what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch.'

158. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 441.

161. The Chinese translation renders *vagiram* by 'steel drill.'

164. The foolish man who scorns the rule of the venerable (Arahat), of the elect (Ariya), of the virtuous, and follows false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own destruction, like the fruits of the *Katthaka* reed.

165. By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself, no one can purify another.

166. Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great; let a man, after he has discerned his own duty, be always attentive to his duty.

164. The reed either dies after it has borne fruit, or is cut down for the sake of its fruit.

Diṭṭhi, literally 'view,' is used even by itself, like the Greek 'hairesis,' in the sense of heresy (see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 444). In other places a distinction is made between *mikkhādiṭṭhi* (vv. 167, 316) and *sammādiṭṭhi* (v. 319). If *arahatam ariyānam* are used in their technical sense, we should translate 'the reverend Arhats,'—Arhat being the highest degree of the four orders of Ariyas, viz. *Srotaâpanna*, *Sakadâgâmin*, *Anâgâmin*, and Arhat. See note to verse 178.

166. *Attha*, lit. 'object,' must here be taken in a moral sense, as 'duty' rather than as 'advantage.' Childers rendered it by 'spiritual good.' The story which Buddhaghosa tells of the Thera Attadattha gives a clue to the origin of some of his parables, which seem to have been invented to suit the text of the Dhammapada rather than vice versâ. A similar case occurs in the commentary to verse 227.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WORLD.

167. Do not follow the evil law! Do not live on in thoughtlessness! Do not follow false doctrine! Be not a friend of the world.

168. Rouse thyself! do not be idle! Follow the law of virtue! The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.

169. Follow the law of virtue; do not follow that of sin. The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.

170. Look upon the world as a bubble, look upon it as a mirage: the king of death does not see him who thus looks down upon the world.

171. Come, look at this glittering world, like unto a royal chariot; the foolish are immersed in it, but the wise do not touch it.

172. He who formerly was reckless and afterwards became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

173. He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

174. This world is dark, few only can see here; a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net.

175. The swans go on the path of the sun, they go through the ether by means of their miraculous

168, 169. See Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 65.

170. See Suttanipâta, v. 1118.

175. Hamsa may be meant for the bird, whether flamingo, or swan, or ibis (see Hardy, Manual, p. 17), but it may also, I believe,

power; the wise are led out of this world, when they have conquered Mâra and his train.

176. If a man has transgressed one law, and speaks lies, and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do.

177. The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods; fools only do not praise liberality; a wise man rejoices in liberality, and through it becomes blessed in the other world.

178. Better than sovereignty over the earth, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds, is the reward of the first step in holiness.

be taken in the sense of saint. As to *iddhi*, 'magical power,' i. e. *ṛiddhi*, see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 310; Spence Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 498, 504; *Legends*, pp. 55, 177; and note to verse 254.

178. *Sotâpatti*, the technical term for the first step in the path that leads to *Nirvâna*. There are four such steps, or stages, and on entering each, a man receives a new title:—

(1) The *Srotaâpanna*, lit. he who has got into the stream. A man may have seven more births before he reaches the other shore, i. e. *Nirvâna*.

(2) *Sakṛidâgâmin*, lit. he who comes back once, so called because, after having entered this stage, a man is born only once more among men or gods. Childers shows that this involves really two more births, one in the *deva* world, the other in the world of men. Burnouf says the same, *Introduction*, p. 293.

(3) *Anâgâmin*, lit. he who does not come back, so called because, after this stage, a man cannot be born again in a lower world, but can only be born into a *Brahman* world, before he reaches *Nirvâna*.

(4) *Arhat*, the venerable, the perfect, who has reached the highest stage that can be reached, and from which *Nirvâna* is perceived (*sukkhavipassanâ*, *Lotus*, p. 849). See Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 280; Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 209; Köppen, p. 398; D'Alwis, *Attanuguluvansa*, p. cxxiv; Feer, *Sutra en 42 articles*, p. 6.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BUDDHA (THE AWAKENED).

179. He whose conquest is not conquered again, into whose conquest no one in this world enters, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

180. He whom no desire with its snares and poisons can lead astray, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

181. Even the gods envy those who are awakened and not forgetful, who are given to meditation, who are wise, and who delight in the repose of retirement (from the world).

182. Difficult (to obtain) is the conception of men, difficult is the life of mortals, difficult is the hearing of the True Law, difficult is the birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood).

179, 180. Buddha, the Awakened, is to be taken as an appellative rather than as the proper name of the Buddha (see v. 183). It means, anybody who has arrived at complete knowledge. Anantagokaram I take in the sense of, possessed of unlimited knowledge. Apadam, which Dr. Fausböll takes as an epithet of Buddha and translates by 'non investigabilis,' is translated 'trackless,' in order to show the play on the word pada; see Childers, s. v. The commentator says: 'The man who is possessed of even a single one of such conditions as rāgā, &c., him ye may lead forward; but the Buddha has not even one condition or basis of renewed existence, and therefore by what track will you lead this unconditioned Buddha?' Cf. Dh. vv. 92, 420; and Gâtaka, vol. i. pp. 79, 313.

182. Mr. Beal (Dhammapada, p. 110) states that this verse occurs in the Sûtra of the Forty-two Sections.

183. Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of (all) the Awakened.

184. The Awakened call patience the highest penance, long-suffering the highest Nirvâna; for he is not an anchorite (*pravragita*) who strikes others, he is not an ascetic (*sramana*) who insults others.

185. Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts,—this is the teaching of the Awakened.

183. This verse is again one of the most solemn verses among the Buddhists. According to Csoma Körösi, it ought to follow the famous Âryâ stanza, 'Ye dhammâ' (Lotus, p. 522), and serve as its complement. But though this may be the case in Tibet, it was not so originally. The same verse (ascribed to Kanakamuni) occurs at the end of the Chinese translation of the Prâtimoksha (Beal, J. R. A. S. XIX, p. 473; Catena, p. 159); in the Tibetan translation of the Gâthâsaṅgraha, v. 14 (Schiefner, Mém. Asiat. VIII, pp. 568, 586; and Csoma Körösi, As. Res. XX, p. 79). Burnouf has fully discussed the metre and meaning of our verse on pp. 527, 528 of his 'Lotus.' He prefers *saṅgittaparidamanam*, which Csoma translated by 'the mind must be brought under entire subjection' (*svaṅgittaparidamanam*), and the late Dr. Mill by 'proprii intellectus subjugatio.' But his own MS. of the Mahâpadhâna-sutta gave likewise *saṅgittapariyodapanam*, and this is no doubt the correct reading. (See D'Alwis, Attanugaluvaṇsa, p. cxxix.) We found *pariyodappeya* in verse 88, in the sense of purging oneself from the troubles of thought. From the same verb, (*pari*) *ava* + *dai*, we may derive the name *Avadâna*, a legend, originally a pure and virtuous act, an *âpiṣṭeṭṭa*, afterwards a sacred story, and possibly a story the hearing of which purifies the mind. See Boehtlingk-Roth, s. v. *avadâna*.

184. Childers, following the commentator, translates, 'Patience, which is long-suffering, is the best devotion, the Buddhas declare that Nirvâna is the best (of things).'

185. Cf. Suttanipâta, v. 337. *Pâtimokkhe*, 'under the law,' i. e. according to the law, the law which leads to Moksha, or 'freedom.' Prâtimoksha is the title of the oldest collection of the moral laws

186. There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces ; he who knows that lusts have a short taste and cause pain, he is wise ;

187. Even in heavenly pleasures he finds no satisfaction, the disciple who is fully awakened delights only in the destruction of all desires.

188. Men, driven by fear, go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to groves and sacred trees.

189. But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge ; a man is not delivered from all pains after having gone to that refuge.

190. He who takes refuge with Buddha, the Law,

of the Buddhists (Burnouf, Introduction, p. 300 ; Bigandet, The Life of Gaudama, p. 439 ; Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 162), and as it was common both to the Southern and the Northern Buddhists, *pâtimokkhe* in our passage may possibly be meant, as Professor Weber suggests, as the title of that very collection. The commentator explains it by *geṭṭhakaśīla* and *pâtimokkhasīla*. *Sayanâsam* might stand for *sayanâsanam*, see Mahâbh. XII, 6684 ; but in Buddhist literature it is intended for *sayanâsanam* ; see also Mahâbh. XII, 9978, *sayyâsane*. Fausbøll now reads *pânta* instead of *patthañ*.

187. There is a curious similarity between this verse and verse 6503 (9919) of the *Sântiparva* :

Yak ka kâmasukham loke, yak ka divyam mahat sukham,

Trishnâkshayasukhasyaite nârhatâ shodâśm kalâm.

‘And whatever delight of love there is on earth, and whatever is the great delight in heaven, they are not worth the sixteenth part of the pleasure which springs from the destruction of all desires.’ The two verses 186, 187 are ascribed to king *Mandhâtîri*, shortly before his death (Mél. Asiat. VIII, p. 471 ; see also *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 113).

188–192. These verses occur in Sanskrit in the *Prâtihâryasûtra*, translated by Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 162–189 ; see p. 186. Burnouf translates *rukkhaketyâni* by ‘arbres consacrés ;’ properly, sacred shrines under or near a tree. See also *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 97.

190. Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha are called the *Trisarana* (cf. Burnouf, Introd. p. 630). The four holy truths are the four statements that there is pain in this world, that the source of

and the Church ; he who, with clear understanding, sees the four holy truths :—

191. Viz. pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain, and the eightfold holy way that leads to the quieting of pain ;—

192. That is the safe refuge, that is the best refuge ; having gone to that refuge, a man is delivered from all pain.

193. A supernatural person (a Buddha) is not easily found, he is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers.

194. Happy is the arising of the awakened, happy is the teaching of the True Law, happy is peace in the church, happy is the devotion of those who are at peace.

195, 196. He who pays homage to those who deserve homage, whether the awakened (Buddha) or their disciples, those who have overcome the host (of evils), and crossed the flood of sorrow, he who pays homage to such as have found deliverance and know no fear, his merit can never be measured by anybody.

pain is desire, that desire can be annihilated, that there is a way (shown by Buddha) by which the annihilation of all desires can be achieved, and freedom be obtained. That way consists of eight parts. (See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 630.) The eightfold way forms the subject of Chapter XVIII. (See also Feer, *Journal As.* 1870, p. 418, and *Chips from a German Workshop*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 251 seq.)

CHAPTER XV.

HAPPINESS.

197. Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us! among men who hate us let us dwell free from hatred! ~~must hate those who hate you~~

198. Let us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing! among men who are ailing let us dwell free from ailments!

199. Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! among men who are greedy let us dwell free from greed!

200. Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!

201. Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat, he, the contented, is happy.

198. The ailment here meant is moral rather than physical. Cf. Mahâbh. XII, 9924, *samprasânto nirâmayaḥ*; 9925, *yo 'sau prânântiko rogas tām trishnām tyagataḥ sukham*.

200. The words placed in the mouth of the king of Videha, while his residence Mithilâ was in flames, are curiously like our verse; cf. Mahâbh. XII, 9917,

*Susukham vata gîvâmi yasya me nâsti kiñkana,
Mithilâyâm pradîptâyâm na me dahyati kiñkana.*

'I live happily, indeed, for I have nothing; while Mithilâ is in flames, nothing of mine is burning.' Cf. Muir, Religious Sentiments, p. 106.

The âbhassara, i. e. âbhâsvara, 'the bright gods,' are frequently mentioned. Cf. Burnouf, Introd. p. 611.

201. This verse is ascribed to Buddha, when he heard of the defeat of Agâtasatru by Prasenagit. It exists in the Northern or

202. There is no fire like passion ; there is no losing throw like hatred ; there is no pain like this body ; (there is no happiness higher than rest.) ✓

203. Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains ; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvâna, the highest happiness.

Sanskrit and in the Southern or Pâli texts, i. e. in the Avadâna-sataka, in the Samyutta-nikâya. See Feer, Comptes Rendus, 1871, p. 44, and Journal As. 1880, p. 509. In the Avadâna-sataka, the Sanskrit version is—

*Gayo vairam prasavati, dukkham sete parâgitaḥ
Upasântaḥ sukham sete hitvâ gayaparâgayam.*

202. I take kali in the sense of an unlucky die which makes a player lose his game. A real simile seems wanted here, as in verse 251, where, for the same reason, I translate graha by 'shark,' not by 'captivitas,' as Dr. Fausböll proposes. The same scholar translates kali in our verse by 'peccatum.' If there is any objection to translating kali in Pâli by 'unlucky die,' I should still prefer to take it in the sense of the age of depravity, or the demon of depravity. To judge from Abhidhânappadîpikâ, 1106, kali was used for parâgaya, i. e. loss at game, a losing throw, and occurs in that sense again in verse 252. The Chinese translation has, 'there is no distress (poison) worse than hate.' A similar verse occurs Mahâbh. Sântip. 175, v. 35.

'Body' for khandha is a free translation, but it is difficult to find any other rendering. The Chinese translation also has 'body.' According to the Buddhists each sentient being consists of five khandhas (skandha), or aggregates, the organized body (rûpa-khandha) with its four internal capacities of sensation (vedanâ), perception (sañgñâ), conception (saṃskâra), knowledge (viññâna). See Burnouf, Introd. pp. 589, 634 ; Lotus, p. 335.

203. Saṃskâra is the fourth of the five khandhas, but the commentator takes it here, as well as in verse 255, for the five khandhas together, in which case we can only translate it by 'body.' See also verse 278. Childers proposes 'organic life' (Notes on Dhammapada, p. 1). There is, however, another saṃskâra, that which follows immediately upon avidyâ, 'ignorance,' as the second of the nidânas, or 'causes of existence,' and this too might be called the greatest pain, considering that it is the cause of birth, which is the cause of all pain. Saṃskâra seems sometimes to have a different

204. Health is the greatest of gifts, contented-
ness the best riches; trust is the best of relation-
ships, Nirvâṇa the highest happiness. } *fine*

205. He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity, is free from fear and free from sin, while he tastes the sweetness of drinking in the law.

206. The sight of the elect (Arya) is good, to live with them is always happiness; (if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy.)

207. He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way; company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful; company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk. ? ॐ

208. Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, the elect; one ought to follow a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

and less technical meaning, being used in the sense of conceptions, plans, desires, as, for instance, in verse 368, where *saṅkhârāṇaṃ khayam* is used much like *taṃhâkhaya*. Again, in his comment on verse 75, Buddhaghosa says, *upadhiviveko saṅkhârasaṅganikam vinodeti*; and again, *upadhiviveko ka nirupadhîṇāṃ puggalāṇaṃ visaṅkhâragatāṇaṃ*.

For a similar sentiment, see Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadânas*, vol. i. p. 40, 'Le corps est la plus grande source de souffrance,' &c. I should say that the *khandhas* in verse 202 and the *saṅkhâras* in verse 203 are nearly, if not quite, synonymous. I should prefer to read *gigaṅṅhâ-paramâ* as a compound. *Gigaṅṅhâ*, or as it is written in one MS., *digakaṅṅhâ* (Sk. *gighatsâ*), means not only 'hunger,' but 'appetite, desire.'

204. Childers translates, 'the best kinsman is a man you can trust.'

205. Cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 256.

208. I should like to read *sukho ka dhîrasamvâso*.

CHAPTER XVI.

PLEASURE.

209. He who gives himself to vanity, and does not give himself to meditation, forgetting the real aim (of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.

210. Let no man ever look for what is pleasant, or what is unpleasant. Not to see what is pleasant is pain, and it is pain to see what is unpleasant.

211. Let, therefore, no man love anything ; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters.

212. From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear ; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.

213. From affection comes grief, from affection comes fear ; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear.

214. From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear ; he who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear.

215. From love comes grief, from love comes fear ; he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear.

216. From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear ; he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear.

217. He who possesses virtue and intelligence,

214. See Beal, Catena, p. 200.

who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.

218. He in whom a desire for the Ineffable (Nirvâṇa) has sprung up, who is satisfied in his mind, and whose thoughts are not bewildered by love, he is called ūrdhvamsrotas (carried upwards by the stream).

219. Kinsmen, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.

220. In like manner his good works receive him who has done good; and has gone from this world to the other;—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

218. Ūrdhvamsrotas or uddhamsoto is the technical name for one who has reached the world of the Avrihas (Aviha), and is proceeding to that of the Akanish/has (Akani//ha). This is the last stage before he reaches the formless world, the Arūpadhātu. (See Buddhaghosha's Parables, p. 123; Burnouf, Introduction, p. 599.) Originally ūrdhvamsrotas may have been used in a less technical sense, meaning one who swims against the stream, and is not carried away by the vulgar passions of the world.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANGER.

221. Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage! No sufferings befall the man who is not attached to name and form, and who calls nothing his own.

222. He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins.

223. Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!

224. Speak the truth, do not yield to anger; give, if thou art asked for little; by these three steps thou wilt go near the gods.

225. The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place (*Nirvâna*), where, if they have gone, they will suffer no more.

226. Those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after *Nirvâna*, their passions will come to an end.

227. This is an old saying, O Atula, this is not only of to-day: 'They blame him who sits silent,

221. 'Name and form' or 'mind and body' is the translation of *nâma-rûpa*, the ninth of the Buddhist *Nidânas*. Cf. Burnouf, Introduction, p. 501; see also Gogerly, Lecture on Buddhism, and Bigandet, The Life of Gaudama, p. 454.

223. *Mahâbh. XII, 3550, asâdhum sadhunâ gayet*. Cf. Ten *Gâtakas*, ed. Fausböll, p. 5.

227. It appears from the commentary that *porânam* and *aggata-nam* are neuters, referring to what happened formerly and what

they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little ; there is no one on earth who is not blamed.

228. There never was, there never will be, nor is there now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised.

229, 230. But he whom those who discriminate praise continually day after day, as without blemish, wise, rich in knowledge and virtue, who would dare to blame him, like a coin made of gold from the Gambû river? Even the gods praise him, he is praised even by Brahman.

231. Beware of bodily anger, and control thy body ! Leave the sins of the body, and with thy body practise virtue !

232. Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue ! Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue !

233. Beware of the anger of the mind, and control thy mind ! Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind !

234. The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, the wise who control their mind, are indeed well controlled.

happens to-day, and that they are not to be taken as adjectives referring to âsînam, &c. The commentator must have read atula instead of atulam, and he explains it as the name of a pupil whom Gautama addressed by that name. This may be so (see note to verse 166); but atula may also be taken in the sense of incomparable (Mahâbh. XIII, 1937), and in that case we ought to supply, with Professor Weber, some such word as 'saw' or 'saying.'

230. The Brahman worlds are higher than the Deva worlds as the Brahman is higher than a Deva; see Hardy, Manual, p. 25; Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 134, 184.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMPURITY.

235. Thou art now like a sear leaf, the messengers of death (Yama) have come near to thee ; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

236. Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise ! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect (Ariya).

237. Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

238. Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise ! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.

239. Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his self, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little, and from time to time.

240. As the impurity which springs from the iron,

235. Uyyoga seems to mean departure. See Buddhaghosa's commentary on verse 152, p. 319, l. 1 ; Fausböll, *Five Gātakas*, p. 35.

236. 'An island,' for a drowning man to save himself ; (see verse 25.) *Dīpaṅkara* is the name of one of the former Buddhas, and it is also used as an appellative of the Buddha, but is always derived from *dīpo*, 'a lamp.'

239. This verse is the foundation of the thirty-fourth section of the *Sūtra* of the forty-two sections ; see Beal, *Catena*, p. 201 ; *Suttanipāta*, v. 962.

when it springs from it, destroys it ; thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to the evil path.

241. The taint of prayers is non-repetition ; the taint of houses, non-repair ; the taint of the body is sloth ; the taint of a watchman, thoughtlessness.

242. Bad conduct is the taint of woman, greediness the taint of a benefactor ; tainted are all evil ways, in this world and in the next.

243. But there is a taint worse than all taints,—ignorance is the greatest taint. O mendicants ! throw off that taint, and become taintless !

244. Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame, a crow hero, a mischief-maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow.

245. But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent.

246. He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in this world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife ;

247. And the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he, even in this world, digs up his own root. *taking advantage of self.*

248. O man, know this, that the unrestrained are in a bad state ; take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief for a long time !

244. Pakkhandin is identified by Dr. Fausböll with praskandin, one who jumps forward, insults, or, as Buddhaghosa explains it, one who meddles with other people's business, an interloper. At all events, it is a term of reproach, and, as it would seem, of theological reproach.

246. On the five principal commandments which are recapitulated in verses 246 and 247, see Buddhaghosa's Parables, p. 153.

248. Cf. Mahâbhârata XII, 4055, *yeshâm vrittis ka samyatâ*. See also verse 307.

249. The world gives according to their faith or according to their pleasure : if a man frets about the food and the drink given to others, he will find no rest either by day or by night.

250. He in whom that feeling is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, finds rest by day and by night.

251. There is no fire like passion, there is no shark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed.

252. The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive ; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler.

253. If a man looks after the faults of others, and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow, and he is far from the destruction of passions.

254. There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samāna by outward acts. The world

249. This verse has evidently regard to the feelings of the Bhikshus or mendicants who receive either much or little, and who are exhorted not to be envious if others receive more than they themselves. Several of the Parables illustrate this feeling.

251. Dr. Fausböll translates *gaho* by 'captivitas,' Dr. Weber by 'fetter.' I take it in the same sense as *grāha* in Manu VI, 78 ; and Buddhaghosa does the same, though he assigns to *grāha* a more general meaning, viz. anything that seizes, whether an evil spirit (*yakkha*), a serpent (*agagara*), or a crocodile (*kumbhila*).

Greed or thirst is represented as a river in *Lalita-vistara*, ed. Calc. p. 482, *trishnâ-nadî tivegâ prasoshitâ me gñânasûryeṇa*, 'the wild river of thirst is dried up by the sun of my knowledge.'

252. See Childers, Notes, p. 7 ; St. Matthew vii. 3.

253. As to *âsava*, 'appetite, passion,' see note to verse 39.

254. I have translated this verse very freely, and not in accord-

delights in vanity, the Tathâgatas (the Buddhas) are free from vanity.

255. There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. -No creatures are eternal ; but the awakened (Buddha) are never shaken.

ance with Buddhaghosa's commentary. Dr. Fausböll proposed to translate, 'No one who is outside the Buddhist community can walk through the air, but only a Samana;' and the same view is taken by Professor Weber, though he arrives at it by a different construction. Now it is perfectly true that the idea of magical powers (*ṛiddhi*) which enable saints to walk through the air, &c., occurs in the Dhammapada, see v. 175, note. But the Dhammapada may contain earlier and later verses, and in that case our verse might be an early protest on the part of Buddha against the belief in such miraculous powers. We know how Buddha himself protested against his disciples being called upon to perform vulgar miracles. 'I command my disciples not to work miracles,' he said, 'but to hide their good deeds, and to show their sins' (Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 170). It would be in harmony with this sentiment if we translated our verse as I have done. As to *bahira*, I should take it in the sense of 'external,' as opposed to *adhyâtmika*, or 'internal;' and the meaning would be, 'a Samana is not a Samana by outward acts, but by his heart.' D'Alwis translates (p. 85): 'There is no footprint in the air; there is not a Samana out of the pale of the Buddhist community.'

Prapañka, which I have here translated by 'vanity,' seems to include the whole host of human weaknesses; cf. v. 196, where it is explained by *tamhâditthimânâpapañka*; in our verse by *tamhâdisu papañkesu*: cf. *Lalita-vistara*, p. 564, *anâlayam nishprapañkam anutpâdam asambhavam (dharmaṭakram)*. As to Tathâgata, a name of Buddha, cf. Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 75.

255. Saṅkhâra for *samskâra*; cf. note to verse 203. Creature does not, as Mr. D'Alwis (p. 69) supposes, involve the Christian conception of creation.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JUST.

256, 257. A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence ; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others, not by violence, but by law and equity, and who is guarded by the law and intelligent, he is called just.

258. A man is not learned because he talks much ; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear, he is called learned.

259. A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much ; even if a man has learnt little, but sees the law bodily, he is a supporter of the law, a man who never neglects the law.

260. A man is not an elder because his head is grey ; his age may be ripe, but he is called 'Old-in-vain.'

261. He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder.

262. An envious, greedy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion.

263. He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred and wise, is called respectable.

259. Buddhaghosa here takes law (dhamma) in the sense of the four great truths, see note to verse 190. Could *dhammam kâyena passati* mean, 'he observes the law in his acts?' Hardly, if we compare expressions like *dhammam vipassato*, v. 373.

264. Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a *Samana*; can a man be a *Samana* who is still held captive by desire and greediness?

265. He who always quiets the evil, whether small or large, he is called a *Samana* (a quiet man), because he has quieted all evil.

266. A man is not a mendicant (*Bhikshu*) simply because he asks others for alms; he who adopts the whole law is a *Bhikshu*, not he who only begs.

267. He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with knowledge passes through the world, he indeed is called a *Bhikshu*.

268, 269. A man is not a *Muni* because he observes silence (*mona*, i. e. *mauna*), if he is foolish

265. This is a curious etymology, because it shows that at the time when this verse was written, the original meaning of *sramana* had been forgotten. *Sramana* meant originally, in the language of the Brahmins, a man who performed hard penances, from *sram*, 'to work hard,' &c. When it became the name of the Buddhist ascetics, the language had changed, and *sramana* was pronounced *samana*. Now there is another Sanskrit root, *sam*, 'to quiet,' which in Pâli becomes likewise *sam*, and from this root *sam*, 'to quiet,' and not from *sram*, 'to tire,' did the popular etymology of the day and the writer of our verse derive the title of the Buddhist priests. The original form *sramana* became known to the Greeks as *Σαμᾶναι*, that of *samana* as *Σαμᾶνῶν*; the former through Megasthenes, the latter through Bardesanes, 80–60 B.C. (See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II, 700.) The Chinese Shamen and the Tungusian Shamen come from the same source, though the latter has sometimes been doubted. See Schott, *Über die doppelte Bedeutung des Wortes Schamane*, in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Berlin Academy*, 1842, p. 463 seq.

266–270. The etymologies here given of the ordinary titles of the followers of Buddha are entirely fanciful, and are curious only as showing how the people who spoke Pâli had lost the etymological consciousness of their language. A *Bhikshu* is a beggar,

and ignorant ; but the wise who, taking the balance, chooses the good and avoids evil, he is a Muni, and is a Muni thereby ; he who in this world weighs both sides is called a Muni.

270. A man is not an elect (Ariya) because he injures living creatures ; because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore is a man called Ariya.

271, 272. Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn the happiness of release which no worldling can know. Bhikshu, be not confident as long as thou hast not attained the extinction of desires.

i. e. a Buddhist friar who has left his family and lives entirely on alms. Muni is a sage, hence Sâkya-muni, a name of Gautama. Muni comes from man, 'to think,' and from muni comes mauna, 'silence.' Ariya, again, is the general name of those who embrace a religious life. It meant originally 'respectable, noble.' In verse 270 it seems as if the writer wished to guard against deriving ariya from ari, 'enemy.' See note to verse 22.

272. See Childers, Notes, p. 7.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAY.

273. The best of ways is the eightfold ; the best of truths the four words ; the best of virtues passionlessness ; the best of men he who has eyes to see.

274. This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence. Go on this way ! Everything else is the deceit of Māra (the tempter).

275. If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain ! The way was preached by me, when I had understood the removal of the thorns (in the flesh).

276. You yourself must make an effort. The Tathāgatas (Buddhas) are only preachers. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Māra.

277. 'All created things perish,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way to purity.

273. The eightfold or eight-membered way is the technical term for the way by which Nirvāṇa is attained. (See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 519.) This very way constitutes the fourth of the Four Truths, or the four words of truth, viz. *Duḥkha*, 'pain ;' *Samudaya*, 'origin ;' *Nirodha*, 'destruction ;' *Mārga*, 'road.' (*Lotus*, p. 517.) See note to verse 178. For another explanation of the *Mārga*, or 'way,' see Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 280.

274. The last line may mean, 'this way is the confusion of Māra,' i. e. the discomfiture of Māra.

275. The *salyas*, 'arrows or thorns,' are the *sokasalya*, 'the arrows of grief.' Buddha himself is called *mahāsalya-hartâ*, 'the great remover of thorns.' (*Lalita-vistara*, p. 550 ; *Mahâbh.* XII, 5616.)

277. See v. 255.

278. 'All created things are grief and pain,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

279. 'All forms are unreal,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

280. He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise, who, though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man will never find the way to knowledge.

281. Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let a man never commit any wrong with his body ! Let a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise.

282. Through zeal knowledge is gotten, through lack of zeal knowledge is lost ; let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow.

283. Cut down the whole forest (of lust), not a tree only ! Danger comes out of the forest (of lust). When you have cut down both the forest (of lust) and its undergrowth, then, Bhikshus, you will be rid of the forest and free !

278. See v. 203.

279. Dhamma is here explained, like saṅkhâra, as the five khandha, i. e. as what constitutes a living body.

281. Cf. Beal, Catena, p. 159.

282. Bhûri was rightly translated 'intelligentia' by Dr. Fausböll. Dr. Weber renders it by 'Gedeihen,' but the commentator distinctly explains it as 'vast knowledge,' and in the technical sense the word occurs after vidyâ and before medhâ, in the Lalita-vistara, p. 541.

283. A pun, vana meaning both 'lust' and 'forest.' See some mistaken remarks on this verse in D'Alwis, Nirvâna, p. 86, and some good remarks in Childers, Notes, p. 7.

284. So long as the love of man towards women, even the smallest, is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage, as the calf that drinks milk is to its mother.

285. Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvâna has been shown by Sugata (Buddha).

286. 'Here I shall dwell in the rain, here in winter and summer,' thus the fool meditates, and does not think of his death.

287. Death comes and carries off that man, praised for his children and flocks, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

288. Sons are no help, nor a father, nor relations; there is no help from kinsfolk for one whom death has seized.

289. A wise and good man who knows the meaning of this, should quickly clear the way that leads to Nirvâna.

285. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 183.

286. *Antarâya*, according to the commentator, *gâvitântarâya*, i. e. interitus, death. In Sanskrit, *antarita* is used in the sense of 'vanished' or 'perished.'

287. See notes to verse 47, Thiessen, *Kisâgotamî*, p. 11, and *Mahâbh.* XII, 9944, 6540.

CHAPTER XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

290. If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure, and look to the great.

291. He who, by causing pain to others, wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he, entangled in the bonds of hatred, will never be free from hatred.

292. What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done ; the desires of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing.

293. But they whose whole watchfulness is always directed to their body, who do not follow what ought not to be done, and who steadfastly do what ought to be done, the desires of such watchful and wise people will come to an end.

294. A true Brâhmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects.

295. A true Brâhmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and an eminent man besides.

292. Cf. Beal, Catena, p. 264.

294, 295. These two verses are either meant to show that a truly holy man who, by accident, commits all these crimes is guiltless, or they refer to some particular event in Buddha's history. The commentator is so startled that he explains them allegorically. Mr. D'Alwis is very indignant that I should have supposed Buddha capable of pardoning patricide. 'Can it be believed,' he writes, 'that a Teacher, who held life, even the life of the minutest insect,

296. The disciples of Gotama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha.

297. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the law.

298. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the church.

299. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on their body.

may, even a living tree, in such high estimation as to prevent its wanton destruction, has declared that the murder of a Brâhmaṇa, to whom he accorded reverence, along with his own Sangha, was blameless?' D'Alwis, *Nirvâṇa*, p. 88. Though something might be said in reply, considering the antecedents of king Agâtaratru, the patron of Buddha, and stories such as that quoted by the commentator on the *Dhammapada* (Beal, l.c. p. 150), or in *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 306, still these two verses are startling, and I am not aware that Buddha has himself drawn the conclusion, which has been drawn by others, viz. that those who have reached the highest Sambodhi, and are in fact no longer themselves, are outside the domain of good and bad, and beyond the reach of guilt. Verses like 39 and 412 admit of a different explanation. Still our verses being miscellaneous extracts, might possibly have been taken from a work in which such an opinion was advanced, and I find that Mr. Childers, no mean admirer of Buddha, was not shocked by my explanation. 'In my judgment,' he says, 'this verse is intended to express in a forcible manner the Buddhist doctrine that the Arhat cannot commit a serious sin.' However, we have met before with far-fetched puns in these verses, and it is not impossible that the native commentators were right after all in seeing some puns or riddles in this verse. D'Alwis, following the commentary, explains mother as lust, father as pride, the two valiant kings as heretical systems, and the realm as sensual pleasure, while veyyaggha is taken by him for a place infested with the tigers of obstruction against final beatitude. Some confirmation of this interpretation is sup-

300. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in compassion.

301. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in meditation.

302. It is hard to leave the world (to become a friar), it is hard to enjoy the world; hard is the monastery, painful are the houses; painful it is to dwell with equals (to share everything in common), and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. Therefore let no man be an itinerant mendicant, and he will not be beset with pain.

303. Whatever place a faithful, virtuous, celebrated, and wealthy man chooses, there he is respected.

304. Good people shine from afar, like the snowy

plied by a passage in the third book of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, as quoted by Mr. Beal in his translation of the *Dhammapada*, Introduction, p. 5. Here a stanza is quoted as having been recited by Buddha, in explanation of a similar startling utterance which he had made to Mahāmāti:

‘Lust, or carnal desire, this is the Mother,
 Ignorance, this is the Father,
 The highest point of knowledge, this is Buddha,
 All the klesas, these are the Rahats,
 The five skandhas, these are the Priests;
 To commit the five unpardonable sins
 Is to destroy these five
 And yet not suffer the pains of hell.’

The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci (508–511); when it was written is doubtful. See also *Gātaka*, vol. ii. p. 263.

302. This verse is difficult, and I give my translation as tentative only. Childers (Notes, p. 11) does not remove the difficulties, and I have been chiefly guided by the interpretation put on the verse by the Chinese translator; Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 137.

mountains; bad people are not seen, like arrows shot by night.

305. He alone who, without ceasing, practises the duty of sitting alone and sleeping alone, he, subduing himself, will rejoice in the destruction of all desires alone, as if living in a forest.

305. I have translated this verse so as to bring it into something like harmony with the preceding verses. Vanânte, according to a pun pointed out before (v. 283), means both 'in the end of a forest,' and 'in the end of desires.'

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DOWNWARD COURSE.

306. He who says what is not, goes to hell; he also who, having done a thing, says 'I have not done it. After death both are equal, they are men with evil deeds in the next world.

307. Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained; such evil-doers by their evil deeds go to hell.

308. Better it would be to swallow a heated iron ball, like flaring fire, than that a bad unrestrained fellow should live on the charity of the land.

309. Four things does a ~~w~~reckless man gain who covets his neighbour's wife,—a bad reputation, an uncomfortable bed, thirdly, punishment, and lastly, hell.

306. I translate niraya, 'the exit, the downward course, the evil path,' by 'hell,' because the meaning assigned to that ancient mythological name by Christian writers comes so near to the Buddhist idea of niraya, that it is difficult not to believe in some actual contact between these two streams of thought. See also Mahâbh. XII, 7176. Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. ii. p. 416; *Suttanipâta*, v. 660.

307, 308. These two verses are said to be taken from the *Vinaya-piṭaka* I, 4, 1; D'Alwis, *Nirvâṇa*, p. 29.

308. The charity of the land, i. e. the alms given, from a sense of religious duty, to every mendicant that asks for it.

309, 310. The four things mentioned in verse 309 seem to be repeated in verse 310. Therefore, *apuññalâbha*, 'bad fame,' is the same in both: *gatî pâpikâ* must be niraya; *danda* must be nindâ, and *ratî thokikâ* explains the *anikâmaseyyam*. Buddhaghosa

310. There is bad reputation, and the evil way (to hell), there is the short pleasure of the frightened in the arms of the frightened, and the king imposes heavy punishment ; therefore let no man think of his neighbour's wife.

311. As a grass-blade, if badly grasped, cuts the arm, badly-practised asceticism leads to hell.

312. An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline, all this brings no great reward.

313. If anything is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously ! A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely.

314. An evil deed is better left undone, for a man repents of it afterwards ; a good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent.

315. Like a well-guarded frontier fort, with defences within and without, so let a man guard himself. Not a moment should escape, for they who allow the right moment to pass, suffer pain when they are in hell.

316. They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

317. They who fear when they ought not to fear, and fear not when they ought to fear, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

takes the same view of the meaning of *anikâmasēyya*, i. e. *yathā ikkhāti evaṃ seyyam alabhitvā, anikkhitam parittakam eva kâlam seyyam labhati*, 'not obtaining the rest as he wishes it, he obtains it, as he does not wish it, for a short time only.'

313. As to *raga* meaning 'dust' and 'passion,' see *Buddha-ghosha's Parables*, pp. 65, 66.

318. They who forbid when there is nothing to be forbidden, and forbid not when there is something to be forbidden, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

319. They who know what is forbidden as forbidden, and what is not forbidden as not forbidden, such men, embracing the true doctrine, enter the good path.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ELEPHANT.

320. Silently shall I endure abuse as the elephant in battle endures the arrow sent from the bow : for the world is ill-natured.

321. They lead a tamed elephant to battle, the king mounts a tamed elephant ; the tamed is the best among men, he who silently endures abuse.

322. Mules are good, if tamed, and noble Sindhu horses, and elephants with large tusks ; but he who tames himself is better still.

323. For with these animals does no man reach the untrodden country (Nirvâna), where a tamed man goes on a tamed animal, viz. on his own well-tamed self.

324. The elephant called Dhanapâlaka, his temples running with sap, and difficult to hold, does not eat a morsel when bound ; the elephant longs for the elephant grove.

320. The elephant is with the Buddhists the emblem of endurance and self-restraint. Thus Buddha himself is called Nâga, 'the Elephant' (Lal. Vist. p. 553), or Mahânâga, 'the great Elephant' (Lal. Vist. p. 553), and in one passage (Lal. Vist. p. 554) the reason of this name is given, by stating that Buddha was sudânta, 'well-tamed,' like an elephant. He descended from heaven in the form of an elephant to be born on earth.

Cf. Manu VI, 47, *ativâdâms titiksheta*.

323. I read, as suggested by Dr. Fausböll, *yath' attanâ sudantena danto dantena gakkhati* (cf. verse 160). The India Office MS. reads *na hi etehi ihânehi gakkheya agatam disam, yath' attânam sudantena danto dantena gakkhati*. As to *ihânehi* instead of *yânehi*, see verse 224.

325. If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again.

326. This mind of mine went formerly wandering about as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased; but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the rider who holds the hook holds in the furious elephant.

327. Be not thoughtless, watch your thoughts! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud.

328. If a man find a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate.

329. If a man find no prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind,—like an elephant in the forest.

330. It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool; let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.

326. *Yoniso*, i.e. *yonisaḥ*, is rendered by Dr. Fausböll 'sapientiâ,' and this is the meaning ascribed to *yonī* by many Buddhist authorities. But the reference to *Hemaṅḍa* (ed. Boehtlingk and Rieu, p. 281) shows clearly that it meant 'origin,' or 'cause.' *Yoniso* occurs frequently as a mere adverb, meaning 'thoroughly, radically' (*Dhammapada*, p. 359), and *yoniso manasikâra* (*Dhammapada*, p. 110) means 'taking to heart' or 'minding thoroughly,' or, what is nearly the same, 'wisely.' In the *Lalita-vistara*, p. 41, the commentator has clearly mistaken *yonisaḥ*, changing it to *ye 'niso*, and explaining it by *yamanisam*, whereas M. Foucaux has rightly translated it by 'depuis l'origine.' Professor Weber suspected in *yonisaḥ* a double entendre, but even grammar would show that our author is innocent of it. In *Lalita-vistara*, p. 544, l. 4, *ayonisa* occurs in the sense of error.

328, 329. Cf. *Suttanipâta*, vv. 44, 45.

331. If an occasion arises, friends are pleasant; enjoyment is pleasant, whatever be the cause; a good work is pleasant in the hour of death; the giving up of all grief is pleasant.

332. Pleasant in the world is the state of a mother, pleasant the state of a father, pleasant the state of a Samana, pleasant the state of a Brâhmana.

333. Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted; pleasant is attainment of intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins.

332. The commentator throughout takes these words, like mat-teyyatâ, &c., to signify, not the status of a mother, or maternity, but reverence shown to a mother.

1, 1, 1, 1

CHAPTER XXIV.

THIRST.

334. The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper ; he runs from life to life, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest.

1. 335. Whomsoever this fierce thirst overcomes, full of poison, in this world, his sufferings increase like the abounding *Bīraṇa* grass.

336. He who overcomes this fierce thirst, difficult to be conquered in this world, sufferings fall off from him, like water-drops from a lotus leaf.

2. 337. This salutary word I tell you, 'Do ye, as many as are here assembled, dig up the root of thirst, as he who wants the sweet-scented *Usīra* root must dig up the *Bīraṇa* grass, that *Māra* (the tempter) may not crush you again and again, as the stream crushes the reeds.'

338. As a tree, even though it has been cut down, is firm so long as its root is safe, and grows again, thus, unless the feeders of thirst are destroyed, this pain (of life) will return again and again.

339. He whose thirst running towards pleasure is exceeding strong in the thirty-six channels, the

334. This is explained by a story in the Chinese translation. Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 148.

335. *Bīraṇa* grass is the *Andropogon muricatum*, and the scented root of it is called *Usīra* (cf. verse 337).

338. On *Anusaya*, i.e. *Anusaya* (Anlage), see Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 240 seq.

339. The thirty-six channels, or passions, which are divided by the commentator into eighteen external and eighteen internal, are

waves will carry away that misguided man, viz. his desires which are set on passion.

340. The channels run everywhere, the creeper³ (of passion) stands sprouting; if you see the creeper springing up, cut its root by means of knowledge.

341. A creature's pleasures are extravagant and luxurious; sunk in lust and looking for pleasure, men undergo (again and again) birth and decay.

342. Men, driven on by thirst, run about like⁴ a snared hare; held in fetters and bonds, they undergo pain for a long time, again and again.

343. Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare; let therefore the mendicant drive out thirst, by striving after passionlessness for himself.

344. He who having got rid of the forest (of lust) (i.e. after having reached Nirvâṇa) gives himself over to forest-life (i.e. to lust), and who, when removed from the forest (i.e. from lust), runs to the forest (i.e. to lust), look at that man! though free, he runs into bondage.

explained by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 649), from a gloss of the *Ginālaṅkāra*: 'L'indication précise des affections dont un Buddha acte indépendant, affections qui sont au nombre de dix-huit, nous est fourni par la glose d'un livre appartenant aux Buddhistes de Ceylan,' &c. Subhūti gives the right reading as *manāpassavanā*; cf. Childers, Notes, p. 12.

Vāhā, which Dr. Fausböll translates by 'equi,' may be *vahā*, 'undae.' Cf. *Suttanipāta*, v. 1034.

344. This verse seems again full of puns, all connected with the twofold meaning of *vana*, 'forest and lust.' By replacing 'forest' by 'lust,' we may translate: 'He who, when free from lust, gives himself up to lust, who, when removed from lust runs into lust, look at that man,' &c. *Nibbana*, though with a short a, may be intended to remind the hearer of *Nibbāna*. The right reading is *nibbanatho*; see Childers, Notes, p. 8.

5. 345. Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp ; far stronger is the care for precious stones and rings, for sons and a wife.

346. That fetter wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo ; after having cut this at last, people leave the world, free from cares, and leaving desires and pleasures behind.

347. Those who are slaves to passions, run down with the stream (of desires), as a spider runs down the web which he has made himself ; when they have cut this, at last, wise people leave the world, free from cares, leaving all affection behind.

6. 348. Give up what is before, give up what is behind, give up what is in the middle, when thou goest to the other shore of existence ; if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay.

7. 349. If a man is tossed about by doubts, full of strong passions, and yearning only for what is delightful, his thirst will grow more and more, and he will indeed make his fetters strong.

8. 350. If a man delights in quieting doubts, and, always reflecting, dwells on what is not delightful

345. Apekâ, apeksâ, 'care ;' see Manu VI, 41, 49 ; Suttanipâta, v. 37 ; and Gâtaka, vol. ii. p. 140.

346. Paribbag, i. e. parivrag ; see Manu VI, 41.

347. The commentator explains the simile of the spider as follows : 'As a spider, after having made its thread-web, sits in the middle, and after killing with a violent rush a butterfly or a fly which has fallen in its circle, drinks its juice, returns, and sits again in the same place, in the same manner creatures who are given to passions, depraved by hatred, and maddened by wrath, run along the stream of thirst which they have made themselves, and cannot cross it,' &c.

(the impurity of the body, &c.), he certainly will remove, nay, he will cut the fetter of Mâra.

351. He who has reached the consummation, who does not tremble, who is without thirst and without sin, he has broken all the thorns of life : this will be his last body.

352. He who is without thirst and without affection, who understands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man.

353. 'I have conquered all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint; I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free; having learnt myself, whom shall I teach?'

354. The gift of the law exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of the law exceeds all sweetness; the delight in the law exceeds all delights; the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.

355. Pleasures destroy the foolish, if they look not for the other shore; the foolish by his thirst for pleasures destroys himself, as if he were his own enemy.

352. As to nirutti, and its technical meaning among the Buddhists, see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 841. Fausböll translates 'niruttis vocabulorum peritus,' which may be right, if we take nirutti in the sense of the language of the Scriptures. See note to verse 363. Could not sannipâta mean samhitâ or sannikarsha? Sannipâta occurs in the *Sākala-prâtisākhya*, but with a different meaning.

353. Cf. *Suttanipāta*, v. 210.

354. The dhammadāna, or 'gift of the law,' is the technical term for instruction in the Buddhist religion. See Buddhaghosha's *Parables*, p. 160, where the story of the Sakkadevarāga is told, and where a free rendering of our verse is given.

356. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion : therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward.

357. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred : therefore a gift bestowed on those who do not hate brings great reward.

358. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by vanity : therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity brings great reward.

359. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by lust : therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from lust brings great reward.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE BHIKSHU (MENDICANT).

360. Restraint in the eye is good, good is restraint in the ear, in the nose restraint is good, good is restraint in the tongue.

361. In the body restraint is good, good is restraint in speech, in thought restraint is good, good is restraint in all things. A Bhikshu, restrained in all things, is freed from all pain.

362. He who controls his hand, he who controls his feet, he who controls his speech, he who is well controlled, he who delights inwardly, who is collected, who is solitary and content, him they call Bhikshu.

363. The Bhikshu who controls his mouth, who speaks wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning and the law, his word is sweet.

364. He who dwells in the law, delights in the law, meditates on the law, follows the law, that Bhikshu will never fall away from the true law.

365. Let him not despise what he has received,

363. On artha and dharma, see Stanislas Julien, *Les Avadânas*, I, 217, note; 'Les quatre connaissances sont; 1^o la connaissance du sens (artha); 2^o la connaissance de la Loi (dharma); 3^o la connaissance des explications (niroukti); 4^o la connaissance de l'intelligence (prâtibhâna).'

364. The expression dhammârâmo, 'having his garden or delight (Lustgarten) in the law,' is well matched by the Brahmanic expression ekârâma, i. e. nirdvandva (*Mahâbh.* XIII, 1930). Cf. *Suttanipâta*, v. 326; *Dhammapada*, v. 32.

nor ever envy others: a mendicant who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.

366. A Bhikshu who, though he receives little, does not despise what he has received, even the gods will praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful.

367. He who never identifies himself with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.

368. The Bhikshu who acts with kindness, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (*Nirvâna*), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

369. O Bhikshu, empty this boat! if emptied, it will go quickly; having cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to *Nirvâna*.

370. Cut off the five (senses), leave the five, rise above the five. A Bhikshu, who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called *Oghatinna*, 'saved from the flood.'

371. Meditate, O Bhikshu, and be not heedless! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure, that thou mayest not for thy heedlessness have to swallow the iron ball (in hell), and that thou mayest not cry out when burning, 'This is pain.'

367. *Nâmarûpa* is here used again in its technical sense of mind and body, neither of which, however, is with the Buddhists *âtman*, or 'self.' *Asat*, 'what is not,' may therefore mean the same as *nâmarûpa*, or we may take it in the sense of what is no more, as, for instance, the beauty or youth of the body, the vigour of the mind, &c.

368. See Childers, Notes, p. 11.

371. The swallowing of hot iron balls is considered as a punishment in hell; see verse 308. Professor Weber has perceived the

372. Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge : he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvâna.

373. A Bhikshu who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the law clearly.

374. As soon as he has considered the origin and destruction of the elements (khandha) of the body, he finds happiness and joy which belong to those who know the immortal (Nirvâna).

375. And this is the beginning here for a wise Bhikshu : watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law ; keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful.

376. Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties ; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering.

377. As the Vassikâ plant sheds its withered flowers, men should shed passion and hatred, O ye Bhikshus !

378. The Bhikshu whose body and tongue and mind are quieted, who is collected, and has rejected the baits of the world, he is called quiet.

379. Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself, thus self-protected and attentive wilt thou live happily, Ò Bhikshu !

380. For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self ; therefore curb thyself as the merchant curbs a good horse.

right meaning of bhavassu, which can only be bhâvayasva, but I doubt whether the rest of his rendering is right, for who would swallow an iron ball by accident ?

372. Cf. Beal, Catena, p. 247.

375. Cf. Suttanipâta, v. 337.

381. The Bhikshu, full of delight, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha will reach the quiet place (Nirvâṇa), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

382. He who, even as a young Bhikshu, applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world, like the moon when free from clouds.

381. See verse 368. D'Alwis translates, 'dissolution of the saṅkhâras (elements of existence).'

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BRÂHMANA (ARHAT).

383. Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires, O Brâhmana! When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made.

384. If the Brâhmana has reached the other shore in both laws (in restraint and contemplation), all bonds vanish from him who has obtained knowledge.

385. He for whom there is neither this nor that shore, nor both, him, the fearless and unshackled, I call indeed a Brâhmana.

386. He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, without passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

387. The sun is bright by day, the moon shines by night, the warrior is bright in his armour, the Brâhmana is bright in his meditation; but Buddha, the Awakened, is bright with splendour day and night.

388. Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brâhmana; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravragita (Pabbagita, a pilgrim).

385. The exact meaning of the two shores is not quite clear, and the commentator who takes them in the sense of internal and external organs of sense, can hardly be right. See verse 86.

388. These would-be etymologies are again interesting as showing the decline of the etymological life of the spoken language of

389. No one should attack a Brâhmana, but no Brâhmana (if attacked) should let himself fly at his aggressor! Woe to him who strikes a Brâhmana, more woe to him who flies at his aggressor!

390. It advantages a Brâhmana not a little if he holds his mind back from the pleasures of life; when all wish to injure has vanished, pain will cease.

391. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three points.

392. After a man has once understood the law as taught by the Well-awakened (Buddha), let him worship it carefully, as the Brâhmana worships the sacrificial fire.

393. A man does not become a Brâhmana by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brâhmana.

394. What is the use of platted hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goat-skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.

395. The man who wears dirty raiments, who is

India at the time when such etymologies became possible. In order to derive Brâhmana from vâh, it must have been pronounced bâhmano; vâh, 'to remove,' occurs frequently in the Buddhistical Sanskrit. Cf. Lal. Vist. p. 551, l. 1; 553, l. 7. See note to verse 265.

390. I am afraid I have taken too much liberty with this verse. Dr. Fausböll translates, 'Non Brâhmanae hoc paulo melius, quando retentio fit mentis a jucundis.'

393. Fausböll proposes to read *gakkâ* (*gâtâyâ*). 'Both' in the first edition of my translation was a misprint for 'birth.'

394. I have not copied the language of the Bible more than I was justified in. The words are *abbhantaran te gahanam, bâhiram parimaggasi*, 'interna est abyssus, externum mundas.' Cf. *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 481.

395. The expression *Kisan dhamanisanthatam* is the Sanskrit

emaciated and covered with veins, who lives alone in the forest, and meditates, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

396. I do not call a man a Brâhmana because of his origin or of his mother. He is indeed arrogant, and he is wealthy: but the poor, who is free from all attachments, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

397. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has cut all fetters, who never trembles, is independent and unshackled.

398. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has cut the strap and the thong, the chain with all that pertains to it, who has burst the bar, and is awakened.

399. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds, and stripes, who has endurance for his force, and strength for his army.

400. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who is free from anger, dutiful, virtuous, without appetite, who is subdued, and has received his last body.

krîsam dhamanîsantatam, the frequent occurrence of which in the Mahâbhârata has been pointed out by Boehtlingk, s. v. dhamani. It looks more like a Brâhmanic than like a Buddhist phrase.

396. From verse 396 to the first half of verse 423, the text of the Dhammapada agrees with the text of the Vasishtha-Bharadvâga-sûtra. These verses are translated by D'Alwis in his Nirvâna, pp. 113-118, and again by Fausböll, Suttanipâta, v. 620 seq.

The text contains puns on *kiñkana*, which means 'wealth,' but also 'attachment;' cf. Childers, s. v.

398. D'Alwis points out a double entendre in these words. Nandhi may be either the strap that goes round a drum, or enmity; varatta may be either a thong or attachment; sandâna either chain or scepticism; sahanakkamam either due order or all its concomitants; paligha either bar or ignorance.

399. The exact meaning of *balânîka* is difficult to find. Does it mean, possessed of a strong army, or facing a force, or leading a force?

401. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who does not cling to pleasures, like water on a lotus leaf, like a mustard seed on the point of a needle.

402. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, even here, knows the end of his suffering, has put down his burden, and is unshackled.

403. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, and has attained the highest end.

404. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who keeps aloof both from laymen and from mendicants, who frequents no houses, and has but few desires.

405. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who finds no fault with other beings, whether feeble or strong, and does not kill nor cause slaughter.

406. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with fault-finders, and free from passion among the passionate.

407. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of a needle.

408. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness, so that he offend no one.

409. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who takes nothing in the world that is not given him, be it long or short, small or large, good or bad.

410. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who fosters no desires for this world or for the next, has no inclinations, and is unshackled.

405. On *tasa* and *thâvara*, see Childers, s. v., and D'Alwis, *Nirvâna*, p. 115. On *danda*, 'the rod,' see Hibbert Lectures, p. 355, note.

411. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has no interests, and when he has understood (the truth), does not say How, how? and who has reached the depth of the Immortal.

412. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who in this world is above good and evil, above the bondage of both, free from grief, from sin, and from impurity.

413. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who is bright like the moon, pure, serene, undisturbed, and in whom all gaiety is extinct.

414. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who has traversed this miry road, the impassable world and its vanity, who has gone through, and reached the other shore, is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content.

415. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who in this world, leaving all desires, travels about without a home, and in whom all concupiscence is extinct.

416. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, leaving all longings, travels about without a home, and in whom all covetousness is extinct.

417. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all

411. Akathankathi is explained by Buddhaghosa as meaning, 'free from doubt or hesitation.' He also uses kathankathâ in the sense of 'doubt' (verse 414). In the Kâvyâdarsa, III, 17, the commentator explains akatham by kathârahitam, nirvivâdam, which would mean, 'without a kathâ, a speech, a story without contradiction, unconditionally.' From our passage, however, it seems as if kathankathâ was a noun derived from kathankathayati, 'to say How, how?' so that neither the first nor the second element had anything to do with kath, 'to relate;' and in that case akatham, too, ought to be taken in the sense of 'without a Why.'

412. See versè 39. The distinction between good and evil vanishes when a man has retired from the world, and has ceased to act, longing only for deliverance.

bondage to the gods, and is free from all and every bondage.

418. Him I call indeed a Brâhmaṇa who has left what gives pleasure and what gives pain, who is cold, and free from all germs (of renewed life), the hero who has conquered all the worlds.

419. Him I call indeed a Brâhmaṇa who knows the destruction and the return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, welfaring (Sugata), and awakened (Buddha).

418. Upadhi, if not used in a technical sense, is best translated by 'passions or affections.' Technically there are four upadhis or substrata, viz. the kandhas, kâma, 'desire,' kilesa, 'sin,' and kamma, 'work.' The Brâhmaṇa may be called nirupadhi, as being free from desire, misery, and work and its consequences, but not yet of the kandhas, which end through death only. The commentator explains nirupadhi by nirupakkilesa, 'free from sin.' See Childers, s. v. nibbâna, p. 268 a.

419. Sugata is one of those many words in Buddhist literature which it is almost impossible to translate, because they have been taken in so many acceptations by the Buddhists themselves. Sugata etymologically means 'one who has fared well,' sugati means 'happiness and blessedness.' It is wrong to translate it literally by 'welcome,' for that in Sanskrit is svâgata; and we cannot accept Dr. Eitel's statement (Handbook, p. 138) that sugata stands incorrectly for svâgata. Sugata is one of the not very numerous technical terms in Buddhism for which hitherto we know of no antecedents in earlier Brahmanism. It may have been used in the sense of 'happy and blessed,' but it never became a title, while in Buddhism it has become, not only a title, but almost a proper name of Buddha. The same applies to tathâgata, lit. 'thus come,' but used in Sanskrit very much like tathâvidha, in the sense of talis, while in Buddhism it means a Buddha. There are of course many interpretations of the word, and many reasons are given why Buddhas should be called Tathâgata (Burnouf, Introduction, p. 75, &c.) Boettlingk s. v. supposed that, because Buddha had so many predicates, he was, for the sake of brevity, called 'such a one as he really is.' I think we may go a step further. Another word, tâdṛśa, meaning

420. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana whose path⁹ the gods do not know, nor spirits (Gandharvas), nor men, whose passions are extinct, and who is an Arhat (venerable).

421. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who calls nothing his own, whether it be before, behind, or between, who is poor, and free from the love of the world.

422. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

423. Him I call indeed a Brâhmana who knows his former abodes, who sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose perfections are all perfect.

talis, becomes in Pâli, under the form of tâdi, a name of Buddha's disciples, and afterwards of Buddha himself. If applied to Buddha's disciples, it may have meant originally 'such as he,' i. e. his fellows; but when applied to Buddha himself, it can only mean 'such a one,' i. e. 'so great a man.' The Sanskrit mârsha is probably the Pâli mârîso, which stands for mādîso, Sk. mādriśa, 'like me,' used in Pâli when a superior addresses others as his equals, and afterwards changed into a mere title of respect.

INDEX.

The figures of this Index refer to the numbers of the verses.

- Ābhāsvara, gods, 200.
 Agni, worshipped, 107, 392.
 Agātasatru, defeated by Prasenagit, 201.
 Akanishības, 218.
 Akiñkara, 87.
 Akkokkhi, 1.
 Amata (amrita), the immortal (Nirvāṇa), 21.
 Animitta, 92, 93.
 Anivesana, 40.
 Anusaya, foundation, root, 338.
 Āpastamba, Dharma-sūtra, 39, 96, 109.
 Appamādavagga, 21.
 Arahantavagga, 90.
 Arahāt, and Ariya, 164.
 Ariya, the elect, 22, 79.
 — etymology of, 270.
 Artha and dharma, 363.
 Arūpadhātu, 218.
 Āsava, āsava, 253.
 Āsava, khīnāsava, 89.
 Āsava, 39. See Āsava.
 Asoka, 21.
 Āsraya, 89.
 Atharva-veda, 96.
 Attavagga, 157.
 Atula, 227.
 Avadāna, legend, etymology of, 183.
 Āvāsa, monastery, 72, 302.
 Avassuta, 39.
 Avrīha, 218.
 Bālavagga, 60.
 Bee, emblem of a sage, 49.
 Bhikkhuvagga, 360.
 Bhikshu, a mendicant, 31, 32, 72, 75, 266, 267.
 Bhikshu, different from Sramana and Brāhmaṇa, 142.
 Bhoṇḍi, arrogant, addressing venerable people by bho! 396.
 Bhūri, knowledge, 282.
 Bodhiruṭi (508–511 A.D.), 294.
 Bodhyaṅga. See Sambodhyaṅga, 89.
 Brahmagālasutta, 153.
 Brahman, above the gods, 230.
 Brahman, with Māra, 105.
 Brāhmaṇa, with Sramana and Bhikshu, 142.
 Brāhmaṇa, etymology of, 388.
 Brāhmaṇavagga, 383.
 Buddha's last words, 153, 154.
 — commandments, 183, 185.
 Buddhavagga, 179.
 Convent (āvāsa), 73, 302.
 Dah, to burn, not sah, 31.
 Dandanidhāna, 142, 405.
 Dandavagga, 129.
 Death, its dominion, 86.
 — king of, 170.
 Dhamma, plur., forms, things, 279.
 Dhammā, plur., three of the five khandhas, vedanā, saññā, and saṅkhāra, 1.
 Dhammadāna, 354.
 Dhammatthavagga, 256.
 Dhanapālaka, 324.
 Dharma, explained, 1.
 Dhātu, eighteen, 89.
 Digambaras (Gainas, followers of Mahāvīra), 141.
 Dīpa, island (arhatship), 25, 26.
 Dīpa, dvīpa, island, 236, 238.
 Dīpaṅkara, 236, 238.
 Dīpavamsa, 21.
 Disciple (sekha), 45.
 Dittā, dīṭṭhi, heresy, 164.
 Divyāvadāna, 141, 149.
 Drinking, 247.
 Eightfold, the way, 191, 273.
 Elephant, Buddha, 320.

- Fetters of life, 345, 346, 350.
 Fire, worshipped by Brahmans, 107, 392.
 Flowers, with and without scent, 51, 52.
 Four truths, 190, 273.
 Gandharva, 104.
 Gâthâ, 101.
 Gâthâsaṅgraha, 183.
 Gods, 94, 200.
 Gold pieces, 186, 230 (nekkha).
 Good and evil bear fruit, 119-122.
 Gotama, 296.
 Graha, gaha, 251.
 Gainas, 104, 141.
 Gambû river, gold of it, 230.
 Garâvagga, 146.
 Gâtaka, 9, 33, 35-39, 72, 149, 158, 179, 187, 285, 294, 306, 345.
 Gaṭā, sign of Saiva ascetic, 141.
 Hair, platted, of Brahmans, 393, 394.
 Hatred, how it ceases, 3, 4.
 — ceases by love, 5.
 Hitopadesa, 129.
 Immortal place, 114.
 Immortality and death, 21.
 Indra's bolt, 95.
 Island (dîpa), 25, 26.
 Kâkasûra, 244.
 Kali, unlucky die, 202.
 Kalyāṇamitra, 78.
 Kanakamuni, 183.
 Kâsâva, kâshâya, yellow dress, 9.
 Kathâsaritsâgara, 125.
 Kâvyâdarsa, 411.
 Kilittba, klisha, 15.
 Kisâgotamî, 45.
 Kodhavagga, 221.
 Kusa, grass, 311.
 Kusa grass, for eating with, 70.
 Kîttavagga, 33.
 Lalita-vistara, 39, 44, 46, 153, 251, 254, 275, 282, 320, 326, 388.
 Lahkâvatâra-sûtra, 294.
 Lily (lotus), its purity, 58, 59.
 Lokavagga, 167.
 Lotus leaf, water on it, 401.
 Made and not made, 383.
 Maggavagga, 273.
 Maghavan, Indra, 30.
 Mahâbhârata, 9, 44, 87, 92, 96, 129, 131, 133, 142, 150, 185, 187, 198, 200, 202, 223, 227, 248, 275, 287, 306, 364, 395.
 Mahâparinibbâna-sutta, 39, 153.
 Mahâvamsa, 21.
 Mahâvastu, quotes Dharmapada, and Sahasravarga, 100.
 Mahâvîra, 141.
 Malavagga, 235.
 Mallikâ, 54.
 Mandhâtî, 185.
 Manu, laws, 71, 96, 109, 131, 150, 251, 320, 345, 346.
 Mâra, the tempter, 7, 8, 34, 37, 40, 46, 57, 105, 175, 274, 276, 337, 350.
 Milk, turning suddenly, 71.
 Miracles, Buddha's view of, 254.
 Mithilâ, 200.
 Muni, etymology of, 268, 269.
 Mustard seed, on a needle, 401, 407.
 Nâgavagga, 320.
 Nakedness, 141.
 Nâmarûpa, mind and body, 221, 367.
 Nibbuta, nirvrita, freed, 89.
 Niraya, hell, 306.
 Nirayavagga, 306.
 Nirukti, 363.
 Nirvâna, 23, 32, 75, 126, 134, 184, 203, 204, 218, 225, 226, 285, 289, 323, 368, 372, 374.
 Nishkashâya, free from impurity, play on word, 9.
 Old-in-vain, 260.
 Overcome evil by good, 223.
 Pakinnakavagga, 290.
 Pakkhandin, praskandin, 244.
 Panditavagga, 76.
 Pâpavagga, 116.
 Pâragâmin, 85.
 Pare, oi πολλοι, 6.
 Parivanâtha, 141.
 Path, the evil and the good, 17, 18, 316-319.
 Patricide, 294.
 Piyavagga, 209.
 Platted hair, 141.
 Prapañka, 254.
 Prasenagit, defeated by Agâtasatru, 201.

- Prâtibhâna, 363.
 Prâtimoksha, 183, 185.
 Pravrag, 83.
 Pravragita, etymology of, 388.
 Proverbs, 96.
 Puns, 283, 294, 295, 305.
 Pupphavagga, 44.

 Raga, dust, passion, 313.
 Râmâyana, 129.

 Sacrifice, worthless, 106.
 Sahassavagga, quoted in Mahâvastu,
 100.
 Sahita=Tipitaka, 19.
 St. Luke, 130.
 St. Matthew, 252.
 St. Mark, 157.
 Samana, etymology of, 265.
 Sâmañña, priesthood, 20.
 Sambodhyaṅga, 89.
 Samsâra, 60.
 Samskâra, conception, 202.
 — the five skandhas, 202.
 Samyutta-nikâya, 69.
 Sanatsugâtîya, 21.
 Saṅkhâra, creature, 255.
 Saṅkhâta, 70.
 Sañgâ, perception, 202.
 Sâra, truth, reality, 11.
 Sati, smṛti, intense thought, 91.
 Sayanâsanam, jayanâsanam, 185.
 Self, lord of self, 160, 165.
 Seven elements of knowledge, 89.
 Shore, the other, 85, 384.
 — the two shores, 385.
 Sindhu horses, 322.
 Skandha, body, 202.
 Snowy mountains, 304.
 Spider, 347.
 Spoon, perceives no taste, 64.
 Sugata, Buddha, 285, 419 (welfare).
 Sukhavagga, 197.
 Suttanipâta, 20, 61, 87, 125, 141, 142,
 170, 185, 205, 239, 306, 328,
 339, 345, 353, 364, 375, 396-
 423.

 Sâkala-prâtîśâkhyâ, 352.
 Sûnya, 92.
 Svetambaras (Gainas, followers of
 Parśvanâtha), 141.

 Tabernacle, maker of, 153.
 Tagara, plant, 54.
 Taṭṭirîya-âraṇyaka, 96.
 Tamhâvagga, 334.
 Tathâgata, 254.
 Tathâgatas, are preachers, 276.
 Ten evil states, 137.
 Thirty-six passions, 339.
 Thought, word, and deed, 96.
 Thoughts, their influence, 1.
 Tîrthaṅkara, 104.
 Tonsure, 264.
 Trisarana, 190.
 Trividhadvâra, thought, word, and
 deed, 96.
 Twin-verses, 1.

 Ukkusika, see Utkarukâsana, 141.
 Uncreated (akata), 97.
 Upâdâna, 20.
 Upadhi, 418.
 Upadhiviveka, 203.
 Upamâ, aupamyâ, 129.
 Upasarga, misfortune, 139.
 Ūrdhvamsrotas, 218.
 Utkarukâsana, sitting on the hams,
 141.

 Vâha, horse, or vaha, wave, 339.
 Vana, forest and lust, 283.
 Vasishṭha-Bharadvâga-sûtra, 396.
 Vassikâ flower, 377.
 Vassikî, flower, 55.
 Vedanâ, sensation, 202.
 Videha, king of, 200.
 Vigñâna, knowledge, 202.
 Vimoksha, freedom, 92, 93.
 Vinaya-piṭaka, 28, 307.
 Vishṇu-sûtra, 9.
 Visvabhû Tathâgata, 49.
 Viveka, separation, retirement, 75, 87.

 Works, good, 220.
 World, the next, 176.
 — of the gods, 177.

 Yama, 44, 45, 235.
 Yama's messengers, 235.
 Yamakavagga, 1.
 Ye dhammâ, &c., 183.
 Yellow dress, 9, 10, 307.
 Yonisab, truly, thoroughly, 326.

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST
SUTTA-NIPĀTA

London

HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

7 PATERNOSTER ROW

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOLUME X

PART II.



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

[*All rights reserved*]

THE SUTTA-NIPÂTA

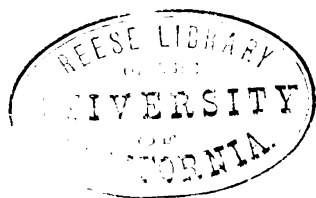
A COLLECTION OF DISCOURSES

BEING ONE OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE
BUDDHISTS

TRANSLATED FROM PÂLI

BY

V. FAUSBÖLL



Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

[*All rights reserved*]

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION TO SUTTA-NIPĀTA	xi
 I. URAGAVAGGA	 I
1. Urugasutta	I
2. Dhaniyasutta	3
3. Khaggavisâṇasutta	6
4. Kasibhâradvâgasutta	11
5. Kundasutta	15
6. Parâbhavasutta	17
7. Vasalasutta	20
8. Mettasutta	24
9. Hemavatasutta	25
10. Âlavakasutta	29
11. Vigayasutta	32
12. Munisutta	33
 II. KŪLAVAGGA	 37
1. Ratanasutta	37
2. Âmagandhasutta	40
3. Hirisutta	42
4. Mahâmaṅgalasutta	43
5. Sûkilomasutta	45
6. Dhammakariyasutta or Kapilasutta	46
7. Brâhmadhammikasutta	47
8. Nâvâsutta	52
9. Kimśīlasutta	54
10. Uttânasutta	55
11. Râhulasutta	55
12. Vaṅgīsasutta	57
13. Sammâparibbâganiyasutta	60
14. Dhammikasutta	62

	PAGE
III. MAHÂVAGGA	67
1. Pabbaggâsutta	67
2. Padhânasutta	69
3. Subhâsitasutta	72
4. Sundarikabhâradvâgasutta	74
5. Mâghasutta	80
6. Sabhiyasutta	85
7. Selasutta	96
8. Sallasutta	106
9. Vâsethhasutta	108
10. Kokâliyasutta	118
11. Nâlakasutta	124
12. Dvayatânupassanâsutta	131
IV. ATTHAKAVAGGA	146
1. Kâmasutta	146
2. Guhañhakasutta	147
3. Duttñhakasutta	148
4. Suddhñhakasutta	150
5. Paramañhakasutta	152
6. Garâsutta	154
7. Tissametteyyasutta	156
8. Pasûrasutta	157
9. Mâgandiyasutta	159
10. Purâbhedasutta	162
11. Kalahavivâdasutta	164
12. Kûlaviyûhasutta	167
13. Mahâviyûhasutta	171
14. Tuvañkasutta	174
15. Attadandâsutta	177
16. Sâriputtasutta	180
V. PÂRÂYANAVAGGA	184
1. Vatthugâthâ	184
2. Agitamânavapukkhâ	190

	PAGE
3. Tissametteyyamānavapukkhā	191
4. Punnakamānavapukkhā	192
5. Mettagūmānavapukkhā	193
6. Dhokamānavapukkhā	196
7. Upasīvamānavapukkhā	197
8. Nandamānavapukkhā	199
9. Hemakamānavapukkhā	201
10. Todeyyamānavapukkhā	202
11. Kappamānavapukkhā	203
12. Gatukannimānavapukkhā	204
13. Bhadrāvudhamānavapukkhā	205
14. Udayamānavapukkhā	206
15. Posālamānavapukkhā	207
16. Mogharāgamānavapukkhā	208
17. Piṅgiyamānavapukkhā	209
Index	215

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the
Translations of the Sacred Books of the East . . . 221

EXPLANATION OF WORDS

the meaning of which is not always given in the translation.

<i>Āgīvika</i> , one belonging to a sect of naked ascetics.	<i>Pabbaggā</i> , leaving the world, embracing ascetic life, taking the robe.
<i>Arahat</i> , a holy man, a saint.	<i>Pabbagita</i> , an ascetic, having taken the robe.
<i>Ariya</i> , noble.	<i>Paribbāga</i> , <i>Paribbāgaka</i> , a wandering mendicant.
<i>Bhagavat</i> , worshipful, blessed, a name of a Buddha.	<i>Sakka</i> = <i>Sakya</i> , belonging to the Sakya tribe.
<i>Bhikkhu</i> , a mendicant.	<i>Sakyamuni</i> , the Sakya sage, a name of Buddha.
<i>Brahman</i> , the supreme god of the Hindus.	<i>Samana</i> , an ascetic.
<i>Brāhmaṇa</i> , a sage.	<i>Samkhārā</i> , all compound things, the material world.
<i>Buddha</i> , enlightened, a name of certain holy men who have freed themselves from existence, particularly of <i>Samana</i> Gotama.	<i>Samsāra</i> , revolution, transmigration.
<i>Dhamma</i> , tenet, doctrine, custom, law, religion, virtue, thing.	<i>Sāvaka</i> , a hearer, a follower, a disciple of Buddha, including both laity and clergy.
<i>Gahattā</i> , <i>Gihin</i> , a householder.	<i>Sekha</i> , a novice, student.
<i>Gotama</i> , a name of the last Buddha.	<i>Sudda</i> , a man of the servile caste.
<i>Gaṭila</i> , an ascetic wearing clotted hair.	<i>Sugata</i> , happy, a name of a Buddha.
<i>Gina</i> , a conqueror, a name of a Buddha.	<i>Thera</i> , an elder, a senior priest.
<i>Isi</i> , a sage.	<i>Titthiya</i> , an ascetic adhering to a certain system of philosophy.
<i>Khattiya</i> , a warrior, a prince.	<i>Upadhi</i> , the elements of the world.
<i>Kandāla</i> , an outcast.	<i>Upāsaka</i> , a follower, a lay devotee.
<i>Māra</i> , a name of the king of death, the devil.	<i>Upasampadā</i> , priest's orders.
<i>Muni</i> , a thinker, a sage.	<i>Vessa</i> , <i>Vessika</i> , a man of the third caste.
<i>Nāga</i> , an eminent man ; sinless ?	<i>Yakkha</i> , a giant, a malignant spirit.
<i>Namuḷi</i> = <i>Māra</i> .	
<i>Nibbāna</i> , extinction, the state of bliss of the Buddhist.	
<i>Nigantḥa</i> , a naked ascetic.	

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE SUTTA-NIPĀTA.

THE Collection of Discourses, Sutta-Nipāta, which I have here translated¹, is very remarkable, as there can be no doubt that it contains some remnants of Primitive Buddhism. I consider the greater part of the Mahāvagga, and nearly the whole of the *Atthakavagga* as very old. I have arrived at this conclusion from two reasons, first from the language, and secondly from the contents.

1. We not only find here what we meet with in other Pāli poetry, the fuller Vedic forms of nouns and verbs in the plural, as *avītatamhāse*, *pandītāse*, *dhammāse*, *sitāse*, *upatthitāse*, *pavādiyāse*, &c., and *karāmase*, *asmase*, *sikkhissāmase*; the shorter Vedic plurals and the instrumental singular of nouns, as *vinikkhayā*, *lakkhanā* for *vinikkhayāni*, *lakkhanāni*, *mantā*, *pariññā*, *vinayā*, *lābhakamyā* for *mantāya*, &c.; Vedic infinitives, as *vippahātave*, *sampayātave*, *unnametave*; contracted (or sometimes old) forms, as *santiyā*, *gakkā*, *duggakkā*, *sammukkā*, *titthyā*, *thiyo*, *parihīrati* for *santiyā*, *gātiyā*, *sammutiyā*, *titthiyā*, *itthiyo*, *parihariyati*, by the side of protracted forms, such as *ātumānam*; but also some unusual (sometimes old) forms and words, as *apukkhasi*, *sagghasi*²=*sakkhissasi*, *sussam*=*sunissāmi* (Sansk. *śroshyāmi*), *pāva* and *pāvā*=*vadati*, *pavekkhe*=*paveseyya*, *parikissati*=*parikilissati*, *vineyya*, *vikeyya*, *nikkheyya*, *pappuyya*,= *vinayitvā*, &c., *datthu*=*disvā* (S. *drishtvā*), *atitvā*=*atikkamitvā*, *anuvikā*=*anuviditvā*, *paribbasāna*=*vasamāna*, *amhanā* (S. *asmanā*)=*pāsānena*, *vāḍibhi*, *katubbhi*, *rattamahābhi*, *ise* (vocative), *suvāmi*=*sāmi*, *maga*=*miga*,

¹ Sir M. Coomāra Swāmy's translation of part of the book has been a great help to me. I hope shortly to publish the Pāli text.

² C reads *pagghasi*.

tumo = so, parovara = parâvara, bhûnahu = bhûtihanaka, upaya, âmagandha, dhona, vyappatha, vyappathi, vevikkhâ, visenibhûta, visenikatvâ, pañiseniyanti. Sometimes we meet also with difficult and irregular constructions, and very condensed expressions. All this proves, I think, that these parts of the book are much older than the Suttas in which the language is not only fluent, but of which some verses are even singularly melodious.

2. In the contents of the Suttanipâta we have, I think, an important contribution to the right understanding of Primitive Buddhism, for we see here a picture not of life in monasteries, but of the life of hermits in its first stage. We have before us not the systematizing of the later Buddhist church, but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness. From the *Attakavagga* especially it is evident where Buddha takes his stand in opposition to Philosophy (*dittthi* = *darsana*).

Indian society at the time of Buddha had two large and distinguished religious sects, *Samanas* and *Brâhmanas*. This is apparent from several passages where they are mentioned together ; for instance, *Vinaya*, ed. Oldenberg, II, p. 295 ; *Grimblot*, *Sept Suttas Pâlis*, p. ix, 8 &c., 118 &c., 158 &c., 306 &c., 309 ; *Dhammapada*, p. 392 ; *Suttanipâta*, vv. 99, 129, 189, 440, 529, 859, 1078 ; *Sabhiyasutta*, at the beginning ; the *Inscriptions of Asoka* ; *Mahâbhâshya*, II, 4, 9 (fol. 398 a) ; *Lalita Vistara*, pp. 309, l. 10, 318, l. 18, 320, l. 20 ; and lastly, *Megasthenes* (*Schwanbeck*, p. 45), *δύο γένη φιλοσόφων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ Σαρμᾶνας*.

Famous teachers arose and gathered around them flocks of disciples. As such are mentioned *Pûrana-Kassapa*, *Makkhali-Gosâla*, *Agita-Kesakambali*, *Pakudha-Kakkâyana*, *Saṅgaya-Belattiputta*, and *Nigantha-Nâtaputta*¹ ; see *Suttanipâta*, p. 86 ; *Mahâparinibbânasutta*, ed. Childers, p. 58 ; *Vinaya* II, p. 111 ; *Grimblot*, *Sept Suttas Pâlis*, p. 114, &c. ; *Milindapañha*, ed. *Trenckner*, p. 4. Besides these there is *Bâvari* (*Suttanipâta*, p. 184), and his disciples *Agita*, *Tissametteyya*, *Punnaka*, *Mettagû*, *Dhotaka*, *Upasîva*, *Nanda*,

¹ Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, 1880, p. 158.

Hemaka, Todeyya, Kappa, Gatukammī, Bhadrāvudha, Udaya, Posāla, Mogharāgan (Pīngiya, vv. 1006–1008; Sela, p. 98), and Kankin, Tārukkha, Pokkharasāti, Gānussoni, Vāsettha, and Bhāradvāja, p. 109.

We learn that there were four kinds of Samanas, viz. Maggaginas, Maggadesakas (or Maggadesins, Maggaggāyins), Maggagīvins, and Maggadāsins, vv. 83–88. Among these Samanas disputes arose, vv. 828, 883–884; a number of philosophical systems were formed, and at the time of Buddha there were as many as sixty-three of them, v. 538. These systems are generally designated by *ditthi*, vv. 54, 151, 786, 837, 851, &c.; or by *ditthigata*, vv. 834, 836, 913; or by *ditthasuta*, v. 778; or by *dittha*, suta, and muta, vv. 793, 813, 914; or by *dittha*, suta, sīlavata¹, and muta, vv. 790, 797–798, 836, 887, 1080. The doctrines themselves are called *ditthinivesa*, v. 785; or *nivesana*, vv. 209, 470, 801, 846; or *vinikkhaya*, vv. 838, 866, 887, 894; and he who entertains any of them, is called *nivissavādin*, vv. 910, 913.

What is said of the Samanas seems mostly to hold good about the Brāhmanas also. They too are called disputatious, *vādasīla*, v. 381, &c., p. 109; and three kinds of them are mentioned, viz. *Titthiyas*, *Āgīvikas*, and *Nigānthis*, vv. 380, 891–892. In contradistinction to the Samanas the Brāhmanas are designated as *Teviggas*, vv. 594, 1019; they are *Padakas*, *Veyyākaranas*, and perfect in Gappa, *Nighandu*, *Ketubha*, *Itihāsa*, &c., v. 595, p. 98. They are called friends of the hymns, v. 139; well versed in the hymns, v. 976; and their principal hymn is *Sāvitti*², vv. 568, 456. They worship and make offerings to the fire, pp. 74, 20. In *Brāhmanadhammikasutta* the ancient and just Brāhmanas are described in opposition to the later

¹ I am not sure whether *sīlavata* is to be understood as one notion or two. It is generally written in one word, but at p. 109 *Vāsettha* says, when one is virtuous and endowed with works, he is a Brāhmana, *yato kho bho sīlavā ka hoti va tasampanno ka ettāvata kho brāhmaṇo hoti*. *Sīlavata*, I presume, refers chiefly to the Brāhmanas.

² From v. 456 we see that Buddha has rightly read *vareṇiyam* as the metre requires, but I must not omit to mention that the Commentator understands by *Sāvitti* the Buddhist formula: *Buddham saraṇam gaṇṇhāmi*, *Dhammam saraṇam gaṇṇhāmi*, *Samgham saraṇam gaṇṇhāmi*, which, like *Sāvitti*, contains twenty-four syllables.

Brāhmaṇas, who slay innocent cows and have acquired wealth through the favour of the kings, vv. 307, 308, 311, 302¹.

All these disputants hold fast to their own prejudiced views, v. 910. They say that purity comes from philosophical views, from tradition, and from virtuous works, and in many other ways, v. 1078, and that there is no bliss excepting by following their opinions, vv. 889, 891, 892.

Buddha himself has, it is true, sprung from the Samanas : he is called Samana Gotama, p. 96 ; he shines like a sun in the midst of the Samanas, v. 550 ; and intercourse with Samanas is said to be the highest blessing, v. 265. But Buddha has overcome all their systems, v. 538 ; there is nothing which has not been seen, heard, or thought by him, and nothing which has not been understood by him, v. 1121. All the disputatious Brāhmaṇas do not overcome him in understanding, v. 380 ; and he asserts that no one is purified and saved by philosophy or by virtuous works, vv. 1079, 839. Sanctification, in fact, does not come from another, vv. 773, 790, 813 ; it can be attained only by going into the yoke with Buddha, v. 834 ; by believing in him and in the Dhamma of the Saints, vv. 183, 185, 370, 1142 ; on the whole, by being what Buddha is.

What then is Buddha ?

First he is a Visionary, in the good sense of the word ; his knowledge is intuitive, ' Seeing misery,' he says, ' in the philosophical views, without adopting any of them, searching for truth, I saw inward peace,' vv. 837, 207. And again, ' He, a conqueror unconquered, saw the Dhamma visibly, without any traditional instruction,' vv. 934, 1052, 1065. He teaches an instantaneous, an immediate religious life, vv. 567, 1136. He is called *kakkhumat*, endowed with an eye, clearly-seeing, vv. 160, 405, 540, 562, 596, 956, 992, 1028, 1115, 1127 ; *samanta-kakkhu*, the all-seeing, vv. 1062, 1068 ; and as such he has become an eye to the world, v. 599. He sees the subtle meaning of things, vv. 376, 175 ; he is, in one word, Sambuddha, the perfectly-enlightened, vv. 177, 555, 596, 992 ; and by knowledge he is delivered, vv. 1106,

¹ Besides the religious Brāhmaṇas some secular Brāhmaṇas are mentioned, p. 11.

727, 733. Existence is *aviggā*, ignorance, v. 729; *viggā*, knowledge, is the extinction of the world, v. 730.

Secondly, he is an Ascetic, a Muni¹, one that forsakes the world and wanders from the house to the houseless state, vv. 273, 375, 1003; because from house-life arises defilement, v. 206. An ascetic has no prejudiced ideas, v. 802; he has shaken off every philosophical view, v. 787; he does not enter into disputes, v. 887; he is not pleased nor displeased with anything, v. 813; he is indifferent to learning, v. 911; he does not cling to good and evil, vv. 520, 547, 790; he has cut off all passion and all desire, vv. 2, 795, 1130, 916; he is free from marks, v. 847; and possessionless, *akiñṇa*, vv. 175, 454, 490, 620, 1058, 1062, 976, 1069, 1114. He is equable, v. 855; under all circumstances the same, v. 952; still as the deep water, v. 920; calm, vv. 459, 861. He has reached peace, vv. 837, 845, 919; he knows that bliss consists in peace, v. 933; he has gone to immortal peace, the unchangeable state of *Nibbāna*, v. 203. And how is this state brought about? By the destruction of consciousness, vv. 734-735. And how does consciousness cease? By the cessation of sensation, vv. 1109-1110; by being without breathing, vv. 1089-1090².

1. What then is sin according to Buddha?

Subjectively sin is desire, in all its various forms, vv. 923, 1103; viz. desire for existence generally, vv. 776, 1059, 1067, and especially for name and form, i.e. individual existence, vv. 354, 1099. As long as man is led by desire he will be whirled about in existence, v. 740; for as long as there is birth, there will be death, v. 742. Existence is called the stream of death, v. 354; the realm of *Māra*, vv. 164, 1145. Those who continually go to *sam-sāra* with birth and death, are the ignorant, v. 729.

¹ Buddha is sometimes styled the great *Isi*, vv. 1060, 1082; sometimes a Muni, vv. 164, 700; sometimes a *Brāhmaṇa*, v. 1064; sometimes a *Bhikkhu*, vv. 411, 415; and all these appellations are used synonymously, vv. 283, 284, 1064, 1066, 843, 844, 911, 912, 946, 220. Ascetic life is praised throughout the book, especially in the *Uruga*-, *Muni*-, *Rāhula*-, *Sammāparibbāganiya*-, *Dhammika*-, *Nāla*ka-, *Purābheda*-, *Tuvaṭaka*-, *Attadāṇḍa*-, and *Sāriputta*-suttas.

² This system ends, it will be seen from this, like other ascetic systems, in mysticism.

But desire originates in the body, vv. 270, 1099; sin lies objectively in embodiment or matter, and consequently the human body is looked upon as a contemptible thing. See *Vigayasutta*, p. 32.

2. And what is bliss?

Subjectively, it is emancipation from desire by means of the peace that Buddha preaches, vv. 1065-1066, 1069, 1084, 1108, 838-839.

Objectively, it is emancipation from body and matter. One must destroy the elements of existence, *upadhî*, vv. 373, 546, 1050, 1056; and leave the body behind, that one may not come to exist again, vv. 1120, 1122, 761. The ignorant only create *upadhî*, v. 1050, and go again and again to *samsâra*, v. 729. The wise do not enter time, *kappa*, vv. 521, 535, 860; they look upon the world as void, v. 1118; hold that there is nothing really existing, v. 1069; and those whose minds are disgusted with a future existence, the wise who have destroyed their seeds (of existence), go out like a lamp, vv. 234, 353-354. As a flame, blown about by the violence of the wind, goes out, and cannot be reckoned (as existing), even so a Muni, delivered from name and body, disappears, and cannot be reckoned (as existing), v. 1073. For him who has disappeared, there is no form; that by which they say he is, exists for him no longer, v. 1075.

‘Exert thyself, then,—O Dhotaka,’ so said Bhagavat,—‘being wise and thoughtful in this world, let one, having listened to my utterance, learn his own extinction,’ v. 1061.

Tena h’ âtappam karohi,—Dhotakâ ’ti Bhagavâ,—
idh’ eva nipako sato
ito sutvâna nigghosam
sikkhe nibbânam attano.

With this short sketch of the contents of the *Suttani-pâta* for a guide, I trust it will be easy to understand even the more obscure parts of the book.

V. FAUSBÖLL.

COPENHAGEN,
Sept. 13, 1880.

I. URAGAVAGGA.

1. URAGASUTTA.

The Bhikkhu who discards all human passions is compared to a snake that casts his skin.—Text and translation in Fr. Spiegel's *Anecdota Pālica*.

1. He who restrains his anger when it has arisen, as (they) by medicines (restrain) the poison of the snake spreading (in the body), that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (1)

2. He who has cut off passion entirely, as (they cut off) the lotus-flower growing in a lake, after diving (into the water), that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (2)

3. He who has cut off desire entirely, the flowing, the quickly running, after drying it up, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (3)

4. He who has destroyed arrogance entirely, as the flood (destroys) a very frail bridge of reeds, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (4)

5. He who has not found any essence in the existences, like one that looks for flowers on fig-trees, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (5)

6. He in whose breast there are no feelings of anger, who has thus overcome reiterated existence, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (6)

7. He whose doubts are scattered, cut off entirely inwardly, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (7)

8. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, who overcame all this (world of) delusion, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (8)

9. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, having seen that all this in the world is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (9)

10. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from covetousness, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (10)

11. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from passion, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (11)

12. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from hatred, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (12)

13. He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, being free from folly, (seeing) that all this is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (13)

14. He to whom there are no affections whatsoever, whose sins are extirpated from the root, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (14) ✓

15. He to whom there are no (sins) whatsoever originating in fear, which are the causes of coming back to this shore, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (15)

16. He to whom there are no (sins) whatsoever originating in desire, which are the causes of binding (men) to existence, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (16)

17. He who, having left the five obstacles, is free from suffering, has overcome doubt, and is without pain, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn out skin. (17)

Uragasutta is ended.

2. DHANIYASUTTA.

A dialogue between the rich herdsman Dhaniya and Buddha, the one rejoicing in his worldly security and the other in his religious belief.—This beautiful dialogue calls to mind the parable in the Gospel of S. Luke xii. 16.

1. 'I have boiled (my) rice, I have milked (my cows),'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'I am living together with my fellows near the banks of the Maht (river), (my) house is covered, the fire is kindled: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!' (18)

2. 'I am free from anger, free from stubbornness,'—so said Bhagavat,—'I am abiding for one night near the banks of the Maht (river), my house

is uncovered, the fire (of passions) is extinguished : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (19)

3. 'Gad-flies are not to be found (with me),'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'in meadows abounding with grass the cows are roaming, and they can endure rain when it comes : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (20)

4. '(By me) is made a well-constructed raft,'—so said Bhagavat,—'I have passed over (to Nibbâna), I have reached the further bank, having overcome the torrent (of passions); there is no (further) use for a raft : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (21)

5. 'My wife is obedient, not wanton,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'for a long time she has been living together (with me), she is winning, and I hear nothing wicked of her : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (22)

6. 'My mind is obedient, delivered (from all worldliness),'—so said Bhagavat,—'it has for a long time been highly cultivated and well-subdued, there is no longer anything wicked in me : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (23)

7. 'I support myself by my own earnings,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'and my children are (all) about me, healthy; I hear nothing wicked of them : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (24)

8. 'I am no one's servant,'—so said Bhagavat,—'with what I have gained I wander about in all the world, there is no need (for me) to serve : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (25)

9. 'I have cows, I have calves,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—'I have cows in calf and heifers, and I have also a bull as lord over the cows : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky !' (26)

10. 'I have no cows, I have no calves,'—so said Bhagavat,—‘I have no cows in calf and no heifers, and I have no bull as a lord over the cows : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!’ (27)

11. 'The stakes are driven in, and cannot be shaken,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—‘the ropes are made of muṅga grass, new and well-made, the cows will not be able to break them : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!’ (28)

12. 'Having, like a bull, rent the bonds ; having, like an elephant, broken through the galuḅḅhi creeper, I shall not again enter into a womb : therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!’ (29)

Then at once a shower poured down, filling both sea and land. Hearing the sky raining, Dhaniya spoke thus :

13. 'No small gain indeed (has accrued) to us since we have seen Bhagavat ; we take refuge in thee, O (thou who art) endowed with the eye (of wisdom) ; be thou our master, O great Muni!’ (30)

14. 'Both my wife and myself are obedient ; (if) we lead a holy life before Sugata, we shall conquer birth and death, and put an end to pain.’ (31)

15. 'He who has sons has delight in sons,'—so said the wicked Mâra,—‘he who has cows has delight likewise in cows ; for upadhi (substance) is the delight of man, but he who has no upadhi has no delight.’ (32)

16. 'He who has sons has care with (his) sons,'—so said Bhagavat,—‘he who has cows has likewise care with (his) cows ; for upadhi (is the cause of) people's cares, but he who has no upadhi has no care.’ (33)

Dhaniyasutta is ended.

3. KHAGGAVISĀNASUTTA.

Family life and intercourse with others should be avoided, for society has all vices in its train; therefore one should leave the corrupted state of society and lead a solitary life.

1. Having laid aside the rod against all beings, and not hurting any of them, let no one wish for a son, much less for a companion, let him wander alone like a rhinoceros¹. (34)

2. In him who has intercourse (with others) affections arise, (and then) the pain which follows affection; considering the misery that originates in affection let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (35)

3. He who has compassion on his friends and confidential (companions) loses (his own) advantage, having a fettered mind; seeing this danger in friendship let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (36)

4. Just as a large bamboo tree (with its branches) entangled (in each other, such is) the care one has with children and wife; (but) like the shoot of a bamboo not clinging (to anything) let one wander alone like a rhinoceros². (37)

5. As a beast unbound in the forest goes feeding at pleasure, so let the wise man, considering (only his) own will, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (38)

6. There is (a constant) calling in the midst of company, both when sitting, standing, walking, and going away; (but) let one, looking (only) for freedom from desire and for following his own will, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (39)

7. There is sport and amusement in the midst of

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 142.

² Comp. Dh. v. 345.

company, and for children there is great affection ; (although) disliking separation from his dear friends, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (40)

8. He who is at home in (all) the four regions and is not hostile (to any one), being content with this or that, overcoming (all) dangers fearlessly, let him wander alone like a rhinoceros. (41)

9. Discontented are some pabbāgitas (ascetics), also some gahattḥas (householders) dwelling in houses ; let one, caring little about other people's children, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (42)

10. Removing the marks of a gihin (a householder) like a Kovidāra tree whose leaves are fallen, let one, after cutting off heroically the ties of a gihin, wander alone like a rhinoceros. (43)

11. If one acquires a clever companion, an associate righteous and wise, let him, overcoming all dangers, wander about with him glad and thoughtful¹. (44)

12. If one does not acquire a clever companion, an associate righteous and wise, then as a king abandoning (his) conquered kingdom, let him wander alone like a rhinoceros². (45)

13. Surely we ought to praise the good luck of having companions, the best (and such as are our) equals ought to be sought for ; not having acquired such friends let one, enjoying (only) allowable things, wander alone like a rhinoceros³. (46)

14. Seeing bright golden (bracelets), well-wrought by the goldsmith, striking (against each other when there are) two on one arm, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (47)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 328.

² Comp. Dh. v. 329.

³ Comp. Dh. v. 61.

15. Thus (if I join myself) with another I shall swear or scold; considering this danger in future, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (48)

16. The sensual pleasures indeed, which are various, sweet, and charming, under their different shapes agitate the mind; seeing the misery (originating) in sensual pleasures, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (49)

17. These (pleasures are) to me calamities, boils, misfortunes, diseases, sharp pains, and dangers; seeing this danger (originating) in sensual pleasures, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (50)

18. Both cold and heat, hunger and thirst, wind and a burning sun, and gad-flies and snakes—having overcome all these things, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros¹. (51)

19. As the elephant, the strong, the spotted, the large, after leaving the herd walks at pleasure in the forest, even so let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (52)

20. For him who delights in intercourse (with others, even) that is inconvenient which tends to temporary deliverance; reflecting on the words of (Buddha) the kinsman of the *Âdikka* family, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (53)

21. The harshness, of the (philosophical) views I have overcome, I have acquired self-command, I have attained to the way (leading to perfection), I am in possession of knowledge, and not to be led by others; so speaking, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (54)

22. Without covetousness, without deceit, without

¹ Comp. *Gâtaka* I, p. 93.

craving, without detraction, having got rid of passions and folly, being free from desire in all the world, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (55)

23. Let one avoid a wicked companion who teaches what is useless and has gone into what is wrong, let him not cultivate (the society of) one who is devoted (to and) lost in sensual pleasures, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (56)

24. Let one cultivate (the society of) a friend who is learned and keeps the Dhamma, who is magnanimous and wise; knowing the meaning (of things and) subduing his doubts, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (57)

25. Not adorning himself, not looking out for sport, amusement, and the delight of pleasure in the world, (on the contrary) being loath of a life of dressing, speaking the truth, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (58)

26. Having left son and wife, father and mother, wealth, and corn, and relatives, the different objects of desire, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (59)

27. 'This is a tie, in this there is little happiness, little enjoyment, but more of pain, this is a fish-hook,' so having understood, let a thoughtful man wander alone like a rhinoceros. (60)

28. Having torn the ties, having broken the net as a fish in the water, being like a fire not returning to the burnt place, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (61)

29. With downcast eyes, and not prying¹, with his senses guarded, with his mind protected free from

¹ Na ka pâdalolo ti ekassa dutiyo dvinnam tatiyo ti evam ganamaggham pavisitukâmatâya kandhuyamânapâdo viya abhavanto dîghakârîka-anavatthakârîkavirato vâ. Commentator.

passion, not burning (with lust), let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (62)

30. Removing the characteristics of a gihin (householder), like a Pârikhatta tree whose leaves are cut off, clothed in a yellow robe after wandering away (from his house), let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (63)

31. Not being greedy of sweet things, not being unsteady, not supporting others, going begging from house to house, having a mind which is not fettered to any household, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (64)

32. Having left the five obstacles of the mind, having dispelled all sin, being independent, having cut off the sin of desire, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (65)

33. Having thrown behind (himself bodily) pleasure and pain, and previously (mental) joy and distress, having acquired equanimity, tranquillity, purity, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (66)

34. Strenuous for obtaining the supreme good (i. e. Nibbâna), with a mind free from attachment, not living in idleness, being firm, endowed with bodily and mental strength, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (67)

35. Not abandoning seclusion and meditation, always wandering in (accordance with) the Dhammas¹, seeing misery in the existences, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros². (68)

36. Wishing for the destruction of desire (i. e. Nibbâna), being careful, no fool, learned, strenuous, considerate, restrained, energetic, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (69)

¹ Dhammesu *nikkam* anudhammakârî.

² Comp. Dh. v. 20.

37. Like a lion not trembling at noises, like the wind not caught in a net, like a lotus not stained by water, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (70)

38. As a lion strong by his teeth, after overcoming (all animals), wanders victorious as the king of the animals, and haunts distant dwelling-places¹, (even so) let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (71)

39. Cultivating in (due) time kindness, equanimity, compassion, deliverance, and rejoicing (with others), unobstructed by the whole world, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (72)

40. Having abandoned both passion and hatred and folly, having rent the ties, not trembling in the loss of life, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros². (73)

41. They cultivate (the society of others) and serve them for the sake of advantage; friends without a motive are now difficult to get, men know their own profit and are impure; (therefore) let one wander alone like a rhinoceros. (74)

Khaggavisâṇasutta is ended.

4. KAṢIBHÂRADVÂGASUTTA.

The Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga reproaches Gotama with idleness, but the latter convinces him that he (Buddha) also works, and so the Brâhmana is converted, and finally becomes a saint. Compare Sp. Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, p. 214; Gospel of S. John v. 17.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt in Magadha at Dakkhinâgiri in the Brâhmana village Ekanaḷā. And at that time the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga's five hun-

¹ Pantânîti dūrâni senâsanânîti vasati//hânâni. Commentator.

² Comp. Dh. v. 20.

dred ploughs were tied (to the yokes) in the sowing season. Then Bhagavat, in the morning, having put on his raiment and taken his bowl and robes, went to the place where the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga's work (was going on). At that time the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga's distribution of food took place. Then Bhagavat went to the place where the distribution of food took place, and having gone there, he stood apart. The Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga saw Bhagavat standing there to get alms, and having seen him, he said this to Bhagavat :

‘I, O Samana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat ; thou also, O Samana, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, thou shouldst eat.’

‘I also, O Brâhmana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat,’ so said Bhagavat.

‘Yet we do not see the yoke, or the plough, or the ploughshare, or the goad, or the oxen of the venerable Gotama.’

And then the venerable Gotama spoke in this way :

‘I also, O Brâhmana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat,’ so said Bhagavat.

Then the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga addressed Bhagavat in a stanza :

1. ‘Thou professest to be a ploughman, and yet we do not see thy ploughing ; asked about (thy) ploughing, tell us (of it), that we may know thy ploughing.’ (75)

2. Bhagavat answered : ‘Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad.’ (76)

3. ‘I am guarded in respect of the body, I am

guarded in respect of speech, temperate in food ;
I make truth to cut away (weeds), tenderness is my
deliverance. (77)

4. 'Exertion is my beast of burden; carrying (me)
to Nibbâna he goes without turning back to the
place where having gone one does not grieve. (78)

5. 'So this ploughing is ploughed, it bears the
fruit of immortality; having ploughed this ploughing
one is freed from all pain.' (79)

Then the Brâhmana Kasibhâradvâga, having
poured rice-milk into a golden bowl, offered it to
Bhagavat, saying, 'Let the venerable Bhagavat eat
of the rice-milk; the venerable is a ploughman, for
the venerable Gotama ploughs a ploughing that
bears the fruit of immortality.'

6. Bhagavat said : 'What is acquired by reciting
stanzas is not to be eaten by me; this is, O Brâh-
mana, not the Dhamma of those that see rightly;
Buddha rejects what is acquired by reciting stanzas,
this is the conduct (of Buddhas) as long as the
Dhamma exists. (80)

7. 'One who is an accomplished great Isi, whose
passions are destroyed and whose misbehaviour has
ceased, thou shouldst serve with other food and
drink, for this is the field for one who looks for
good works¹. (81)

'To whom then, O Gotama, shall I give this rice-
milk?' so said Kasibhâradvâga.

'I do not see, O Brâhmana, in the world (of men)

¹ *Aññena ka kevalinam mahesim
Khînâsavam kukkukâvâpasantam
Annena pânenâ upa//hahassu,
Khettaṃ hi taṃ puññapekhasa hoti.*

Cf. Sundarikabhâradvâga v. 28.

and gods and Mâras and Brahmans, amongst beings comprising gods and men, and Samanas and Brâhmanas, any by whom this rice-milk when eaten can be properly digested with the exception of Tathâgata, or a disciple of Tathâgata. Therefore, O Brâhmaṇa, thou shalt throw this rice-milk in (a place where there is) little grass, or cast it into water with no worms,' so said Bhagavat.

Then the Brâhmaṇa Kasibhâradvâga threw the rice-milk into some water with no worms. Then the rice-milk thrown into the water splashed, hissed, smoked in volumes; for as a ploughshare that has got hot during the day when thrown into the water splashes, hisses, and smokes in volumes, even so the rice-milk (when) thrown into the water splashed, hissed, and smoked in volumes.

Then the Brâhmaṇa Kasibhâradvâga alarmed and terrified went up to Bhagavat, and after having approached and fallen with his head at Bhagavat's feet, he said this to Bhagavat:

'It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma (has been) illustrated. I take refuge in the venerable Gotama and in the Dhamma and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; I wish to receive the pabbaggâ, I wish to receive the upasampadâ (the robe and the orders) from the venerable Gotama,' so said Kasibhâradvâga.

Then the Brâhmaṇa Kasibhâradvâga received the

pabbaggâ from Bhagavat, and he received also the upasampadâ; and the venerable Bhâradvâga having lately received the upasampadâ, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. 'Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led, what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable Bhâradvâga became one of the arahats (saints).

Kasibhâradvâgasutta is ended.

5. KUNDASUTTA.

Buddha describes the four different kinds of Samanas to Kunda, the smith.

1. 'I ask the Muni of great understanding,'—so said Kunda, the smith,—'Buddha, the lord of the Dhamma, who is free from desire, the best of bipeds, the most excellent of charioteers, how many (kinds of) Samanas are there in the world; pray tell me that?' (82)

2. 'There are four (kinds of) Samanas, (there is) not a fifth,' O Kunda,—so said Bhagavat,—'these I will reveal to thee, being asked in person; (they are) Maggaginas and Maggadesakas, Maggagivins and Maggadûsins.' (83)

3. 'Whom do the Buddhas call a Maggagina?'—so said Kunda, the smith,—'How is a Maggagghâyin

unequalled? Being asked, describe to me a Maggagîvin, and reveal to me a Maggadûsin.' (84)

4. Bhagavat said: 'He who has overcome doubt, is without pain, delights in Nibbâna, is free from greed, a leader of the world of men and gods, such a one the Buddhas call a maggagîna (that is, victorious by the way). (85)

5. 'He who in this world having known the best (i.e. Nibbâna) as the best, expounds and explains here the Dhamma, him, the doubt-cutting Muni, without desire, the second of the Bhikkhus they call a maggadesin (that is, teaching the way). (86)

6. 'He who lives in the way that has so well been taught in the Dhammapada, and is restrained, attentive, cultivating blameless words, him the third of the Bhikkhus they call a maggagîvin (that is, living in the way¹). (87)

7. 'He who although counterfeiting the virtuous is forward, disgraces families, is impudent, deceitful, unrestrained, a babbler, walking in disguise, such a one is a maggadûsin (that is, defiling the way)². (88)

8. 'He who has penetrated these (four Samanas), who is a householder, possessed of knowledge, a pupil of the venerable ones, wise, having known that they all are such,—having seen so, his faith is not lost; for how could he make the undepraved equal to the depraved and the pure equal to the impure?' (89)

Kundasutta is ended.

¹ Yo Dhammapade sudesite
Magge gîvati saññato satfma
Anavaggapadâni sevamâno
Tatiyam bhikkhunam âhu maggagîvin.

² Comp. Gâtaka II, p. 281.

6. PARÂBHAVASUTTA.

A dialogue between a deity and Buddha on the things by which a man loses and those by which he gains in this world.—Text by Grimblot, in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 237; translation by L. Feer, in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 309, and by Gogerly, reprinted in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xx (1872), p. 226.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî, in Geta-
vana, in the park of Anâthapindîka. Then when
the night had gone, a certain deity of a beautiful
appearance, having illuminated the whole Getavana,
went up to Bhagavat, and having approached and
saluted him, he stood apart, and standing apart that
deity addressed Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. 'We ask (thee), Gotama, about a man that
suffers loss ; having come to ask, Bhagavat, (tell us)
what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (90)

2. Bhagavat : 'The winner is easily known, easily
known (is also) the loser : he who loves Dhamma is
the winner, he who hates Dhamma is the loser.' (91)

3. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the
first loser ; tell (us) the second, O Bhagavat, what
is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (92)

4. Bhagavat : 'Wicked men are dear to him, he
does not do anything that is dear to the good, he
approves of the Dhamma of the wicked,—that is
the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (93)

5. Deity : 'We know this to be so, this is the
second loser ; tell us the third, O Bhagavat, what is
the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (94)

6. Bhagavat : 'The man who is drowsy, fond of
society and without energy, lazy, given to anger,—
that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (95)

7. Deity : ' We know this to be so, this is the third loser ; tell us the fourth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (96)

8. Bhagavat : ' He who being rich does not support mother or father who are old or past their youth,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (97)

9. Deity : ' We know this to be so, this is the fourth loser ; tell us the fifth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (98)

10. Bhagavat : ' He who by falsehood deceives either a Brâhmaṇa or a Samana or any other mendicant,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (99)

11. Deity : ' We know this to be so, this is the fifth loser ; tell us the sixth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (100)

12. Bhagavat : ' The man who is possessed of much property, who has gold and food, (and still) enjoys alone his sweet things,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (101)

13. Deity : ' We know this to be so, this is the sixth loser ; tell us the seventh, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (102)

14. Bhagavat : ' The man who proud of his birth, of his wealth, and of his family, despises his relatives,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (103)

15. Deity : ' We know this to be so, this is the seventh loser ; tell us the eighth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (104)

16. Bhagavat : ' The man who given to women, to strong drink, and to dice, wastes whatever he has gained,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (105)

17. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the eighth loser; tell us the ninth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (106)

18. Bhagavat: 'He who, not satisfied with his own wife, is seen with harlots and the wives of others,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (107)

19. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the ninth loser; tell us the tenth, O Bhagavat, what (is) the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (108)

20. Bhagavat: 'The man who, past his youth, brings home a woman with breasts like the timbaru fruit, and for jealousy of her cannot sleep,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (109)

21. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the tenth loser; tell us the eleventh, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (110)

22. Bhagavat: 'He who places in supremacy a woman given to drink and squandering, or a man of the same kind,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (111)

23. Deity: 'We know this to be so, this is the eleventh loser; tell us the twelfth, O Bhagavat, what is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (112)

24. Bhagavat: 'He who has little property, (but) great desire, is born in a Khattiya family and wishes for the kingdom in this world,—that is the cause (of loss) to the losing (man).' (113)

25. Having taken into consideration these losses in the world, the wise, venerable man, who is endowed with insight, cultivates the happy world (of the gods).' (114)

Parâbhavasutta is ended.

7. VASALASUTTA.

The Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga is converted by Buddha, after hearing his definition of an outcast, illustrated by the story of Mâtanga, told in the Mâtangagâtaka. Comp. Sp. Hardy, The Legends and Theories of the Buddhists, p. 49.—Text and translation in Alwis's Buddhist Nirvâna, p. 119.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî, in Geta-vana, in the park of Anâthapindîka. Then Bhagavat having put on his raiment in the morning, and having taken his bowl and his robes, entered Sâvatthî for alms.

Now at that time in the house of the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga the fire was blazing, the offering brought forth. Then Bhagavat going for alms from house to house in Sâvatthî went to the house of the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga. The Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga saw Bhagavat coming at a distance, and seeing him he said this : ' Stay there, O Shaveling; (stay) there, O Samanaka (i.e. wretched Samana); (stay) there, O Vasalaka (i.e. outcast)!'

This having been said, Bhagavat replied to the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga : ' Dost thou know, O Brâhmana, an outcast, or the things that make an outcast ?'

' No, O venerable Gotama, I do not know an outcast, or the things that make an outcast; let the venerable Gotama teach me this so well that I may know an outcast, or the things that make an outcast.'

' Listen then, O Brâhmana, attend carefully, I will tell (thee).'

' Even so, O venerable one,' so the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga replied to Bhagavat.

Then Bhagavat said this :

1. 'The man who is angry and bears hatred, who is wicked and hypocritical, who has embraced wrong views, who is deceitful, let one know him as an outcast. (115)

2. 'Whosoever in this world harms living beings, whether once or twice born, and in whom there is no compassion for living beings, let one know him as an outcast. (116)

3. 'Whosoever destroys or lays siege to villages and towns, and is known as an enemy, let one know him as an outcast. (117)

4. 'Be it in the village or in the wood, whosoever appropriates by theft what is the property of others and what has not been given, let one know him as an outcast. (118)

5. 'Whosoever, having really contracted a debt, runs away when called upon (to pay), saying, "There is no debt (that I owe) thee," let one know him as an outcast. (119)

6. 'Whosoever for love of a trifle having killed a man going along the road, takes the trifle, let one know him as an outcast. (120)

7. 'The man who for his own sake or for that of others or for the sake of wealth speaks falsely when asked as a witness, let one know him as an outcast. (121)

8. 'Whosoever is seen with the wives of relatives or of friends either by force or with their consent, let one know him as an outcast. (122)

9. 'Whosoever being rich does not support mother or father when old and past their youth, let one know him as an outcast. (123)

10. 'Whosoever strikes or by words annoys mother

or father, brother, sister, or mother-in-law, let one know him as an outcast. (124)

11. 'Whosoever, being asked about what is good, teaches what is bad and advises (another, while) concealing (something from him), let one know him as an outcast. (125)

12. 'Whosoever, having committed a bad deed, hopes (saying), "Let no one know me" (as having done it, who is) a dissembler, let one know him as an outcast. (126)

13. 'Whosoever, having gone to another's house and partaken of his good food, does not in return honour him when he comes, let one know him as an outcast. (127)

14. 'Whosoever by falsehood deceives either a Brâhmana or a Samana or any other mendicant, let one know him as an outcast. (128)

15. 'Whosoever by words annoys either a Brâhmana or a Samana when meal-time has come and does not give (him anything), let one know him as an outcast. (129)

16. 'Whosoever enveloped in ignorance in this world predicts what is not (to take place), coveting a trifle, let one know him as an outcast. (130)

17. 'Whosoever exalts himself and despises others, being mean by his pride, let one know him as an outcast. (131)

18. 'Whosoever is a provoker and is avaricious, has sinful desires, is envious, wicked, shameless, and fearless of sinning, let one know him as an outcast. (132)

19. 'Whosoever reviles Buddha or his disciple, be he a wandering mendicant (*paribbâga*) or a householder (*gahattâ*), let one know him as an outcast. (133)

20. 'Whosoever without being a saint (arahat) pretends to be a saint, (and is) a thief in all the worlds including that of Brahman, he is indeed the lowest outcast; (all) these who have been described by me to you are indeed called outcasts. (134)

21. 'Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brâhmana; by deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brâhmana. (135)

22. 'Know ye this in the way that this example of mine (shows): There was a *Kandâla* of the Sopâka caste, well known as Mâtanga. (136)

23. 'This Mâtanga reached the highest fame, such as was very difficult to obtain, and many Khattiyas and Brâhmanas went to serve him. (137)

24. 'He having mounted the vehicle of the gods, (and entered) the high road (that is) free from dust, having abandoned sensual desires, went to the Brahma world. (138)

25. 'His birth did not prevent him from being re-born in the Brahma world; (on the other hand) there are Brâhmanas, born in the family of preceptors, friends of the hymns (of the Vedas), (139)

26. 'But they are continually caught in sinful deeds, and are to be blamed in this world, while in the coming (world) hell (awaits them); birth does not save them from hell nor from blame. (140)

27. '(Therefore) not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brâhmana, by deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brâhmana.' (141)

This having been said, the Brâhmana Aggikabhâradvâga answered Bhagavat as follows:

'Excellent, O venerable Gotama! Excellent, O

venerable Gotama! As one, O venerable Gotama, raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in the venerable Gotama and in the Dhamma and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus. Let the venerable Gotama accept me as an upâsaka (a follower, me) who henceforth for all my life have taken refuge (in him).'

Vasalasutta is ended.

8. METTASUTTA.

A peaceful mind and goodwill towards all beings are praised.—Text by Grimblot in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 250, and by Childers in *Khuddaka Pâṭha*, p. 15; translation (?) by Gogerly in the *Ceylon Friend*, 1839, p. 211, by Childers in *Kh. Pâṭha* and by L. Feer in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 328.

1. Whatever is to be done by one who is skilful in seeking (what is) good, having attained that tranquil state (of Nibbâna):—Let him be able and upright and conscientious and of soft speech, gentle, not proud, (142)

2. And contented and easily supported and having few cares, unburdened and with his senses calmed and wise, not arrogant, without (showing) greediness (when going his round) in families. (143)

3. And let him not do anything mean for which others who are wise might reprove (him); may all beings be happy and secure, may they be happy-minded. (144)

4. Whatever living beings there are, either feeble or strong, all either long or great, middle-sized, short, small or large, (145)

5. Either seen or which are not seen, and which live far (or) near, either born or seeking birth, may all creatures be happy-minded. (146)

6. Let no one deceive another, let him not despise (another) in any place, let him not out of anger or resentment wish harm to another. (147)

7. As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so also let every one cultivate a boundless (friendly) mind towards all beings. (148)

8. And let him cultivate goodwill towards all the world, a boundless (friendly) mind, above and below and across, unobstructed, without hatred, without enmity. (149)

9. Standing, walking or sitting or lying, as long as he be awake, let him devote himself to this mind; this (way of) living they say is the best in this world. (150)

10. He who, not having embraced (philosophical) views, is virtuous, endowed with (perfect) vision, after subduing greediness for sensual pleasures, will never again go to a mother's womb. (151)

Mettasutta is ended.

9. HEMAVATASUTTA.

A dialogue between two Yakkhas on the qualities of Buddha. They go to Buddha, and after having their questions answered they, together with ten hundred Yakkhas, become the followers of Buddha.

1. 'To-day is the fifteenth, a fast day; a lovely

night has come,'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—'let us (go and) see the renowned Master Gotama.' (152)

2. 'Is the mind of such a one well disposed towards all beings?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'are his thoughts restrained as to things wished for or not wished for?' (153)

3. 'His mind is well disposed towards all beings, (the mind) of such a one,'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—'and his thoughts are restrained as to things wished for or not wished for.' (154)

4. 'Does he not take what has not been given (to him)?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'is he self-controlled (in his behaviour) to living beings? is he far from (a state of) carelessness? does he not abandon meditation?' (155)

5. 'He does not take what has not been given (to him),'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—'and he is self-controlled (in his behaviour) to living beings, and he is far from (a state of) carelessness; Buddha does not abandon meditation.' (156)

6. 'Does he not speak falsely?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'is he not harsh-spoken? does he not utter slander? does he not talk nonsense?' (157)

7. 'He does not speak falsely,'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—'he is not harsh-spoken, he does not utter slander, with judgment he utters what is good sense.' (158)

8. 'Is he not given to sensual pleasures?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'is his mind undisturbed? has he overcome folly? does he see clearly in (all) things (dhammas)?' (159)

9. 'He is not given to sensual pleasures,'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—'and his mind is undis-

turbed; he has overcome all folly; Buddha sees clearly in (all) things.' (160)

10. 'Is he endowed with knowledge?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'is his conduct pure? have his passions been destroyed? is there no new birth (for him)?' (161)

11. 'He is endowed with knowledge,'—so said the Yakkha Sâtâgira,—'and his conduct is pure; all his passions have been destroyed; there is no new birth for him.' (162)

12. 'The mind of the Muni is accomplished in deed and word; Gotama, who is accomplished by his knowledge and conduct, let us (go and) see.' (163)

13. 'Come, let us (go and) see Gotama, who has legs like an antelope, who is thin, who is wise, living on little food, not covetous, the Muni who is meditating in the forest.' (164)

14. 'Having gone to him who is a lion amongst those that wander alone and does not look for sensual pleasures, let us ask about the (means of) deliverance from the snares of death.' (165)

15. 'Let us ask Gotama, the preacher, the expounder, who has penetrated all things, Buddha who has overcome hatred and fear.' (166)

16. 'In what has the world originated?'—so said the Yakkha Hemavata,—'with what is the world intimate? by what is the world afflicted, after having grasped at what?' (167)

17. 'In six the world has originated, O Hemavata,'—so said Bhagavat,—'with six it is intimate, by six the world is afflicted, after having grasped at six.' (168)

18. Hemavata said: 'What is the grasping by

which the world is afflicted? Asked about salvation, tell (me) how one is released from pain?' (169)

19. Bhagavat said: 'Five pleasures of sense are said to be in the world, with (the pleasure of) the mind as the sixth; having divested oneself of desire for these, one is thus released from pain. (170)

20. 'This salvation of the world has been told to you truly, this I tell you: thus one is released from pain.' (171)

21. Hemavata said: 'Who in this world crosses the stream (of existence)? who in this world crosses the sea? who does not sink into the deep, where there is no footing and no support?' (172)

22. Bhagavat said: 'He who is always endowed with virtue, possessed of understanding, well composed, reflecting within himself, and thoughtful, crosses the stream that is difficult to cross. (173)

23. 'He who is disgusted with sensual pleasures, who has overcome all bonds and destroyed joy, such a one does not sink into the deep.' (174)

24. Hemavata said: 'He who is endowed with a profound understanding, seeing what is subtile, possessing nothing, not clinging to sensual pleasures, behold him who is in every respect liberated, the great Isi, walking in the divine path. (175)

25. 'He who has got a great name, sees what is subtile, imparts understanding, and does not cling to the abode of sensual pleasures, behold him, the all-knowing, the wise, the great Isi, walking in the noble path. (176)

26. 'A good sight indeed (has met) us to-day, a good daybreak, a beautiful rising, (for) we have seen the perfectly enlightened (sambuddham), who has crossed the stream, and is free from passion. (177)

27. 'These ten hundred Yakkhas, possessed of supernatural power and of fame, they all take refuge in thee, thou art our incomparable Master. (178)

28. 'We will wander about from village to village, from mountain to mountain, worshipping the perfectly enlightened and the perfection of the Dhamma¹.' (179)

Hemavatasutta is ended.

10. ÂLAVAKASUTTA.

The Yakkha Âlavaka first threatens Buddha, then puts some questions to him which Buddha answers, whereupon Âlavaka is converted.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Âlavī, in the realm of the Yakkha Âlavaka. Then the Yakkha Âlavaka went to the place where Bhagavat dwelt, and having gone there he said this to Bhagavat :

'Come out, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat came out.

'Enter, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat entered.

A second time the Yakkha Âlavaka said this to Bhagavat : 'Come out, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat came out.

'Enter, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat entered.

A third time the Yakkha Âlavaka said this to Bhagavat : 'Come out, O Samana !'

'Yes, O friend !' so saying Bhagavat came out.

'Enter, O Samana !'

¹ Dhammassa ka sudhammatam.

‘Yes, O friend!’ so saying Bhagavat entered.

A fourth time the Yakkha Âlavaka said this to Bhagavat : ‘Come out, O Samana!’

‘I shall not come out to thee, O friend, do what thou pleasest.’

‘I shall ask thee a question, O Samana, if thou canst not answer it, I will either scatter thy thoughts or cleave thy heart, or take thee by thy feet and throw thee over to the other shore of the Gaṅgâ.’

‘I do not see, O friend, any one in this world nor in the world of gods, Mâras, Brahmans, amongst the beings comprising gods, men, Samanas, and Brâhmanas, who can either scatter my thoughts or cleave my heart, or take me by the feet and throw me over to the other shore of the Gaṅgâ; however, O friend, ask what thou pleasest.’

Then the Yakkha Âlavaka addressed Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. ‘What in this world is the best property for a man? what, being well done, conveys happiness? what is indeed the sweetest of sweet things? how lived do they call life the best?’ (180)

2. Bhagavat said : ‘Faith is in this world the best property for a man; Dhamma, well observed, conveys happiness; truth indeed is the sweetest of things; and that life they call the best which is lived with understanding.’ (181)

3. Âlavaka said : ‘How does one cross the stream (of existence)? how does one cross the sea? how does one conquer pain? how is one purified?’ (182)

4. Bhagavat said : ‘By faith one crosses the stream, by zeal the sea, by exertion one conquers pain, by understanding one is purified.’ (183)

5. Âlavaka said : ' How does one obtain understanding? how does one acquire wealth? how does one obtain fame? how does one bind friends (to himself)? how does one not grieve passing away from this world to the other?' (184)

6. Bhagavat said : ' He who believes in the Dhamma of the venerable ones as to the acquisition of Nibbâna, will obtain understanding from his desire to hear, being zealous and discerning. (185)

7. ' He who does what is proper, who takes the yoke (upon him and) exerts himself, will acquire wealth, by truth he will obtain fame, and being charitable he will bind friends (to himself). (186)

8. ' He who is faithful and leads the life of a householder, and possesses the following four Dhammas (virtues), truth, justice (dhamma), firmness, and liberality,—such a one indeed does not grieve when passing away. (187)

9. ' Pray, ask also other Samanas and Brâhmanas far and wide, whether there is found in this world anything greater than truth, self-restraint, liberality, and forbearance.' (188)

10. Âlavaka said : ' Why should I now ask Samanas and Brâhmanas far and wide? I now know what is my future good. (189)

11. ' For my good Buddha came to live at Âlavi; now I know where (i. e. on whom bestowed) a gift will bear great fruit. (190)

12. ' I will wander about from village to village, from town to town, worshipping the perfectly enlightened (sambuddha) and the perfection of the Dhamma.' (191)

Âlavakasutta is ended.

11. VIGAYASUTTA.

A reflection on the worthlessness of the human body ; a follower of Buddha only sees the body as it really is, and consequently goes to Nibbāna.—Comp. *Gâtaka* I, p. 146.

1. If either walking or standing, sitting or lying, any one contracts (or) stretches (his body, then) this is the motion of the body. (192)

2. The body which is put together with bones and sinews, plastered with membrane and flesh, and covered with skin, is not seen as it really is. (193)

3. It is filled with the intestines, the stomach, the lump of the liver, the abdomen, the heart, the lungs, the kidneys, the spleen. (194)

4. With mucus, saliva, perspiration, lymph, blood, the fluid that lubricates the joints, bile, and fat. (195)

5. Then in nine streams impurity flows always from it ; from the eye the eye-excrement, from the ear the ear-excrement, (196)

6. Mucus from the nose, through the mouth it ejects at one time bile and (at other times) it ejects phlegm, and from (all) the body come sweat and dirt. (197)

7. Then its hollow head is filled with the brain. A fool led by ignorance thinks it a fine thing. (198)

8. And when it lies dead, swollen and livid, discarded in the cemetery, relatives do not care (for it). (199)

9. Dogs eat it and jackals, wolves and worms ; crows and vultures eat it, and what other living creatures there are. (200)

10. The Bhikkhu possessed of understanding in this world, having listened to Buddha's words, he

certainly knows it (i. e. the body) thoroughly, for he sees it as it really is. (201)

11. As this (living body is) so is that (dead one), as this is so that (will be¹); let one put away desire for the body, both as to its interior and as to its exterior. (202)

12. Such a Bhikkhu who has turned away from desire and attachment, and is possessed of understanding in this world, has (already) gone to the immortal peace, the unchangeable state of Nibbāna. (203)

13. This (body) with two feet is cherished (although) impure, ill-smelling, filled with various kinds of stench, and trickling here and there. (204)

14. He who with such a body thinks to exalt himself or despises others—what else (is this) but blindness? (205)

Vigayasutta is ended.

12. MUNISUTTA.

Definition of a Muni.

1. From acquaintanceship arises fear, from house-life arises defilement; the houseless state, freedom from acquaintanceship—this is indeed the view of a Muni. (206)

2. Whosoever, after cutting down the (sin that has) arisen, does not let (it again) take root and does not give way to it while springing up towards him, him

¹ Yathâ idam tathâ etam
Yathâ etam tathâ idam.

the solitarily wandering they call a Muni; such a great Isi has seen the state of peace¹. (207)

3. Having considered the causes (of sin, and) killed the seed, let him not give way to desire for it; such a Muni who sees the end of birth and destruction (i. e. Nibbâna), after leaving reasoning behind, does not enter the number (of living beings)². (208)

4. He who has penetrated all the resting-places³ (of the mind, and) does not wish for any of them,—such a Muni indeed, free from covetousness and free from greediness, does not gather up (resting-places), for he has reached the other shore. (209)

5. The man who has overcome everything, who knows everything, who is possessed of a good understanding, undefiled in all things (dhamma), abandoning everything, liberated in the destruction of desire (i. e. Nibbâna), him the wise style a Muni⁴. (210)

6. The man who has the strength of understanding, is endowed with virtue and (holy) works, is composed, delights in meditation, is thoughtful, free from ties, free from harshness (akhila), and free from passion, him the wise style a Muni. (211)

7. The Muni that wanders solitarily, the zealous,

¹ Yo gâtam ukkhiṅga na ropayeyya
Gâyantam assa nânuppavekkhe
Tam âhu ekam muninam karantam,
Addakkhi so santipadam mahesi.

² Samkhâya vatthûni pamâya bigam
Sineham assa nânuppavekkhe,
Sa ve munî gâtikhayantadassî
Takkam pahâya na upeti samkham.

³ Nivesanâni. Comp. Duttḥaka, v. 6.

⁴ Comp. Dhp. v. 353.

that is not shaken by blame and praise, like a lion not trembling at noises, like the wind not caught in a net, like a lotus not soiled by water, leading others, not led by others, him the wise style a Muni. (212)

8. Whosoever becomes firm as the post in a bathing-place, in whom others acknowledge propriety of speech, who is free from passion, and (endowed) with well-composed senses, such a one the wise style a Muni. (213)

9. Whosoever is firm, like a straight shuttle, and is disgusted with evil actions, reflecting on what is just and unjust, him the wise style a Muni. (214)

10. Whosoever is self-restrained and does not do evil, is a young or middle-aged Muni, self-subdued, one that should not be provoked (as) he does not provoke any, him the wise style a Muni. (215)

11. Whosoever, living upon what is given by others, receives a lump of rice from the top, from the middle or from the rest (of the vessel, and) does not praise (the giver) nor speak harsh words, him the wise style a Muni. (216)

12. The Muni that wanders about abstaining from sexual intercourse, who in his youth is not fettered in any case, is abstaining from the insanity of pride, liberated, him the wise style a Muni. (217)

13. The man who, having penetrated the world, sees the highest truth, such a one, after crossing the stream and sea (of existence), who has cut off all ties, is independent, free from passion, him indeed the wise style a Muni. (218)

14. Two whose mode of life and occupation are quite different, are not equal : a householder maintaining a wife, and an unselfish virtuous man. A householder (is intent) upon the destruction of

other living creatures, being unrestrained; but a Muni always protects living creatures, being restrained. (219)

15. As the crested bird with the blue neck (the peacock) never attains the swiftness of the swan, even so a householder does not equal a Bhikkhu, a secluded Muni meditating in the wood. (220)

Munisutta is ended.

Uragavagga is ended.

II. KÛLAVAGGA.

1. RATANASUTTA.

For all beings salvation is only to be found in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha. — Text and translation in Childers' *Khuddaka Pâṭha*, p. 6.

1. Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let all spirits be happy, and then listen attentively to what is said. (221)

2. Therefore, O spirits, do ye all pay attention, show kindness to the human race who both day and night bring their offerings; therefore protect them strenuously. (222)

3. Whatever wealth there be here or in the other world, or whatever excellent jewel in the heavens, it is certainly not equal to Tathâgata. This excellent jewel (is found) in Buddha, by this truth may there be salvation. (223)

4. The destruction (of passion), the freedom from passion, the excellent immortality which Sakyamuni attained (being) composed,—there is nothing equal to that Dhamma. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Dhamma, by this truth may there be salvation. (224)

5. The purity which the best of Buddhas praised, the meditation which they call uninterrupted, there is no meditation like this. This excellent jewel (is

found) in the Dhamma, by this truth may there be salvation. (225)

6. The eight persons that are praised by the righteous¹, and make these four pairs, they are worthy of offerings, (being) Sugata's disciples; what is given to these will bear great fruit. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly (saṅgha), by this truth may there be salvation. (226)

7. Those who have applied themselves studiously with a firm mind and free from desire to the commandments of Gotama, have obtained the highest gain, having merged into immortality, and enjoying happiness after getting it for nothing. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (227)

8. As a post in the front of a city gate is firm in the earth and cannot be shaken by the four winds, like that I declare the righteous man to be who, having penetrated the noble truths, sees (them clearly). This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (228)

9. Those who understand the noble truths well taught by the profoundly wise (i.e. Buddha), though they be greatly distracted, will not (have to) take the eighth birth. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (229)

10. On his (attaining the) bliss of (the right) view three things (dhammas) are left behind (by him): conceit and doubt and whatever he has got of virtue and (holy) works. He is released also from the four hells, and he is incapable of committing the six

¹ The Commentator: *satam pasatthâ ti sappurisehi buddha-paṭṭheka-buddhasâvakehi aññehi ka devamanussehi pasatthâ.*

deadly sins. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (230)

11. Even if he commit a sinful deed by his body, or in word or in thought, he is incapable of concealing it, (for) to conceal is said to be impossible for one that has seen the state (of Nibbâna). This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (231)

12. As in a clump of trees with their tops in bloom in the first heat of the hot month, so (Buddha) taught the excellent Dhamma leading to Nibbâna to the greatest benefit (for all). This excellent jewel (is found) in Buddha, by this truth may there be salvation. (232)

13. The excellent one who knows what is excellent, who gives what is excellent, and who brings what is excellent, the incomparable one taught the excellent Dhamma. This excellent jewel (is found) in Buddha, by this truth may there be salvation. (233)

14. The old is destroyed, the new has not arisen, those whose minds are disgusted with a future existence, the wise who have destroyed their seeds (of existence, and) whose desires do not increase, go out like this lamp. This excellent jewel (is found) in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation. (234)

15. Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let us worship the perfect (tathâgata) Buddha, revered by gods and men ; may there be salvation. (235)

16. Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let us worship the perfect (tathâgata) Dhamma, revered by gods and men ; may there be salvation. (236)

17. Whatever spirits have come together here,

5. 'Those persons who in this world are unrestrained in (enjoying) sensual pleasures, greedy of sweet things, associated with what is impure, sceptics (*natthikaditt^{hi}*), unjust, difficult to follow;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (242)

6. 'Those who are rough, harsh, backbiting, treacherous, merciless, arrogant, and (who being) illiberal do not give anything to any one;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (243)

7. 'Anger, intoxication, obstinacy, bigotry, deceit, envy, grandiloquence, pride and conceit, intimacy with the unjust;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (244)

8. 'Those who in this world are wicked, and such as do not pay their debts, are slanderers, false in their dealings, counterfeiters, those who in this world being the lowest of men commit sin;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (245)

9. 'Those persons who in this world are unrestrained (in their behaviour) towards living creatures, who are bent upon injuring after taking others' (goods), wicked, cruel, harsh, disrespectful;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (246)

10. 'Those creatures who are greedy of these (living beings, who are) hostile, offending; always bent upon (evil) and therefore, when dead, go to darkness and fall with their heads downwards into hell;—this is Âmagandha, but not the eating of flesh. (247)

11. 'Neither the flesh of fish, nor fasting, nor nakedness, nor tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough skins, nor the worshipping of the fire, nor the many immortal penances in the world, nor hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifice, nor observance of the

seasons, purify a mortal who has not conquered his doubt¹. (248)

12. 'The wise man wanders about with his organs of sense guarded, and his senses conquered, standing firm in the Dhamma, delighting in what is right and mild; having overcome all ties and left behind all pain, he does not cling to what is seen and heard.' (249)

13. Thus Bhagavat preached this subject again and again, (and the Brāhmaṇa) who was accomplished in the hymns (of the Vedas) understood it; the Muni who is free from defilement, independent, and difficult to follow, made it clear in various stanzas. (250)

14. Having heard Buddha's well-spoken words, which are free from defilement and send away all pain, he worshipped Tathāgata's (feet) in humility, and took orders at once. (251)

Āmagandhasutta is ended.

3. HIRISUTTA.

On true friendship.

1. He who transgresses and despises modesty, who says, 'I am a friend,' but does not undertake any work that can be done, know (about) him: 'he is not my (friend).' (252)

2. Whosoever uses pleasing words to friends without effect², him the wise know as one that (only) talks, but does not do anything. (253)

3. He is not a friend who always eagerly suspects a breach and looks out for faults; but he with whom he dwells as a son at the breast (of his mother),

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 141.

² Ananvayan ti yam attham dassāmi karissāmīti bhāsati tena ananugatam. Commentator.

he is indeed a friend that cannot be severed (from him) by others. (254)

4. He who hopes for fruit, cultivates the energy that produces joy and the pleasure that brings praise, (while) carrying the human yoke¹. (255)

5. Having tasted the sweetness of seclusion and tranquillity one becomes free from fear and free from sin, drinking in the sweetness of the Dhamma². (256)

Hirisutta is ended.

4. MAHÂMAÑGALASUTTA.

Buddha defines the highest blessing to a deity.—Text by Grimblot in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 229, and by Childers in *Kh. Pâṭha*, p. 4; translation by Gogerly in the *Ceylon Friend*, 1839, p. 208; by Childers in *Kh. Pâṭha*, p. 4; and by L. Feer in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xviii (1871), p. 296.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî, in Geta-
vana, in the park of Anâthapindika. Then, when
the night had gone, a deity of beautiful appearance,
having illuminated the whole Getavana, approached
Bhagavat, and having approached and saluted him,
he stood apart, and standing apart that deity ad-
dressed Bhagavat in a stanza :

1. 'Many gods and men have devised blessings,
longing for happiness, tell thou (me) the highest
blessing.' (257)

2. Buddha said : 'Not cultivating (the society of)

¹ Pāmuggakakaranam thânam
Pasamsâvahanam sukham
Phalânisamso* bhâveti
Vahanto porisam dhuram.

² Comp. Dh. v. 205.

* Phalam pâṭikaṅkhamâno phalânisamso. Commentator.

fools, but cultivating (the society of) wise men, worshipping those that are to be worshipped, this is the highest blessing. (258)

3. 'To live in a suitable country, to have done good deeds in a former (existence), and a thorough study of one's self, this is the highest blessing. (259)

4. 'Great learning and skill, well-learned discipline, and well-spoken words, this is the highest blessing. (260)

5. 'Waiting on mother and father, protecting child and wife, and a quiet calling, this is the highest blessing. (261)

6. 'Giving alms, living religiously, protecting relatives, blameless deeds, this is the highest blessing. (262)

7. 'Ceasing and abstaining from sin, refraining from intoxicating drink, perseverance in the Dhammas, this is the highest blessing. (263)

8. 'Reverence and humility, contentment and gratitude, the hearing of the Dhamma at due seasons, this is the highest blessing. (264)

9. 'Patience and pleasant speech, intercourse with Samanas, religious conversation at due seasons, this is the highest blessing. (265)

10. 'Penance and chastity, discernment of the noble truths, and the realisation of Nibbāna, this is the highest blessing. (266)

11. 'He whose mind is not shaken (when he is) touched by the things of the world (lokadhamma), (but remains) free from sorrow, free from defilement, and secure, this is the highest blessing. (267)

12. 'Those who, having done such (things), are undefeated in every respect, walk in safety everywhere, theirs is the highest blessing.' (268)

Mahāmaṅgala is ended.

5. SŪKĪLOMASUTTA.

The Yakkha Sūkiloma threatens to harm Buddha, if he cannot answer his questions. Buddha answers that all passions proceed from the body.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Gayâ (seated) on a stone seat in the realm of the Yakkha Sūkiloma. And at that time the Yakkha Khara and the Yakkha Sūkiloma passed by, not far from Bhagavat. And then the Yakkha Khara said this to the Yakkha Sūkiloma : ' Is this man a Samana ? '

Sūkiloma answered : ' He is no Samana, he is a Samanaka (a wretched Samana); however I will ascertain whether he is a Samana or a Samanaka. '

Then the Yakkha Sūkiloma went up to Bhagavat, and having gone up to him, he brushed against Bhagavat's body. Then Bhagavat took away his body. Then the Yakkha Sūkiloma said this to Bhagavat : ' O Samana, art thou afraid of me ? '

Bhagavat answered : ' No, friend, I am not afraid of thee, but thy touching me is sinful. '

Sūkiloma said : ' I will ask thee a question, O Samana ; if thou canst not answer it I will either scatter thy thoughts or cleave thy heart, or take thee by the feet and throw thee over to the other shore of the Gaṅgā. '

Bhagavat answered : ' I do not see, O friend, neither in this world together with the world of the Devas, Māras, Brahmans, nor amongst the generation of Samana and Brâhmanas, gods and men, the one who can either scatter my thoughts or cleave my heart, or take me by the feet and throw me over

to the other shore of the Gaṅgâ. However ask, O friend, what thou pleasest.' Then the Yakkha Sûkiloma addressed Bhagavat in a stanza :

1. 'What origin have passion and hatred, disgust, delight, and horror? wherefrom do they arise? whence arising do doubts vex the mind, as boys vex a crow?' (269)

2. Buddha said: 'Passion and hatred have their origin from this (body), disgust, delight, and horror arise from this body; arising from this (body) doubts vex the mind, as boys vex a crow. (270)

3. 'They originate in desire, they arise in self, like the shoots of the banyan tree; far and wide they are connected with sensual pleasures, like the mâluvâ creeper spread in the wood. (271)

4. 'Those who know whence it (sin) arises, drive it away. Listen, O Yakkha! They cross over this stream that is difficult to cross, and has not been crossed before, with a view to not being born again.' (272)

Sûkilomasutta is ended.

6. DHAMMAKARIYASUTTA OR KAPILA-SUTTA.

The Bhikkhus are admonished to rid themselves of sinful persons, and advised to lead a pure life.

1. A just life, a religious life, this they call the best gem, if any one has gone forth from house-life to a houseless life. (273)

2. But if he be harsh-spoken, and like a beast delighting in injuring (others), then the life of such a one is very wicked, and he increases his own pollution. (274)

3. A Bhikkhu who delights in quarrelling and is shrouded in folly, does not understand the Dhamma that is preached and taught by Buddha. (275)

4. Injuring his own cultivated mind, and led by ignorance, he does not understand that sin is the way leading to hell. (276)

5. Having gone to calamity, from womb to womb, from darkness to darkness, such a Bhikkhu verily, after passing away, goes to pain. (277)

6. As when there is a pit of excrement (that has become) full during a number of years,—he who should be such a one full of sin is difficult to purify. (278)

7. Whom you know to be such a one, O Bhikkhus, (a man) dependent on a house, having sinful desires, sinful thoughts, and being with sinful deeds and objects, (279)

8. Him do avoid, being all in concord; blow him away as sweepings, put him away as rubbish. (280)

9. Then remove as chaff those that are no Samanas, (but only) think themselves, blowing away those that have sinful desires and those with sinful deeds and objects. (281)

10. Be pure and live together with the pure, being thoughtful; then agreeing (and) wise you will put an end to pain. (282)

Dhammaḥāriyasutta is ended.

7. BRĀHMANĀDHAMMIKASUTTA.

Wealthy Brāhmanas come to Buddha, asking about the customs of the ancient Brāhmanas. Buddha describes their mode of life and the change wrought in them by seeing the king's riches, and furthermore, how they induced the king to commit the sin of

having living creatures slain at sacrifices. On hearing Buddha's enlightened discourse the wealthy Brāhmanas are converted. Compare Sp. Hardy's Legends, p. 46.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sāvattthī, in Geta-vana, in the park of Anāthapīṇḍika. Then many wealthy Brāhmanas of Kosala, decrepit, elderly, old, advanced in age, or arrived at extreme old age, went to Bhagavat, and having gone to him they talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable talk with him, they sat down apart. Sitting down apart these wealthy Brāhmanas said this to Bhagavat : 'O venerable Gotama, are the Brāhmanas now-a-days seen (engaged) in the Brāhmanical customs (dhamma) of the ancient Brāhmanas ?'

Bhagavat answered : 'The Brāhmanas now-a-days, O Brāhmanas, are not seen (engaged) in the Brāhmanical customs of the ancient Brāhmanas.'

The Brāhmanas said : 'Let the venerable Gotama tell us the Brāhmanical customs of the ancient Brāhmanas, if it is not inconvenient to the venerable Gotama.'

Bhagavat answered : 'Then listen, O Brāhmanas, pay great attention, I will speak.'

'Yes,' so saying the wealthy Brāhmanas listened to Bhagavat. Bhagavat said this :

1. The old sages (isayo) were self-restrained, penitent; having abandoned the objects of the five senses, they studied their own welfare. (283)

2. There were no cattle for the Brāhmanas, nor gold, nor corn, (but) the riches and corn of meditation were for them, and they kept watch over the best treasure. (284)

3. What was prepared for them and placed as food at the door, they thought was to be given to those that seek for what has been prepared by faith. (285)

4. With garments variously coloured, with beds and abodes, prosperous people from the provinces and the whole country worshipped those Brāhmanas. (286)

5. Inviolable were the Brāhmanas, invincible, protected by the Dhamma, no one opposed them (while standing) at the doors of the houses anywhere. (287)

6. For forty-eight years they practised juvenile chastity, the Brāhmanas formerly went in search of science and exemplary conduct. (288)

7. The Brāhmanas did not marry (a woman belonging to) another (caste), nor did they buy a wife; they chose living together in mutual love after having come together. (289)

8. Excepting from the time about the cessation of the menstruation else the Brāhmanas did not indulge in sexual intercourse¹. (290)

9. They praised chastity and virtue, rectitude, mildness, penance, tenderness, compassion, and patience. (291)

10. He who was the best of them, a strong Brāhmaṇa, did not (even) in sleep indulge in sexual intercourse. (292)

11. Imitating his practices some wise men in this world praised chastity and patience. (293)

12. Having asked for rice, beds, garments, butter, and oil, and gathered them justly, they made sacri-

¹ *Aññatra tamhā samayā*
Utuveramanim pati
Antarā methunam dhammam
Nāsu gaṭṭhanti brāhmaṇā.

fices out of them, and when the sacrifice came on, they did not kill cows. (294)

13. Like unto a mother, a father, a brother, and other relatives the cows are our best friends, in which medicines are produced. (295)

14. They give food, and they give strength, they likewise give (a good) complexion and happiness; knowing the real state of this, they did not kill cows. (296)

15. They were graceful, large, handsome, renowned, Brâhmanas by nature, zealous for their several works; as long as they lived in the world, this race prospered. (297)

16. But there was a change in them: after gradually seeing the king's prosperity and adorned women, (298)

17. Well-made chariots drawn by noble horses, carpets in variegated colours, palaces and houses, divided into compartments and measured out, (299)

18. The great human wealth, attended with a number of cows, and combined with a flock of beautiful women, the Brâhmanas became covetous. (300)

19. They then, in this matter, having composed hymns, went to Okkâka, and said: 'Thou hast much wealth and corn, sacrifice thy great property, sacrifice thy great wealth.' (301)

20. And then the king, the lord of chariots, instructed by the Brâhmanas, brought about assamedha, purisamedha, sammâpâsa, and vâkâpeyya without any hinderance, and having offered these sacrifices he gave the Brâhmanas wealth: (302)

21. Cows, beds, garments, and adorned women, and well-made chariots, drawn by noble horses, carpets in variegated colours, (303)

22. Beautiful palaces, well divided into compartments ; and having filled these with different (sorts of) corn, he gave this wealth to the Brâhmanas. (304)

23. And they having thus received wealth wished for a store, and the desire of those who had given-way to (their) wishes increased still more ; they then, in this matter, having composed hymns, went again to Okkâka, and said : (305)

24. ' As water, earth, gold, wealth, and corn, even so are there cows for men, for this is a requisite for living beings ; sacrifice thy great property, sacrifice thy wealth.' (306)

25. And then the king, the lord of chariots, instructed by the Brâhmanas, caused many hundred thousand cows to be slain in offerings. (307)

26. The cows, that are like goats, do not hurt any one with their feet or with either of their horns, they are tender, and yield vessels (of milk),—seizing them by the horns the king caused them to be slain with a weapon. (308)

27. Then the gods, the forefathers, Inda, the Asuras, and the Rakkhasas cried out : ' This is injustice,' because of the weapon falling on the cows. (309)

28. There were formerly three diseases : desire, hunger, and decay, but from the slaying of cattle there came ninety-eight. (310)

29. This injustice of (using) violence that has come down (to us), was old ; innocent (cows) are slain, the sacrificing (priests) have fallen off from the Dhamma. (311)

30. So this old and mean Dhamma is blamed by the wise ; where people see such a one, they blame the sacrificing priest. (312)

31. So Dhamma being lost, the Suddas and the Vessikas disagreed, the Khattiyas disagreed in manifold ways, the wife despised her husband. (313)

32. The Khattiyas and the Brâhmanas and those others who had been protected by their castes, after doing away with their disputes on descent, fell into the power of sensual pleasures. (314)

This having been said, those wealthy Brâhmanas said to Bhagavat as follows :

‘ It is excellent, O venerable Gotama ! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama ! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated ; we take refuge in the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus ; may the venerable Gotama receive us as followers (upâsaka), who from this day for life have taken refuge (in him). ’

Brâhmanadhammikasutta is ended.

8. NĀVĀSUTTA.

On choosing a good and learned teacher.

1. A man should worship him from whom he learns the Dhamma, as the gods (worship) Inda ; the learned man being worshipped and pleased with him, makes the (highest) Dhamma manifest. (315)

2. Having heard and considered that (Dhamma), the wise man practising the Dhamma that is in

accordance with the (highest) Dhamma, becomes learned, expert, and skilful, strenuously associating with such a (learned teacher). (316)

3. He who serves a low (teacher), a fool who has not understood the meaning, and who is envious, goes to death, not having overcome doubt, and not having understood the Dhamma. (317)

4. As a man, after descending into a river, a turbid water with a rapid current, is borne along following the current,—how will he be able to put others across? (318)

5. Even so how will a man, not having understood the Dhamma, and not attending to the explanation of the learned and not knowing it himself, not having overcome doubt, be able to make others understand it? (319)

6. As one, having gone on board a strong ship, provided with oars and rudder, carries across in it many others, knowing the way to do it, and being expert and thoughtful, (320)

7. So also he who is accomplished, of a cultivated mind, learned, intrepid, makes others endowed with attention and assiduity understand it, knowing (it himself). (321)

8. Therefore indeed one should cultivate (the society of) a good man, who is intelligent and learned; he who leads a regular life, having understood what is good and penetrated the Dhamma, will obtain happiness. (322)

Nâvâsutta is ended.



9. KIMSĪLASUTTA.

How to obtain the highest good.

1. By what virtue, by what conduct, and performing what works, will a man be perfectly established (in the commandments) and obtain the highest good? (323)

2. Let him honour old people, not be envious, let him know the (right) time for seeing his teachers, let him know the (right) moment for listening to their religious discourses, let him assiduously hearken to their well-spoken (words). (324)

3. Let him in due time go to the presence of his teachers, let him be humble after casting away obstinacy, let him remember and practise what is good, the Dhamma, self-restraint, and chastity. (325)

4. Let his pleasure be the Dhamma, let him delight in the Dhamma, let him stand fast in the Dhamma, let him know how to enquire into the Dhamma, let him not raise any dispute that pollutes the Dhamma, and let him spend his time in (speaking) well-spoken truths¹. (326)

5. Having abandoned ridiculous talk, lamentation, corruption, deceit, hypocrisy, greediness and haughtiness, clamour and harshness, depravity and foolishness, let him live free from infatuation, with a steady mind. (327)

6. The words, the essence of which is understood, are well spoken, and what is heard, if understood, contains the essence of meditation; but the understanding and learning of the man who is hasty and careless, does not increase. (328)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 364.

7. Those who delight in the Dhamma, proclaimed by the venerable ones, are unsurpassed in speech, mind and work, they are established in peace, tenderness and meditation, and have gone to the essence of learning and understanding. (329)

Kimsilasutta is ended.

10. UTHÂNASUTTA.

Advice not to be lukewarm and slothful.

1. Rise, sit up, what is the use of your sleeping ; to those who are sick, pierced by the arrow (of pain), and suffering, what sleep is there ? (330)

2. Rise, sit up, learn steadfastly for the sake of peace, let not the king of death, knowing you to be indolent (*pamatta*), befool you and lead you into his power. (331)

3. Conquer this desire which gods and men stand wishing for and are dependent upon, let not the (right) moment pass by you ; for those who have let the (right) moment pass, will grieve when they have been consigned to hell. (332)

4. Indolence (*pamâda*) is defilement, continued indolence is defilement ; by earnestness (*appamâda*) and knowledge let one pull out his arrow. (333)

Uthânasutta is ended.

11. RÂHULASUTTA.

Buddha recommends the life of a recluse to Râhula, and admonishes him to turn his mind away from the world and to be moderate.

1. Bhagavat said : 'Dost thou not despise the wise man, from living with him constantly ? Is he

who holds up a torch to mankind honoured by thee?' (334)

2. Râhula: 'I do not despise the wise man, from living with him constantly; he who holds up a torch to mankind is always honoured by me.' (335)

Vatthugâthâ.

3. Bhagavat: 'Having abandoned the objects of the five senses, the beautiful, the charming, and gone out from thy house with faith, do thou put an end to pain. (336)

4. 'Cultivate (the society of) virtuous friends and a distant dwelling-place, secluded and quiet; be moderate in food¹. (337)

5. 'Robes, alms (in bowl), requisites (for the sick), a dwelling-place,—do not thirst after these (things), that thou mayest not go back to the world again. (338)

6. 'Be subdued according to the precepts, and as to the five senses, be attentive as regards thy body, and be full of disgust (with the world). (339)

7. 'Avoid signs, what is pleasant and is accompanied with passion, turn thy mind undisturbed and well composed to what is not pleasant. (340)

8. 'Cherish what is signless, leave the inclinations for pride; then by destroying pride thou shalt wander calm.' (341)

So Bhagavat repeatedly admonished the venerable Râhula with these stanzas.

Râhulasutta is ended.

¹ Mitte bhagassu kalyâṇe
Pantañ ka sayanâsanam
Vivittam appanigghosam,
Mattaññû hohi bhogane.

Comp. Dhp. v. 185 and v. 375.

12. VAṄĠĠSASUTTA.

Vaṅġsa desires to know the fate of Nigrodhakappa, whether he has been completely extinguished, or whether he is still with some elements of existence left behind. He is answered by Buddha.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Āḷavi, in the temple of Aggāḷava. At that time the teacher of the venerable Vaṅġsa, the Thera, by name Nigrodhakappa, had attained bliss not long before (*aḷira-parinibbata*). Then this reflection occurred to the venerable Vaṅġsa, while retired and meditating :

Whether my teacher be blessed (*parinibbata*) or whether he be not blessed. Then the venerable Vaṅġsa, at the evening time, coming forth from his retirement went to Bhagavat, and having gone to him he sat down apart after saluting him, and sitting down apart the venerable Vaṅġsa said this to Bhagavat :

‘ Lord, while retired and meditating, this reflection occurred to me here : Whether my teacher be blessed or whether he be not blessed.’

Then the venerable Vaṅġsa, rising from his seat, throwing his robe over one shoulder and bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat, addressed him in stanzas :

1. ‘ We ask the Master of excellent understanding : he who in this world had cut off doubt, died at Aggāḷava, a Bhikkhu, well known, famous, and of a calm mind. (342)

2. ‘ The name “ Nigrodhakappa ” was given to that Brāhmaṇa by thee, O Bhagavat ; he wandered

about worshipping thee, having liberation in view, strong, and seeing Nibbâna. (343)

3. 'O Sakka, thou all-seeing, we all wish to learn (something about) this disciple; our ears are ready to hear, thou art our Master, thou art incomparable. (344)

4. 'Cut off our doubt, tell me of him, inform us of the blessed, O thou of great understanding; speak in the midst of us, O thou all-seeing, as the thousand-eyed Sakka (speaks in the midst) of the gods. (345)

5. 'Whatever ties there are in this world (constituting) the way to folly, combined with ignorance, forming the seat of doubt, they do not exist before Tathâgata, for he is the best eye of men. (346)

6. 'If a man does not for ever dispel the sin as the wind (dispels) a mass of clouds, all the world will be enveloped in darkness, not even illustrious men will shine. (347)

7. 'Wise men are light-bringers, therefore, O wise man, I consider thee as such a one; we have come to him who beholds meditation, reveal Kappa to us in the assembly. (348)

8. 'Uplift quickly, O thou beautiful one, thy beautiful voice, like the swans drawing up (their necks), sing softly with a rich and well-modulated voice; we will all listen to thee attentively. (349)

9. 'Having earnestly called upon him who has completely left birth and death behind and shaken off (sin), I will make him proclaim the Dhamma, for ordinary people cannot do what they want, but the Tathâgatas act with a purpose¹. (350)

¹ *Pahîṇagâtîmaranam asesam*
Niggayha dhonam vadessâmi dhammam,
Na kâmakâro hi puthugganânâṃ
Samkheyyakâro ka tathâgatânâṃ.

10. 'This full explanation by thee, the perfectly wise, is accepted, this last clasping of the hands is well bent, O thou of high wisdom, knowing (Kappa's transmigration), do not delude us¹. (351)

11. 'Having perfectly² comprehended the Dhamma of the venerable ones, do not delude (us), O thou of unsurpassed strength, knowing (everything); as one in the hot season pained by the heat (longs for) water, so I long for thy words; send a shower of learning. (352)

12. 'The rich religious life which Kappâyana led, has not that been in vain (to him), has he been (completely) extinguished, or is he still with some elements of existence (left behind)? How he was liberated, that we want to hear.' (353)

13. Bhagavat: 'He cut off the desire for name and form in this world,'—so said Bhagavat,—'Kanha's (i. e. Mâra's) stream, adhered to for a long time, he crossed completely birth and death,' so said Bhagavat, the best of the five (Brâhmanas, pañka-vaggiyâ). (354)

14. Vaṅġsa: 'Having heard thy word, O thou the best of the Isis, I am pleased; not in vain have I asked, the Brâhmana did not deceive me. (355)

15. 'As he talked so he acted, he was a (true) disciple of Buddha, he cut asunder the outspread strong net of deceitful death. (356)

16. 'Kappiya (Kappâyana) saw, O Bhagavat, the be-

¹ *Sampannavēyyākaranam tava-y-idam*
Samuggupaññassa samuggahîtam,
Ayam añgali paḷḷhimo suppanâmito,
Mâ mohayi gānam anomapañña.

² *Parovaran ti lokuttaralokiyavasena sundarâsundaram dūre santikam vâ.* Commentator.

ginning of attachment, Kappâyana verily crossed the realm of death, which is very difficult to cross.' (357)

Vaṅṭsasutta is ended.

13. SAMMĀPARIBBĀGANIYASUTTA.

The right path for a Bhikkhu.

1. 'We will ask the Muni of great understanding, who has crossed, gone to the other shore, is blessed (parinibbuta), and of a firm mind: How does a Bhikkhu wander rightly in the world, after having gone out from his house and driven away desire?' (358)

2. 'He whose (ideas of) omens, meteors, dreams and signs are destroyed,'—so said Bhagavat,—'such a Bhikkhu who has abandoned the sinful omens, wanders rightly in the world. (359)

3. 'Let the Bhikkhu subdue his passion for human and divine pleasures, then after conquering existence and understanding the Dhamma, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (360)

4. 'Let the Bhikkhu, after casting behind him slander and anger, abandon avarice and be free from compliance and opposition, then such a one will wander rightly in the world. (361)

5. 'He who having left behind both what is agreeable and what is disagreeable, not seizing upon anything, is independent in every respect and liberated from bonds, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (362)

6. 'He does not see any essence in the Upadhis, having subdued his wish and passion for attachments,

he is independent and not to be led by others, such a one will wander rightly in the world¹. (363)

7. 'He who is not opposed (to any one) in word, thought or deed, who, after having understood the Dhamma perfectly, longs for the state of Nibbâna, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (364)

8. 'He who thinking "he salutes me" is not elated, the Bhikkhu who, although abused, does not reflect (upon it, and) having received food from others does not get intoxicated (with pride), such a one will wander rightly in the world. (365)

9. 'The Bhikkhu who, after leaving behind covetousness and existence, is disgusted with cutting and binding (others), he who has overcome doubt, and is without pain, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (366)

10. 'And knowing what becomes him, the Bhikkhu will not harm any one in the world, understanding the Dhamma thoroughly, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (367)

11. 'He to whom there are no affections whatsoever, whose sins are extirpated from the root, he free from desire and not longing (for anything), such a one will wander rightly in the world. (368)

12. 'He whose passions have been destroyed, who is free from pride, who has overcome all the path of passion, is subdued, perfectly happy (parinibbuta), and of a firm mind, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (369)

13. 'The believer, possessed of knowledge, see-

¹ Na so upadhîsu sâram eti
 Âdânesu vineyya khandarâgam
 So anissito anaññaneyyo
 Sammâ so.

ing the way (leading to Nibbâna), who is no partisan amongst the partisans (of the sixty-two philosophical views), wise after subduing covetousness, anger, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (370)

14. 'He who is pure and victorious, who has removed the veil (of the world), who is subdued in the Dhammas, has gone to the other shore, is without desire, and skilled in the knowledge of the cessation of the Samkhâras, such a one will wander rightly in the world. (371)

15. 'He who has overcome time (kappâtta) in the past and in the future, is of an exceedingly pure understanding, liberated from all the dwelling-places (of the mind), such a one will wander rightly in the world. (372)

16. 'Knowing the step (of the four truths), understanding the Dhamma, seeing clearly the abandonment of the passions, destroying all the elements of existence (upadhi), such a one will wander rightly in the world.' (373)

17. 'Certainly, O Bhagavat, it is so : whichever Bhikkhu lives in this way, subdued and having overcome all bonds, such a one will wander rightly in the world.' (374)

Sammâparibbâganiyasutta is ended.

14. DHAMMIKASUTTA.

Buddha shows Dhammika what the life of a Bhikkhu and what the life of a householder ought to be.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthi, in Geta-vana, in the park of Anâthapindika. Then the follower (upâsaka) Dhammika, together with five

hundred followers, went to Bhagavat, and having gone to Bhagavat and saluted him, he sat down apart; sitting down apart the follower Dhammika addressed Bhagavat in stanzas:

1. 'I ask thee, O Gotama of great understanding, How is a Sāvaka (disciple) to act to be a good one? is it the one who goes from his house to the wilderness, or the followers with a house? (375)

2. 'For thou knowest the doings of this world and that of the gods, and the final end; there is nobody like thee seeing the subtle meaning (of things); they call thee the excellent Buddha. (376)

3. 'Knowing all knowledge thou hast revealed the Dhamma, having compassion on creatures; thou hast removed the veil (of the world), thou art all-seeing, thou shinest spotless in all the world. (377)

4. 'The king of elephants, Erāvāṇa by name, hearing that thou wert Gīṇa (the Conqueror), came to thy presence, and having conversed with thee he went away delighted, after listening (to thee, and saying), "Very good!" (378)

5. 'Also king Vessavaṇa Kuvera came to ask thee about the Dhamma; him, too, thou, O wise man, answeredst when asked, and he also after listening was delighted. (379)

6. 'All these disputatious Titthiyas and Āgāvikas and Nigantḥas do not any of them overcome thee in understanding, as a man standing (does not overcome) the one that is walking quickly. (380)

7. 'All these disputatious Brāhmaṇas, and there are even some old Brāhmaṇas, all are bound by thy opinion, and others also that are considered disputants. (381)

8. 'This subtle and pleasant Dhamma that has

been well proclaimed by thee, O Bhagavat, and which we all long to hear, do thou, O thou best of Buddhas, speak to us when asked. (382)

9. 'Let all these Bhikkhus and also Upâsakas that have sat down to listen, hear the Dhamma learnt (anubuddha) by the stainless (Buddha), as the gods (hear) the well-spoken (words) of Vâsava.' (383)

10. Bhagavat: 'Listen to me, O Bhikkhus, I will teach you the Dhamma that destroys sin, do ye keep it, all of you; let him who looks for what is salutary, the thoughtful, cultivate the mode of life suitable for Pabbagitas. (384)

11. 'Let not the Bhikkhu walk about at a wrong time, let him go to the village for alms at the right time; for ties ensnare the one that goes at a wrong time, therefore Buddhas do not go at a wrong time. (385)

12. 'Form, sound, taste, smell, and touch which intoxicate creatures, having subdued the desire for (all) these things (dhammas), let him in due time go in for his breakfast. (386)

13. 'And let the Bhikkhu, after having obtained his food at the right time and returned, sit down alone and privately; reflecting within himself let him not turn his mind to outward things, (but be) self-collected. (387)

14. 'If he speak with a Sâvaka or with anybody else, or with a Bhikkhu, let him talk about the excellent Dhamma, (but let him) not (utter) slander, nor blaming words against others. (388)

15. 'For some utter language contradicting others¹; those narrow-minded ones we do not praise. Ties

¹ Vâdam hi eke pañiseniyanti=virugghanti yugg'hitukâmâ hutvâ senâya pañimukham gaḥḥantâ viya honti. Commentator.

from here and there ensnare them, and they send their mind far away in that (dispute). (389)

16. 'Let a Sāvaka of him with the excellent understanding (Buddha), after hearing the Dhamma taught by Sugata, discriminately seek for food, a monastery, a bed and a chair, and water for taking away the dirt of his clothes. (390)

17. 'But without clinging to these things, to food, to bed and chair, to water for taking away the dirt of his clothes, let a Bhikkhu be like a waterdrop on a lotus. (391)

18. 'A householder's work I will also tell you, how a Sāvaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete Bhikkhu-dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by (worldly) occupations. (392)

19. 'Let him not kill, nor cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of others killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world. (393)

20. 'Then let the Sāvaka abstain from (taking) anything in any place that has not been given (to him), knowing (it to belong to another), let him not cause any one to take, nor approve of those that take, let him avoid all (sort of) theft. (394)

21. 'Let the wise man avoid an unchaste life as a burning heap of coals; not being able to live a life of chastity, let him not transgress with another man's wife. (395)

22. 'Let no one speak falsely to another in the hall of justice or in the hall of the assembly, let him not cause (any one) to speak (falsely), nor approve of those that speak (falsely), let him avoid all (sort of) untruth. (396)

23. 'Let the householder who approves of this Dhamma, not give himself to intoxicating drinks; let him not cause others to drink, nor approve of those that drink, knowing it to end in madness. (397)

24. 'For through intoxication the stupid commit sins and make other people intoxicated; let him avoid this seat of sin, this madness, this folly, delightful to the stupid. (398)

25. 'Let him not kill any living being, let him not take what has not been given (to him), let him not speak falsely, and let him not drink intoxicating drinks, let him refrain from unchaste sexual intercourse, and let him not at night eat untimely food. (399)

26. 'Let him not wear wreaths nor use perfumes, let him lie on a couch spread on the earth:—this they call the eightfold abstinence (uposatha), proclaimed by Buddha, who has overcome pain. (400)

27. 'Then having with a believing mind kept abstinence (uposatha) on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the eighth days of the half-month, and (having kept) the complete Pāṭihārapakkha¹ consisting of eight parts, (401)

28. 'And then in the morning, after having kept abstinence, let a wise man with a believing mind, gladdening the assembly of Bhikkhus with food and drink, make distributions according to his ability. (402)

29. 'Let him dutifully maintain his parents, and practise an honourable trade; the householder who observes this strenuously goes to the gods by name Sayampabhas.' (403)

Dhammikasutta is ended.

Kūlavagga is ended.

¹ Compare T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 141.

III. MAHÂVAGGA.

1. PABBAGGÂSUTTA.

King Bimbisâra feeling interested in Buddha tries to tempt him with wealth, but is mildly rebuked by Buddha.

1. I will praise an ascetic life such as the clearly-seeing (Buddha) led, such as he thinking (over it) approved of as an ascetic life. (404)

2. 'This house-life is pain, the seat of impurity,' and 'an ascetic life is an open-air life,' so considering he embraced an ascetic life. (405)

3. Leading an ascetic life, he avoided with his body sinful deeds, and having (also) abandoned sin in words, he cleansed his life. (406)

4. Buddha went to Râgagaha, he entered the Giribbaga in Magadha for alms with a profusion of excellent signs. (407)

5. Bimbisâra standing in his palace saw him, and seeing him endowed with these signs, he spoke these words: (408)

6. 'Attend ye to this man, he is handsome, great, clean, he is both endowed with good conduct, and he does not look before him further than a yuga (the distance of a plough). (409)

7. 'With downcast eyes, thoughtful, this one is not like those of low caste; let the king's messengers run off, (and ask): "Where is the Bhikkhu going?"' (410)

8. The king's messengers followed after (him, and

said): 'Where is the Bhikkhu going, where will he reside?' (411)

9. 'Going begging from house to house, watching the door (of the senses), well restrained, he quickly filled his bowl, conscious, thoughtful.' (412)

10. 'Wandering about in search of alms, having gone out of town, the Muni repaired to (the mountain) *Pandava*; it must be there he lives.' (413)

11. Seeing that he had entered his dwelling, the messengers then sat down, and one messenger having returned announced it to the king. (414)

12. 'This Bhikkhu, O great king, is sitting on the east side of *Pandava*, like a tiger, like a bull, like a lion in a mountain cave.' (415)

13. Having heard the messenger's words, the Khattiya in a fine chariot hastening went out to the *Pandava* mountain. (416)

14. Having gone as far as the ground was practicable for a chariot, the Khattiya, after alighting from the chariot, and approaching on foot, having come up (to him), seated himself. (417)

15. Having sat down the king then exchanged the usual ceremonious greetings with him, and after the complimentary talk he spoke these words: (418)

16. 'Thou art both young and delicate, a lad in his first youth, possessed of a fine complexion, like a high-born Khattiya. (419)

17. 'I will ornament the army-house, and at the head of the assembly of chiefs (*nāga*) give (thee) wealth; enjoy it and tell me thy birth, when asked.' (420)

18. Buddha: 'Just beside *Himavanta*, O king, there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of *Kosala*. (421)

19. 'They are Âdikkas by family, Sâkiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures. (422)

20. 'Seeing misery in sensual pleasures, and considering the forsaking of the world as happiness, I will go and exert myself; in this my mind delights.' (423)

Pabbaggâsutta is ended.

2. PADHÂNASUTTA.

Mâra tries to tempt Buddha, but disappointed is obliged to withdraw.
Comp. Gospel of S. Matthew iv.

1. To me, whose mind was intent upon exertion near the river Nerañgarâ, having exerted myself, and given myself to meditation for the sake of acquiring Nibbâna (yogakkhema), (424)

2. Came Namukî speaking words full of compassion: 'Thou art lean, ill-favoured, death is in thy neighbourhood. (425)

3. 'A thousandth part of thee (is the property) of death, (only) one part (belongs to) life; living life, O thou venerable one, is better; living thou wilt be able to do good works¹. (426)

4. 'When thou livest a religious life, and feedest the sacrificial fire, manifold good works are woven to thee; what dost thou want with exertion? (427)

5. 'Difficult is the way of exertion, difficult to pass, difficult to enter upon;' saying these verses Mâra stood near Buddha. (428)

¹ Sahassabhâgo maranassa,
Ekamso tava gîvitam,
Gîvam bho gîvitam seyyo,
Gîvam puññâni kâhasi.

6. To Māra thus speaking Bhagavat said this :
 ' O thou friend of the indolent, thou wicked one, for
 what purpose hast thou come here ? (429)

7. ' Even the least good work is of no use to me ;
 and what good works are required, Māra ought to
 tell. (430)

8. ' I have faith and power, and understanding is
 found in me ; while thus exerting myself, why do you
 ask me to live¹? (431)

9. ' This (burning) wind will dry up even the cur-
 rents of the rivers ; should it not by degrees dry up
 my blood, while I am exerting myself ? (432)

10. ' While the blood is drying up, the bile and
 the phlegm are dried up ; while the flesh is wasting
 away, the mind gets more tranquil, and my atten-
 tion, understanding, and meditation get more stead-
 fast². (433)

11. ' While I am living thus, after having felt the
 extreme sensations, my mind does not look for
 sensual pleasures ; behold a being's purity. (434)

12. ' Lust thy first army is called, discontent thy
 second, thy third is called hunger and thirst, thy
 fourth desire. (435)

13. ' Thy fifth is called sloth and drowsiness, thy
 sixth cowardice, thy seventh doubt, thy eighth
 hypocrisy and stupor, (436)

14. ' Gain, fame, honour, and what celebrity has

¹ *Evam mam pahitattam pi*
Kim gīvam anupakkhāsi.

² *Lohite sūssamānamhi*
Pittam semhāñ ka sūssati,
Mamsesu khīyamānesu
Bhiyyo kīttam pasīdati
Bhiyyo sati ka paññā ka
Samādhi mama tīṭṭhati.

been falsely obtained; and he who exalts himself and despises others ¹. (437)

15. 'This, O Namukî, is thine, the black one's, fighting army; none but a hero conquers it, and after conquering it obtains joy. (438)

16. 'Woe upon life in this world! death in battle is better for me than that I should live defeated. (439)

17. 'Plunged into this world some Samanas and Brâhmanas are not seen, and they do not know the way in which the virtuous walk. (440)

18. 'Seeing on all sides an army arrayed, and Mâra on his elephant, I am going out to do battle, that he may not drive me away from my place. (441)

19. 'This army of thine, which the world of men and gods cannot conquer, I will crush with understanding as (one crushes) an unbaked earthen pot with a stone ². (442)

20. 'Having made my thought subject to me and my attention firm, I shall wander about from kingdom to kingdom, training disciples extensively. (443)

21. 'They (will be) zealous and energetic, executing my orders, (the orders) of one free from lust, and they will go (to the place) where, having gone, they will not mourn.' (444)

22. Mâra: 'For seven years I followed Bhagavat step by step; I found no fault in the perfectly enlightened, thoughtful (Buddha). (445)

¹ Yo *k'* attânam samukkamse
Pare *ka* avagâhati.

² Yam te tam na-ppasahati
Senam loko sadevako
Tam te paññâya gakkhâmi*
Âmam pattam va amhanâ.

* Instead of gakkhâmi I read bhañgâmi. B^a has vekkhâpi, B^b vegghâmi.

23. 'The crow hovered round the rock that looked like (a lump of) fat: "Do we here find something soft, is it something sweet?" (446)

24. 'Having obtained nothing sweet there, the crow went away from that spot. Thus like the crow approaching the rock, being disgusted, we shall go away from Gotama¹.' (447)

25. While overcome with sorrow the string of his lute slipped down; then that evil-minded Yakkha disappeared there. (448)

Padhânasutta is ended.

3. SUBHÂSITASUTTA.

On well-spoken language.

So it was heard by me:

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî in Geta-vana. Bhagavat said this: 'O Bhikkhus, the speech that is provided with four requisites is well-spoken, not ill-spoken, both faultless and blameless to the wise.'

'Which four?'

'O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu speaks well-spoken (language), not ill-spoken; he speaks what is right (dhamma), not what is unrighteous (adhamma); he speaks what is pleasing, not what is unpleasing; he speaks what is true, not what is false. O Bhikkhus, the speech that is provided with these four requisites, is well-spoken, not ill-spoken, both faultless

¹ Kâko va selam âsagga*

Nibbiggâpema Gotamam†.

* C^b C^k âvagga, B^a assagga, B^l âssagga. † Instead of Gotamam I read Gotamâ.

and blameless to the wise.' This said Bhagavat. When Sugata had said this, then the Master spoke the following :

1. 'Well-spoken language the just call the principal (thing); let one speak what is right (dhamma), not what is unrighteous (adhamma), that is the second; let one speak what is pleasing, not what is unpleasing, that is the third; let one speak what is true, not what is false, that is the fourth.' (449)

Then the venerable Vaṅgtsa, rising from his seat, throwing his robe over one shoulder and bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat, said this : 'It occurs to me, O Sugata !'

'Let it occur to thee, O Vaṅgtsa !' said Bhagavat.

Then the venerable Vaṅgtsa, standing before Bhagavat, praised him with appropriate stanzas :

2. 'Let one say such words by which he does not pain himself, nor hurt others; such words are truly well-spoken. (450)

3. 'Let one speak pleasing words which are received joyfully (by all), and which (saying) he, without committing sins, speaks what is pleasing to others. (451)

4. 'Truth verily is immortal speech, this is a true saying; in what is true, in what is good, and in what is right, the just stand firm, so they say. (452)

5. 'The words which Buddha speaks, which are sure to bring about extinction and put an end to pain, such (words) are truly the best.' (453)

Subhâsitasutta is ended.

4. SUNDARIKABHĀRADVĀGASUTTA.

Buddha shows to Sundarikabhāradvāga on whom to bestow oblations, and the Brāhmaṇa is finally converted.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt in Kosala on the bank of the river Sundarikā. And during that time the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga made offerings to the fire and worshipped the fire. Then the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga, having made offerings to the fire and worshipped the fire, and having risen from his seat, looked about him on all sides towards the four quarters of the globe, saying : ' Who is to enjoy the rest of this oblation ? ' The Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga saw Bhagavat sitting not far off at the root of a tree, wrapped up head and body ; and seeing him he, after taking the rest of the oblation with his left hand and the waterpot with his right hand, went up to Bhagavat. Then Bhagavat, on hearing the footsteps of Sundarikabhāradvāga, the Brāhmaṇa, uncovered his head. Then the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga thought : ' This man is shaved, this man is a shaveling, ' and he wished to return again from there. Then this came to the mind of Sundarikabhāradvāga, the Brāhmaṇa : ' Some Brāhmaṇas also here are shaved, I think I shall go up and ask him about his descent. ' Then the Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāga went up to Bhagavat, and having gone up he said this : ' Of what family art thou ? '

Then Bhagavat answered Sundarikabhāradvāga, the Brāhmaṇa, in stanzas :

1. ' No Brāhmaṇa am I, nor a king's son, nor any

Vessa; having thoroughly observed the class of common people, I wander about the world reflectingly, possessing nothing. (454)

2. 'Dressed in a sanghâti¹ and houseless I wander about, with my hair cut off, calm, not intermixing with people in this world. Thou askest me an unseasonable question about (my) family, O Brâhmana !' (455)

3. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'Sir, Brâhmanas together with Brâhmanas ask truly, Art thou a Brâhmana ?'

Bhagavat: 'If thou sayest, I am a Brâhmana, and callest me no Brâhmana, then I ask thee about the Sâvitti that consists of three padas and twenty-four syllables².' (456)

4. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'For what (reason) did the Isis, men, Khattiyas, Brâhmanas make offerings to the gods abundantly in this world ?'

Bhagavat: 'He who, perfect and accomplished at the time of offering, obtains the ear of one or the other (god), he will succeed, so I say.' (457)

5. 'Surely his offering will bear fruit,'—so said the Brâhmana,—'because we saw such an accomplished man; for by not seeing such as you, somebody else will enjoy the oblation.' (458)

6. Bhagavat: 'Therefore, O Brâhmana, as you have come here to ask for something, ask; perhaps thou mightest here find one that is calm, without anger, free from pain, free from desire, one with a good understanding.' (459)

¹ See Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 166.

² *Tam Sâvittim pukkâmi*
Tipadam katuvisatakkharam.

(Rig-veda III, 62, 10.)

7. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'I delight in offering, O Gotama, I desire to make an offering, but I do not understand it; do thou instruct me, tell me in what case the offering succeeds.' (460)

8. Bhagavat: 'Therefore, O Brâhmaṇa, lend me thy ear, I will teach thee the Dhamma. (461)

9. 'Do not ask about descent, but ask about conduct; from wood, it is true, fire is born; (likewise) a firm Muni, although belonging to a low family, may become noble, when restrained (from sinning) by humility. (462)

10. 'He who is subdued by truth, endowed with temperance, accomplished, leading a religious life, on such a one in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (463)

11. 'Those who, after leaving sensual pleasures, wander about houseless, well restrained, being like a straight shuttle, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (464)

12. 'Those whose passions are gone, whose senses are well composed, who are liberated like the moon out of the grasp of Râhu, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (465)

13. 'Those who wander about in the world without clinging (to anything), always thoughtful, having left selfishness, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmaṇa who has good works in view, offer. (466)

14. 'He who, after leaving sensual pleasures, wanders about victorious, he who knows the end of birth and death, who is perfectly happy (parinib-

buta), calm like a deep water, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (467)

15. 'Just with the just and far from the unjust¹, Tathâgata is possessed of infinite understanding; undefiled both in this world and in the other, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (468)

16. 'He in whom there lives no deceit, no arrogance, he who is free from cupidity, free from selfishness, free from desire, who has banished anger, who is calm, the Brâhmaṇa who has removed the taint of grief, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (469)

17. 'He who has banished (every) resting-place of the mind, he for whom there is no grasping, he who covets nothing either in this world or in the other, Tathâgata deserves the oblation². (470)

18. 'He who is composed, who has crossed over the stream (of existence) and knows the Dhamma by (taking) the highest view (of it), he whose passions are destroyed, who is wearing the last body, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (471)

19. 'He whose passion for existence and whose harsh talk are destroyed, are perished, (and therefore) exist not, he the accomplished and in every respect liberated Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (472)

20. 'He who has shaken off all ties, for whom there are no ties, who amongst arrogant beings is free from arrogance, having penetrated pain together with its domain and subject, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (473)

21. 'He who, without giving himself up to desire, sees seclusion (i. e. Nibbâna), who has overcome the view that is to be taught by others, to whom there

¹ Samo samehi visamehi dûre.

² Comp. Dh. v. 20.

are no objects of sense whatever, Tathâgata deserves the oblation¹. (474)

22. 'He to whom all Dhammas of every description, after he has penetrated them, are destroyed, are perished, (and therefore) exist not, he who is calm, liberated in the destruction of attachment (i. e. Nibbâna), Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (475)

23. 'He who sees the destruction of bond and birth, who has totally evaded the path of passion, (who is) pure, faultless, spotless, undepraved, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (476)

24. 'He who does not measure himself by himself, who is composed, upright, firm, without desire, free from harshness (akhila), free from doubt, Tathâgata deserves the oblation. (477)

25. 'He to whom there is no cause of folly, who has a supernatural insight in all Dhammas, who wears the last body, and who has acquired perfect enlightenment, the highest, the blessed, (for him) thus a Yakkha's purification (takes place)².' (478)

26. Sundarikabhâradvâga: 'May my offering be a true offering, because I met with such a one out of the accomplished; Brahman is my witness, may Bhagavat accept me, may Bhagavat enjoy my oblation.' (479)

27. Bhagavat: 'What is obtained by stanzas is not to be enjoyed by me, this is not the custom of the clearly-seeing, O Brâhmaṇa; Buddhas reject what is obtained by stanzas. While the Dhamma

¹ Âsam anissâya vivekadassî
Paravediyam * diñhim upâtivatto
Ârammanâ yassa na santi keñi, &c.

² Comp. Kalahavivâdasutta, v. 14.

* Paravediyan ti parehi ñâpetabbam. Commentator.

exists, O Brâhmaṇa, this is the practice (of the Buddhas). (480)

28. 'With other food and drink must thou serve one that is perfect, a great Isi, whose passions are destroyed, and whose misbehaviour has ceased, for this is a field for one who looks for good works¹.' (481)

29. Sundarikabhâradvâga : 'Good, O Bhagavat, then I should like to know, who will enjoy a gift from one like me, and whom I shall seek at the time of sacrifice (as one worthy of offerings) after having accepted thy doctrine.' (482)

30. Bhagavat : 'Whosoever has no quarrels, whose mind is untroubled, and who has freed himself from lusts, whose sloth is driven away, (483)

31. 'Whosoever conquers his sins, knows birth and death, the Muni who is endowed with wisdom², such a one who has resorted to offering, (484)

32. 'Him you should worship and honour with food and drink; so the gifts will prosper.' (485)

33. Sundarikabhâradvâga : 'Thou Buddha deservest the oblation, (thou art) the best field for good works, the object of offering to all the world; what is given to thee will bear great fruit.' (486)

Then the Brâhmaṇa Sundarikabhâradvâga said this to Bhagavat : 'It is excellent, O venerable Gotama ! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama ! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in

¹ Comp. Kasibhâradvâgasutta, v. 7.

² Moneyyasampannam = paññâsampannam. Commentator.

the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; I wish to receive the robe and the orders from the venerable Gotama.'

The Brâhmaṇa Sundarikabhâradvâga received the pabbaggâ from Bhagavat, and he received also the upasampadâ; and the venerable Bhâradvâga, having lately received the upasampadâ, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. 'Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led, what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable Bhâradvâga became one of the arahats.

Sundarikabhâradvâgasutta is ended.

5. MĀGHASUTTA.

Buddha on being asked tells Mâgha of those worthy of offerings and the blessing of offering.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Râgagaha, in the mountain (called) the Vulture's Peak (*Gigghakûta*).

Then the young man Mâgha went to Bhagavat, and having gone to him he talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant, remarkable conversation with him he sat down apart; sitting down apart the young man Mâgha spoke this to Bhagavat:

‘O venerable Gotama, I am a liberal giver, bountiful, suitable to beg of; justly I seek for riches, and having sought for riches justly, I give out of the justly obtained and justly acquired riches to one, to two, to three, to four, to five, to six, to seven, to eight, to nine, to ten, to twenty, to thirty, to forty, to fifty, to a hundred, I give still more. (I should like to know), O venerable Gotama, whether I, while so giving, so offering, produce much good.’

‘Certainly, O young man, dost thou in so offering produce much good; he, O young man, who is a liberal giver, bountiful, suitable to beg of, and who justly seeks for riches, and having sought for riches justly, gives out of his justly obtained and justly acquired riches to one, to two, to three, to four, to five, to six, to seven, to eight, to nine, to ten, to twenty, to thirty, to forty, to fifty, to a hundred, and gives still more, produces much good.’

Then the young man Mâgha addressed Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. ‘I ask the venerable Gotama, the bountiful,—so said the young man Mâgha,—‘wearing the yellow robe, wandering about houseless:’ ‘He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor, who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink,—where (i. e. on whom bestowed) will the oblation of such an offerer prosper?’ (487)

2. ‘He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor,’ O Mâgha,—so said Bhagavat,—‘who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink, such a one will prosper with those worthy of offerings.’ (488)

3. 'He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor,'—so said the young man,—'who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink,—tell me (I being such a one), O Bhagavat, of those worthy of offerings.' (489)

4. Bhagavat : 'Those indeed who wander about in the world without clinging to anything and without possessing anything, perfect, self-restrained, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (490)

5. 'Those who have cut through all bonds and fetters, who are subdued, liberated, free from pain, and free from desire, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (491)

6. 'Those who are released from all bonds, who are subdued, liberated, free from pain, and free from desire, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (492)

7. 'Those who, having forsaken both passion and hatred and folly, have destroyed their desires and lead a religious life, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer¹. (493)

8. 'Those in whom there lives no deceit, no arrogance, who are free from cupidity, free from selfishness, free from desire, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (494)

9. 'Those indeed who without being lost in desire,

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 20.

after crossing the stream (of existence), wander about free from selfishness, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (495)

10. 'Those in whom there is no desire for anything in the world, nor for existence after existence here or in the other world, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (496)

11. 'Those who, after leaving sensual pleasures, wander about houseless, well restrained, being like a straight shuttle, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (497)

12. 'Those whose passions are gone, whose senses are well composed, who are liberated like the moon out of the grasp of Rāhu, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (498)

13. 'Those who are calm, whose passions are gone, who are without anger, and for whom there is no transmigration after having left here, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (499)

14. 'Those who, after leaving birth and death altogether, have conquered all doubt, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (500)

15. 'Those who wander about in the world with themselves for a light, not possessed of anything, in every respect liberated, on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (501)

16. 'Those who in this world rightly understand

this: "This is the last (birth), there is no re-birth," on such in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer. (502)

17. 'He who is accomplished, and delights in meditation, thoughtful, possessed of thorough enlightenment, a refuge for many, on such a one in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brāhmaṇa who has good (works) in view, offer.' (503)

18. 'Certainly my question was not in vain, Bhagavat has told me of those worthy of offerings; for thou truly knowest this in this world, as surely to thee this Dhamma is known. (504)

19. 'He who is a householder, suitable to beg of, a donor,'—so said the young man Māgha,—'who, desirous of good, offers having what is good in view, and giving to others in this world food and drink,—tell me (I being such a one), O Bhagavat, of the blessing of offering.' (505)

20. 'Offer, O Māgha,'—so said Bhagavat,—'and while offering make calm thy mind in all things; the object of the one that offers is the oblation, standing fast in this he leaves hatred behind. (506)

21. 'Such a one whose passion is gone will repress hatred, cultivating an unbounded friendly mind; continually strenuous night and day he will spread infinite goodness through all regions.' (507)

22. Māgha: 'Who prospers? who is liberated and who is bound? In which way can one by himself go to Brahmāloka? Tell this to me who does not know, O Muni, when asked. Bhagavat is indeed my witness that Brahman is seen by me to-day, for thou art to us equal to Brahman, this is the truth; how can one attain Brahmāloka, O thou glorious one?' (508)

23. 'He who offers the threefold blessing of oblation,' O Mâgha,—so said Bhagavat,—'such a one will prosper with those worthy of offerings; so, having offered properly, he who is suitable to beg of attains Brahmaloaka, so I say.' (509)

This having been said, Mâgha the young man spoke as follows to Bhagavat: 'Excellent, O venerable Gotama! Excellent, O venerable Gotama! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in the venerable Gotama and in the Dhamma and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus. Let the venerable Gotama accept me as an upâsaka (a follower, me), who henceforth for all my life have taken refuge (in him).'

Mâghasutta is ended.

6. SABHIYASUTTA.

Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, goes to the six famous teachers of his time to have his questions answered, but not having his doubts solved, he repairs to Gotama and asks him how one is to behave to become a Brâhmana, a Samana, a Nahâtaka, a Khettagina, a Kusala, a Pandita, a Muni, a Vedagû, an Anuvidita, a Dhîra, an Âgâniya, a Sottiya, an Ariya, a Karanavat, a Paribbâgaka. Bhagavat answers his questions, and Sabhiya finally receives the robe and the orders from Buddha.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Râgagaha, in Veluvana, in Kalandakanivâpa. And at that time questions were recited to Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka

(wandering mendicant), by an old benevolent deity: 'He who, O Sabhiya, be it a Samana or a Brâhmana, explains these questions to thee when asked, near him thou shouldst live a religious life.'

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, having learnt the questions from that deity, went to whatever Samanas and Brâhmanas there were that had an assembly (of Bhikkhus), a crowd (of followers), and were well-known teachers, famous leaders, considered excellent by the multitude, as Pûrana-Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosâla, Agita-Kesakambali, Pakudha-Kakkâyana, Saṅgaya-Belatthiputta, and Nigantha-Nâtaputta. Those he went to, and after going to them, he asked the questions. They, being asked the questions by Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, did not succeed (in answering them), and not succeeding they showed wrath and hatred and discontent, and they also in return put questions to Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka.

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka: 'Whatever Samanas and Brâhmanas there are that have an assembly (of Bhikkhus), a crowd (of followers), and are well-known teachers, famous leaders, considered excellent by the multitude, as Pûrana-Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosâla, Agita-Kesakambali, Pakudha-Kakkâyana, Saṅgaya-Belatthiputta, and Nigantha-Nâtaputta, they, being asked questions by me, did not succeed (in answering them), and not succeeding they showed wrath and hatred and discontent, and they also in return put questions to me in this matter; surely I think I shall go back to what I have left, and enjoy sensual pleasures.'

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka: 'This Samana Gotama has both an

assembly (of Bhikkhus) and a crowd (of followers), and is a well-known teacher, a famous leader, considered excellent by the multitude, surely I think I shall go to Samana Gotama and ask these questions.' Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka: 'Whatever Samanas and Brâhmanas there are that are decayed, old, aged, advanced in years, having reached old age, experienced elders, long ordained, having assemblies (of Bhikkhus), crowds (of followers), being teachers well known, famous leaders, considered excellent by the multitude, as Pûrana-Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosâla, Agita-Kesakambali, Pakudha-Kakkâyana, Sañgaya-Belatthiputta, and Nigantha-Nâtaputta, they, being asked questions by me, did not succeed (in answering them), and not succeeding they showed wrath and hatred and discontent, and they also in return put questions to me in this matter; (I should like to know) whether Samana Gotama being asked these questions will be able to explain them to me, for Samana Gotama is both young by birth and new in ascetic life.'

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka: 'Samana Gotama is not to be slighted because he is young; even if the Samana is young, yet he is mighty and powerful; surely I think I shall go to Samana Gotama and ask these questions.' Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, went on a journey to Râgagaha, and wandering on his journey in regular order he came to Râgagaha, Veluvana, Kalandakanivâpa, to Bhagavat, and having come to Bhagavat he talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation with him he sat down apart; sitting down apart

Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, spoke to Bhagavat in stanzas :

1. 'Anxious and doubtful I have come,'—so said Sabhiya,—'longing to ask questions. Do thou put an end to these (doubts when) asked these questions by me, in regular order, and rightly explain them to me.' (510)

2. 'Thou hast come from afar, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'longing to ask questions; I shall put an end to those (doubts when) asked those questions by thee, in regular order, and rightly I shall explain them to thee. (511)

3. 'Ask me, O Sabhiya, a question; whatsoever thou wishest in thy mind that question I (will explain, and) put an end to (thy doubt).' (512)

Then this came to the mind of Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka: 'It is marvellous, it is wonderful indeed, the reception which I did not get from other Samanas and Brâhmanas has been given me by Gotama,' so saying he glad, rejoicing, delighted, and highly elated asked Bhagavat a question :

4. 'What should a man (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him a Bhikkhu?'—so said Sabhiya,—'how may they call him compassionate, and how subdued? how can he be called enlightened (buddha)? Asked (about this) do thou, Bhagavat, explain it to me.' (513)

5. 'He who by the path he has himself made, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'has attained to perfect happiness, who has conquered doubt, who lives after having left behind both gain and goods, who has destroyed re-birth, he is a Bhikkhu. (514)

6. 'Always resigned and attentive, he will not hurt any one in all the world, the Samana who has

crossed the stream (of existence, and is) untroubled ; for whom there are no desires (ussada), he is compassionate. (515)

7. 'He whose senses are trained internally and externally in all the world, he who after penetrating this and the other world longs for death, being trained, he is subdued. (516)

8. 'Whosoever, after having considered all times (kappa), the revolution (*samsâra*), both the vanishing and re-appearance (of beings), is free from defilement, free from sin, is pure, and has obtained destruction of birth, him they call enlightened (buddha).' (517)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, asked Bhagavat another question :

9. 'What should a man (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him a Brâhmaṇa?'—so said Sabhiya,—'and how (may they call him) a Samana? and how a Nahâtaka? how can he be called a Nâga? Asked (about this) do thou Bhagavat explain it to me.' (518)

10. 'He who, after removing all sins, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'is immaculate, well composed, firm-minded, perfect after crossing the *Samsâra*, such an independent one is called a Brâhmaṇa. (519)

11. 'He who is calm, having left behind good and evil, free from defilement, having understood this and the other world, and conquered birth and death, such a one is called a Samana by being so¹.' (520)

12. 'Whosoever, after having washed away all sins internally and externally in all the world, does

¹ Samano tâdi pavukâte tathattâ.

not enter time (kappa) amongst gods and men who are subject to time, him they call a Nahâtaka (cleansed)¹. (521)

13. 'He who does not commit any crime in the world, who, after abandoning all bonds and fetters, clings to nothing, being liberated, such a one is called a Nâga (sinless) by being so ².' (522)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, further asked Bhagavat a question :

14. 'Whom do the Buddhas call a Khettagina?'—so said Sabhiya,—'how (can they call any one) a Kusala? and how a Paṇḍita? how can he be called a Muni? Asked (about this) do thou Bhagavat explain it to me.' (523)

15. 'He who, after examining all regions, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'the divine and the human, and Brahman's region, is delivered from the radical bond of all regions, such a one is called a Khettagina (he who has conquered the regions) by being so. (524)

16. 'He who, after examining all treasures, the divine and the human, and Brahman's treasure, is delivered from the radical bond of all treasures, such a one is called a Kusala (happy) by being so. (525)

17. 'He who, after examining both kinds of senses, internally and externally, is endowed with a

¹ Devamanussesu kappiyesu
Kappan n'eti tam âhu nahâtako.

² Âgum na karoti kiññi loke
Sabbasamyoge visagga bandhanâni
Sabbattha na saggaññi vimutto
Nâgo tâdi pavuḥkate tathattâ.

But compare Pabbagâsutta 17, Mâgandiyasutta 11, &c.

clear understanding and has conquered evil and good (kanhasukka), such a one is called a *Pandita* (wise) by being so. (526)

18. 'He who, having understood the Dhamma of the just and the unjust, internally and externally, in all the world, is to be worshipped by gods and men, he, after breaking through the net of ties, is called a *Muni* (sage).' (527)

Then Sabhiya, the *Paribbāgaka*, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, further asked Bhagavat a question :

19. 'What should one (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him *Vedagū*?—so said Sabhiya,—'and how (may they call him) *Anuvidita*? and how *Viriyavat*? How does one become *Āgāniya*? Asked (about this) do thou, O Bhagavat, explain it to me.' (528)

20. 'He who, having conquered all sensations, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'which are (known) to *Samanas* and to *Brāhmanas*, is free from passion for all sensations, he is *Vedagū* (having passed sensation) after conquering all sensation. (529)

21. 'He who, having seen the delusion of name and form¹, internally and externally, the root of sickness, and is delivered from the radical bond of all sickness, such a one is called *Anuvidita* (well-informed) by being so. (530)

22. 'He who is disgusted in this world with all sins, is strong after conquering the pain of hell, is strong and powerful, such a one is called *Dhīra* (= *viriyavat*, firm) by being so. (531)

¹ *Anuvikkā papāññanāmarūpam.*

23. 'He whose bonds are cut off internally and externally, the root of ties¹, who is delivered from the radical bond of all ties, such a one is called *Âgâniya* (high-bred) by being so.' (532)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, further asked Bhagavat a question :

24. 'What should a man (necessarily) have obtained that people may call him a Sottiya?'—so said Sabhiya,—'how (may they call him) an Ariya? and how a *Karanavat*? how may he become a Paribbâgaka? Asked (about this) do thou, O Bhagavat, explain it to me.' (533)

25. 'Whosoever, after having heard and understood every Dhamma in the world, O Sabhiya,'—so said Bhagavat, —'whatsoever is wrong and whatsoever is blameless, is victorious, free from doubt, liberated, free from pain in every respect, him they call a Sottiya (learned in the revelation). (534)

26. 'Whosoever, after having cut off passions and desires, is wise and does not (again) enter the womb, having driven away the threefold sign, the mud (of lust), and who does not (again) enter time (kappa), him they call an Ariya (noble). (535)

27. 'He who in this world, after having attained the (highest) gain in the *Karanas*, is skilful, has always understood the Dhamma, clings to nothing, is liberated, and for whom there are no passions, he is a *Karanavat* (endowed with the observances). (536)

28. 'Whosoever abstains from the action that has a painful result, above and below and across and in

¹ Yass' assu lutâni bandhanâni
Agg'hattam bahiddhâ ka saṅgamūlam.

the middle, who wanders with understanding, who has put an end to deceit, arrogance, cupidity and anger, name and form, him they call a Paribbāḡaka (a wandering mendicant) who has attained the (highest) gain.' (537)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbāḡaka, having approved of and rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat, glad, rejoicing, delighted, highly elated, having risen from his seat, and having put his upper robe upon one shoulder, bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat, praised Bhagavat face to face in appropriate stanzas :

29. 'Having conquered the three and sixty (philosophical) views referring to the disputations of the Samanas, thou hast crossed over the darkness of the stream¹. (?) (538)

30. 'Thou hast passed to the end of and beyond pain, thou art a saint, perfectly enlightened, I consider thee one that has destroyed his passions, thou art glorious, thoughtful, of great understanding, O thou who puts an end to pain, thou hast carried me across. (539)

31. 'Because thou sawest my longing, and carriedst me across my doubt, adoration be to thee, O Muni, who hast attained the (highest) gain in the ways of wisdom ; O thou who art a true kinsman of the Âdikkas, thou art compassionate. (540)

32. 'The doubt I had before thou hast cleared away for me, O thou clearly-seeing ; surely thou art a Muni, perfectly enlightened, there is no obstacle for thee. (541)

¹ Yāni ka tīni yāni ka saṭṭhi
Samanappavādasitāni bhūripaṇṇā
Saṇṇakkhara saṇṇanissitāni (?)
Osaraṇāni vineyya oghatam' agā.

33. 'And all thy troubles are scattered and cut off, thou art calm, subdued, firm, truthful. (542)

34. 'All gods and both Nârada and Pabbata rejoice at thee, the chief of the sinless (nâganâga), the great hero, when thou art speaking. (543)

35. 'Adoration be to thee, O noble man, adoration be to thee, O thou best of men; in the world of men and gods there is no man equal to thee. (544)

36. 'Thou art Buddha, thou art the Master, thou art the Muni that conquers Mâra; after having cut off desire thou hast crossed over and hast carried across this generation. (545)

37. 'The elements of existence (upadhi) are overcome by thee, the passions are destroyed by thee, thou art a lion, free from desire, thou hast left behind fear and terror. (546)

38. 'As a beautiful lotus does not adhere to the water, so thou dost not cling to good and evil, to either; stretch forth thy feet, O hero, Sabhiya worships the Master's (feet).' (547)

Then Sabhiya, the Paribbâgaka, stooping with his head to Bhagavat's feet, said this to Bhagavat :

'It is excellent, O venerable! It is excellent, O venerable! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; I take refuge in the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; I wish to receive the robe and the orders from the venerable Bhagavat.

'He who, O Sabhiya, formerly belonging to

another creed (*aññatitthiyapubba*), wishes to be adopted into this religion (*dhammavinaya*), and wishes to receive the robe and the orders, he serves for four months; after the lapse of four months Bhikkhus who have appeased their thoughts will give him the robe and the orders to become a Bhikkhu, (for) I also in this matter acknowledge a difference of persons.'

'If, O venerable, those that formerly belonged to another creed and wish to be adopted into this religion and to receive the robe and the orders, serve for four months, and after the lapse of four months Bhikkhus who have appeased their thoughts give them the robe and the orders that they may become Bhikkhus, I will (also) serve for four months, and after the lapse of four months Bhikkhus who have appeased their thoughts shall give (me) the robe and the orders that I may become a Bhikkhu.'

Sabhiya, the Paribbāgaka, received the robe and the orders from Bhagavat, and the venerable Sabhiya, having lately received the upasampadā, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. 'Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led, what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable Sabhiya became one of the saints.

Sabhiyasutta is ended.

7. SELASUTTA.

Keniya, the *Gaṣṭa*, invites Buddha with his assembly to take his meals with him on the morrow. *Sela*, the Brāhmaṇa, arrived at that place with his three hundred young men; seeing the preparations he asks what is going on, and is answered that Buddha is expected the next day. On hearing the word 'Buddha,' *Sela* asks where Buddha lives, goes to him, converses with him, and is converted; so are his followers.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat wandering about in *Āṇuttarāpa*, with a large assembly of Bhikkhus, with 1250 Bhikkhus, went to *Āpaṇa*, a town in *Āṇuttarāpa*.

And *Keniya*, the ascetic, with matted hair (*gaṣṭa*) heard the following : ' The *Samana*, the venerable Gotama, the Sakya son, gone out from the family of the Sakyas, wandering about in *Āṇuttarāpa* with a large assembly of Bhikkhus, with 1250 Bhikkhus, has reached *Āpaṇa*, and the following good praising words met the venerable Gotama : " And so he is Bhagavat, the venerable, the perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and works (*viggâkarana*), the happy, knowing the world, the incomparable, the charioteer of men that are to be subdued, the master, the enlightened of gods and men, the glorious; he teaches this world and the world of gods, of Mâras, of Brahmans, and beings comprising *Samanas* and Brāhmaṇas, gods and men, having himself known and seen them face to face; he teaches the Dhamma (which is) good in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, is full of meaning and rich in words, quite complete; he teaches a religious life, and good is the sight of such saints." '

Then *Keniya*, the *Gaṣṭa*, went (to the place) where

Bhagavat was, and having gone there he talked pleasantly with him, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation (with him) he sat down apart; and while *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, was sitting down apart, Bhagavat, by religious talk, taught, advised, roused, and delighted him. Then *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, having been taught, advised, roused, and delighted by Bhagavat through religious talk, said this to Bhagavat :

‘Let the venerable Gotama accept my food to-morrow, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus.’

This having been said, Bhagavat answered *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla* : ‘Large, O *Keniya*, is the assembly of Bhikkhus, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and thou art intimate with the Brāhmanas.’

A second time *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, said this to Bhagavat : ‘Although, O venerable Gotama, the assembly of Bhikkhus is large, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and I am intimate with the Brāhmanas, let the venerable Gotama accept my food to-morrow, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus.’

A second time Bhagavat said this to *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla* : ‘Large, O *Keniya*, is the assembly of Bhikkhus, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and thou art intimate with the Brāhmanas.’

A third time *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, said this to Bhagavat : ‘Although, O venerable Gotama, the assembly of Bhikkhus is large, one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus, and I am intimate with the Brāhmanas, yet let the venerable Gotama accept my food to-morrow, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus.’ Bhagavat assented by being silent.

Then *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, having learnt the assent of *Bhagavat*, after rising from his seat went to his hermitage, and having gone there he addressed his friends and servants, his relatives and kinsmen (as follows): 'Let my venerable friends and servants, relatives and kinsmen hear me;—the *Samana Gotama* has been invited by me to (take his) food (with me) to-morrow, together with the assembly of *Bhikkhus*; wherefore you must render me bodily service.'

'Surely, O venerable one,' so saying the friends and servants, relatives and kinsmen of *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, complying with his request, some of them dug fireplaces, some chopped firewood, some washed the vessels, some placed waterpots, some prepared seats. *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, on the other hand, himself provided a circular pavilion.

At that time the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* lived at *Āpana*, perfect in the three Vedas, vocabulary, *Ketubha*, etymology, *Itihāsa* as the fifth (Veda), versed in metre, a grammarian, one not deficient in popular controversy and the signs of a great man, he taught three hundred young men the hymns¹. At that time *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, was intimate with the *Brāhmaṇa Sela*. Then the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* surrounded by three hundred young men, walking on foot, arrived at the place where the hermitage of *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, was. And the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* saw the *Gaṭilas* in *Keniya*'s hermitage, some of them digging fireplaces, some chopping firewood, some washing the vessels, some placing waterpots, some

¹ Tena kho pana samayena Selo brāhmaṇo Āpane paśivasati tinnaṃ vedānaṃ pāragū sanighanduketubhānaṃ sakkharappabhedānaṃ itihāsapaññānaṃ padako veyyākaraṇo lokāyatamahāpurīsalakkhaṇesu anavayo tīzi mānavakasatāni mante vāketi.

preparing seats, and *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, on the other hand, himself providing a circular pavilion; seeing *Keniya*, the *Gaṭīla*, he said this: 'Is the venerable *Keniya* to celebrate the marriage of a son or the marriage of a daughter, or is there a great sacrifice at hand, or has *Bimbisâra*, the king of *Magadha*, who has a large body of troops, been invited for to-morrow, together with his army?'

'I am not to celebrate the marriage of a son or the marriage of a daughter, nor has *Bimbisâra*, the king of *Magadha*, who has a large body of troops, been invited for to-morrow, together with his army, yet a great sacrifice of mine is at hand. The *Samaṇa* *Gotama*, the *Sakya* son, gone out from the *Sakya* family, wandering about in *Aṅguttarâpa* with a large assembly of *Bhikkhus*, one thousand two hundred and fifty *Bhikkhus*, has reached *Âpâna*, and the following good praising words met the venerable *Gotama*: "And so he is *Bhāgavat*, the venerable, the perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and works (*viggāharaṇa*), the happy, knowing the world, the incomparable, the charioteer of men that are to be subdued, the master, the enlightened of gods and men, the glorious, he has been invited by me for to-morrow, together with the assembly of *Bhikkhus*.'"

'Didst thou say that he is a *Buddha*, O venerable *Keniya* ?'

'Yes, I say, O venerable *Sela*, that he is a *Buddha*.'

'Didst thou say that he is a *Buddha*, O venerable *Keniya* ?'

'Yes, I say, O venerable *Sela*, that he is a *Buddha*.'

Then this occurred to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Sela*: 'This sound "Buddha" is (indeed) rare, but in our hymns

are to be found the thirty-two signs of a great man, and for a great man endowed with these there are two conditions and no more : if he lives in a house he is a king, a universal (king), a just religious king, a lord of the four-cornered (earth), a conqueror, one who has obtained the security of his people (and) is possessed of the seven gems. These are his seven gems, namely, the wheel gem, the elephant gem, the horse gem, the pearl gem, the woman gem, the householder gem, and the chief gem as the seventh. He has more than a thousand sons, heroes, possessing great bodily strength and crushing foreign armies ; he having conquered this ocean-girt earth without a rod and without a weapon, but by justice, lives (in a house). But if, on the other hand, he goes out from (his) house to the houseless state, he becomes a saint, a perfectly enlightened, one who has removed the veil in the world. And where, O venerable *Keniya*, dwells now that venerable *Gotama*, the saint and the perfectly enlightened ?'

This having been said, *Keniya*, the *Gaṭṭhā*, stretching out his right arm, spoke as follows to the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* : ' There, where yon blue forest line is, O venerable *Sela*.'

Then the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* together with (his) three hundred young men went to the place where *Bhagavat* was. Then the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* addressed those young men : ' Come ye, venerable ones, with but little noise, walking step by step, for *Bhagavats* are difficult of access, walking alone like lions, and when I speak to the venerable *Samana Gotama*, do ye not utter interrupting words, but wait ye venerable ones, for the end of my speech.'

Then the *Brāhmaṇa Sela* went to the place where

Bhagavat was, and having gone there he talked pleasantly with Bhagavat, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation with him he sat down apart, and while sitting down apart Sela, the Brâhmana, looked for the thirty-two signs of a great man on the body of Bhagavat. And the Brâhmana Sela saw the thirty-two signs of a great man on the body of Bhagavat with the exception of two; in respect to two of the signs of a great man he had doubts, he hesitated, he was not satisfied, he was not assured as to the member being enclosed in a membrane and as to his having a large tongue.

Then this occurred to Bhagavat: 'This Brâhmana Sela sees in me the thirty-two signs of a great man with the exception of two, in respect to two of the signs of a great man he has doubts, he hesitates, he is not satisfied, he is not assured as to the member being enclosed in a membrane, and as to my having a large tongue.' Then Bhagavat created such a miraculous creature that the Brâhmana Sela might see Bhagavat's member enclosed in a membrane. Then Bhagavat having put out his tongue touched and stroked both his ears, touched and stroked both nostrils, and the whole circumference of his forehead he covered with his tongue.

Then this occurred to the Brâhmana Sela: 'The Samana Gotama is endowed with the thirty-two signs of a great man, with them all, not with (only) some of them, and yet I do not know whether he is a Buddha or not; I have heard old and aged Brâhmanas, teachers and their previous teachers, say that those who are saints and perfectly enlightened manifest themselves when their praise is uttered. I think I shall praise the Samana Gotama face to

face in suitable stanzas.' Then the Brāhmaṇa Sela praised Bhagavat face to face in suitable stanzas :

1. 'Thou hast a perfect body, thou art resplendent, well-born, of beautiful aspect, thou hast a golden colour, O Bhagavat, thou hast very white teeth, thou art strong. (548)

2. 'All the signs that are for a well-born man, they are on thy body, the signs of a great man. (549)

3. 'Thou hast a bright eye, a handsome countenance, thou art great, straight, majestic, thou shinest like a sun in the midst of the assembly of the Samanas. (550)

4. 'Thou art a Bhikkhu of a lovely appearance, thou hast a skin like gold ; what is the use of being a Samana to thee who art possessed of the highest beauty? (551)

5. 'Thou deservest to be a king, a king of universal kings, a ruler of the four-cornered (earth), a conqueror, a lord of the jambu grove (i. e. India). (552)

6. 'Khattiyas and wealthy kings are devoted to thee ; rule, O Gotama, as a king of kings, a leader of men.' (553)

7. 'I am a king, O Sela,'—so said Bhagavat,— 'an incomparable, religious king (dhammarājan), with justice (dhammena) I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible'. (554)

8. 'Thou acknowledgest thyself (to be) perfectly enlightened (sambuddha),'—so said Sela, the Brāhmaṇa,— 'an incomparable, religious king ; "with justice I turn the wheel," so thou sayest, O Gotama. (555)

¹ Compare Gospel of S. John xviii. 37.

9. 'Who is thy general, (who is thy) disciple, (who is) the successor of the master, who is to turn after thee the wheel of religion turned (by thee)?' (556)

10. 'The wheel turned by me, O Sela,'—so said Bhagavat,—'the incomparable wheel of religion, Sâriputta is to turn after (me), he taking after Tathâgata.' (557)

11. 'What is to be known is known (by me), what is to be cultivated is cultivated (by me), what is to be left is left by me, therefore I am a Buddha, O Brâhmana.' (558)

12. 'Subdue thy doubt about me, have faith (in me), O Brâhmana, difficult (to obtain) is the sight of Buddhas repeatedly.' (559)

13. 'Of those whose manifestation is difficult for you (to obtain) in the world repeatedly, I am, O Brâhmana, a perfectly enlightened, an incomparable physician,' (560)

14. 'Most eminent, matchless, a crusher of Mâra's army; having subjected all enemies I rejoice secure on every side.' (561)

15. Sela: 'O venerable ones, pay attention to this: as the clearly-seeing (Buddha) says, (so it is): he is a physician, a great hero, and roars like a lion in the forest.' (562)

16. 'Who, having seen him, the most eminent, the matchless, the crusher of Mâra's army, is not appeased, even if he be of black origin (*kazhâbhi-gâtika*).' (563)

17. 'He who likes me, let him follow after (me), he who does not like me, let him go away; I shall at once take the orders in the presence of him of excellent understanding (i. e. Buddha).' (564)

18. The followers of Sela: 'If this doctrine of the perfectly enlightened pleases thee, we also shall take the orders in the presence of him of excellent understanding.' (565)

19. These three hundred Brâhmanas asked with clasped hands (to be admitted into the order): 'We want to cultivate a religious life, O Bhagavat, in thy presence.' (566)

20. 'A religious life is well taught (by me),—O Sela,' so said Bhagavat,—'an instantaneous, an immediate (life), in which it is not in vain to become an ascetic to one who learns in earnest¹.' (567)

Then the Brâhmana Sela together with his assembly took the robe and the orders in the presence of Bhagavat.

Then Keniya, the *Gatila*, by the expiration of that night, having provided in his hermitage nice hard food and soft food, let Bhagavat know the time (of the meal): 'It is time, O venerable Gotama, the meal is prepared.' Then Bhagavat in the morning, having put on his raiment and taken his bowl and robes, went to the *Gatila* Keniya's hermitage, and having gone there he sat down on the prepared seat, together with the assembly of Bhikkhus. Then Keniya, the *Gatila*, satisfied and served with his own hands the assembly of Bhikkhus, with Buddha at their head, with nice hard food and soft food. Then Keniya, the *Gatila*, having gone up to Bhagavat who had finished eating and had taken his hand out of the bowl, took a low seat and sat down apart, and

¹ Svâkkhâtam brahmacariyam
Sandittikam akâlikam
Yattha amoghâ pabbaggâ
Appamattassa sikkhato.

while *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, was sitting down apart, Bhagavat delighted him with these stanzas :

21. 'The principal thing in sacrifice is the sacred fire, the principal thing amongst the hymns is the *Sāvitti*¹, the king is the principal amongst men, and the sea the principal amongst waters (*nadīnam* ²). (568)

22. 'Amongst the stars the moon is the principal thing, the sun is the principal thing amongst the burning ³ (objects), amongst those that wish for good works and make offerings the assembly (*samgha*) indeed is the principal.' (569)

Then Bhagavat, having delighted *Keniya*, the *Gaṭila*, with these stanzas, rose from (his) seat and went away.

Then the venerable *Sela* together with his assembly leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state ; 'birth (had been) destroyed, a religious life (had been) led, what was to be done (had been) done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,' so he perceived, and the venerable *Sela* together with his assembly became one of the saints.

Then the venerable *Sela* together with his assembly went to Bhagavat, and having gone (to him) he put his upper robe on one shoulder, and bending his joined hands towards Bhagavat he addressed him in stanzas :

¹ *Sāvitti* *khandaso mukham*.

² Comp. *Nālakasutta* v. 42.

³ *Ādikko tapatam mukham*.

23. 'Because we took refuge in thee on the eighth day previous to this, O thou clearly-seeing, in seven nights, O Bhagavat, we have been trained in thy doctrine. (570)

24. 'Thou art Buddha, thou art the Master, thou art the Muni that conquered Mâra, thou hast, after cutting off the affections, crossed over (the stream of existence) and taken over these beings. (571)

25. 'The elements of existence (upadhi) have been overcome by thee, the passions have been destroyed by thee, thou art a lion not seizing on anything, thou hast left behind fear and danger. (572)

26. 'These three hundred Bhikkhus stand here with clasped hands; stretch out thy feet, O hero, let the Nâgas worship the Master's feet.' (573)

Selasutta is ended.

8. SALLASUTTA.

Life is short, all mortals are subject to death, but knowing the terms of the world the wise do not grieve, and those who have left sorrow will be blessed.—Text in the *Dasaratha-Gâtaka*, p. 34.

1. Without a cause and unknown is the life of mortals in this world, troubled and brief, and combined with pain. (574)

2. For there is not any means by which those that have been born can avoid dying; after reaching old age there is death, of such a nature are living beings. (575)

3. As ripe fruits are early in danger of falling, so mortals when born are always in danger of death. (576)

4. As all earthen vessels made by the potter end in being broken, so is the life of mortals. (577)

5. Both young and grown-up men, both those who are fools and those who are wise men, all fall into the power of death, all are subject to death. (578)

6. Of those who, overcome by death, go to the other world, a father does not save his son, nor relatives their relations. (579)

7. Mark! while relatives are looking on and lamenting greatly, one by one of the mortals is carried off, like an ox that is going to be killed. (580)

8. So the world is afflicted with death and decay, therefore the wise do not grieve, knowing the terms of the world. (581)

9. For him, whose way thou dost not know, either when he is coming or when he is going, not seeing both ends, thou grievest in vain. (582)

10. If he who grieves gains anything, (although he is only) a fool hurting himself, let the wise man do the same. (583)

11. Not from weeping nor from grieving will any one obtain peace of mind; (on the contrary), the greater his pain will be, and his body will suffer. (584)

12. He will be lean and pale, hurting himself by himself, (and yet) the dead are not saved, lamentation (therefore) is of no avail. (585)

13. He who does not leave grief behind, goes (only) deeper into pain; bewailing the dead he falls into the power of grief. (586)

14. Look at others passing away, men that go (to what they deserve) according to their deeds, beings trembling already here, after falling into the power of death. (587)

15. In whatever manner people think (it will come to pass), different from that it becomes, so great is

the disappointment¹ (in this world); see, (such are) the terms of the world. (588)

16. Even if a man lives a hundred years or even more, he is at last separated from the company of his relatives, and leaves life in this world. (589)

17. Therefore let one, hearing (the words of) the saint, subdue his lamentation; seeing the one that has passed away and is dead, (let him say): 'He will not be found by me (any more).' (590)

18. As a house on fire is extinguished by water, so also the wise, sensible, learned, clever man rapidly drives away sorrow that has arisen, as the wind a tuft of cotton. (591)

19. He who seeks his own happiness should draw out his arrow (which is) his lamentation, and complaint, and grief. (592)

20. He who has drawn out the arrow and is not dependent (on anything) will obtain peace of mind; he who has overcome all sorrow will become free from sorrow, and blessed (nibbuta). (593)

Sallasutta is ended.

9. VÂSETTHASUTTA.

A dispute arose between two young men, Bhâradvâga and Vâsettha, the former contending man to be a Brâhmaṇa by birth, the latter by deeds. They agreed to go and ask Samana Gotama, and he answered that man is a Brâhmaṇa by his work only. The two young men are converted.—Text (from *Magghimanikâya*) and translation in Alwis's *Buddhist Nirvâna*, p. 103.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at *Ikkhânamkala*, in the *Ikkhânamkala* forest. At that time many dis-

¹ Etâdiso vinâbhâvo.

tinguished, wealthy Brâhmanas lived at *Ikkhânamkala*, as the Brâhmana *Kamkin*, the Brâhmana *Târukkha*, the Brâhmana *Pokkharasâti*, the Brâhmana *Gânussoni*, the Brâhmana *Todeyya*, and other distinguished, wealthy Brâhmanas.

Then this dialogue arose between the young men *Vâsettha* and *Bhâradvâga* while walking about :

‘How does one become a Brâhmana?’

The young man *Bhâradvâga* said : ‘When one is noble by birth on both sides, on the mother’s and on the father’s side, of pure conception up to the seventh generation of ancestors, not discarded and not reproached in point of birth, in this way one is a Brâhmana.’

The young man *Vâsettha* said : ‘When one is virtuous and endowed with (holy) works, in this way he is a Brâhmana.’

Neither could the young man *Bhâradvâga* convince the young man *Vâsettha*, nor could the young man *Vâsettha* convince the young man *Bhâradvâga*. Then the young man *Vâsettha* addressed the young man *Bhâradvâga* : ‘O *Bhâradvâga*, this *Samana Gotama*, the *Sakya* son, gone out from the *Sakya* family, dwells at *Ikkhânamkala*, in the forest of *Ikkhânamkala*, and the following good praising words met the venerable *Gotama* : “And so he is *Bhagavat*, the venerable, the enlightened, the glorious, let us go, O venerable *Bhâradvâga*, let us go (to the place) where the *Samana Gotama* is, and having gone there let us ask the *Samana Gotama* about this matter, and as the *Samana Gotama* replies so will we understand it.”’

‘Very well, O venerable one ;’ so the young man *Bhâradvâga* answered the young man *Vâsettha*.

Then the young men *Vâsettha* and *Bhâradvâga* went (to the place) where *Bhagavat* was, and having gone, they talked pleasantly with *Bhagavat*, and after having had some pleasant and remarkable conversation (with him) they sat down apart. Sitting down apart the young man *Vâsettha* addressed *Bhagavat* in stanzas:

1. 'We are accepted and acknowledged masters of the three Vedas¹, I am (a pupil) of *Pokkharasâti*, and this young man is (the pupil) of *Târukkha*. (594)

2. 'We are accomplished in all the knowledge propounded by those who are acquainted with the three Vedas, we are *padakas* (versed in the metre), *veyyâkaranas* (grammarians?), and equal to our teachers in recitation (*gappa*)². (595)

3. 'We have a controversy regarding (the distinctions of) birth, O *Gotama*! *Bhâradvâga* says, one is a *Brâhmaṇa* by birth, and I say, by deeds; know this, O thou clearly-seeing! (596)

4. 'We are both unable to convince each other, (therefore) we have come to ask thee (who art) celebrated as perfectly enlightened. (597)

5. 'As people adoring the full moon worship (her) with uplifted clasped hands, so (they worship) *Gotama* in the world. (598)

6. 'We ask *Gotama* who has come as an eye to the world: Is a man a *Brâhmaṇa* by birth, or is he so

¹ *Anuññâtapatiññâtâ*
Teviggâ mayam asm' ubho.

² *Teviggânam * yad akkhâtam*
Tatra kevalino 'smase,
Padak' asmâ veyyâkaranâ
Gappe † âkariyasâdisâ.

* *Teviggânam* = *tivedânam*. Commentator; but compare v. 63.

† *Gappe* = *vede*. Commentator.

by deeds? Tell us who do not know, that we may know a Brâhmaṇa.' (599)

7. 'I will explain to you,—O Vâsettha,' so said Bhagavat,—'in due order the exact distinction of living beings according to species, for their species are manifold. (600)

8. 'Know ye the grass and the trees, although they do not exhibit (it), the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (601)

9. 'Then (know ye) the worms, and the moths, and the different sorts of ants, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (602)

10. 'Know ye also the four-footed (animals), small and great, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (603)

11. 'Know ye also the serpents, the long-backed snakes, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (604)

12. 'Then know ye also the fish which range in the water, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (605)

13. 'Then know ye also the birds that are borne along on wings and move through the air, the marks that constitute species are for them, and (their) species are manifold. (606)

14. 'As in these species the marks that constitute species are abundant, so in men the marks that constitute species are not abundant. (607)

15. 'Not as regards their hair, head, ears, eyes, mouth, nose, lips, or brows, (608)

16. 'Nor as regards their neck, shoulders, belly, back, hip, breast, female organ, sexual intercourse, (609)

17. 'Nor as regards their hands, feet, palms, nails, calves, thighs, colour, or voice are there marks that constitute species as in other species. (610)

18. 'Difference there is in beings endowed with bodies, but amongst men this is not the case, the difference amongst men is nominal (only)¹. (611)

19. 'For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a husbandman, not a *Brâhmana*. (612)

20. 'And whoever amongst men lives by different mechanical arts,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is an artisan, not a *Brâhmana*. (613)

21. 'And whoever amongst men lives by trade,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a merchant, not a *Brâhmana*. (614)

22. And whoever amongst men lives by serving others,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a servant, not a *Brâhmana*. (615)

23. 'And whoever amongst men lives by theft,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a thief, not a *Brâhmana*. (616)

24. 'And whoever amongst men lives by archery,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a soldier, not a *Brâhmana*. (617)

25. 'And whoever amongst men lives by performing household ceremonials,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a sacrificer, not a *Brâhmana*. (618)

26. 'And whoever amongst men possesses villages and countries,—know this, O *Vâsettha*,—he is a king, not a *Brâhmana*. (619)

¹ *Pakkattam* sasarîresu,
Manussesv-etam na viggati,
Vokârañ ka manussesu
Samaññâya pavukkati.

27. 'And I do not call one a Brâhmana on account of his birth or of his origin from (a particular) mother; he may be called bhovâdi, and he may be wealthy, (but) the one who is possessed of nothing and seizes upon nothing, him I call a Brâhmana¹. (620)

28. 'Whosoever, after cutting all bonds, does not tremble, has shaken off (all) ties and is liberated, him I call a Brâhmana. (621)

29. 'The man who, after cutting the strap (i. e. enmity), the thong (i. e. attachment), and the rope (i. e. scepticism) with all that pertains to it, has destroyed (all) obstacles (i. e. ignorance), the enlightened (buddha), him I call a Brâhmana. (622)

30. 'Whosoever, being innocent, endures reproach, blows, and bonds, the man who is strong in (his) endurance and has for his army this strength, him I call a Brâhmana. (623)

31. 'The man who is free from anger, endowed with (holy) works, virtuous, without desire, subdued, and wearing the last body, him I call a Brâhmana. (624)

32. 'The man who, like water on a lotus leaf, or a mustard seed on the point of a needle, does not cling to sensual pleasures, him I call a Brâhmana. (625)

33. 'The man who knows in this world the destruction of his pain, who has laid aside (his) burden, and is liberated, him I call a Brâhmana. (626)

34. 'The man who has a profound understanding, who is wise, who knows the true way and the wrong way, who has attained the highest good, him I call a Brâhmana. (627)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 396, &c.

35. 'The man who does not mix with householders nor with the houseless, who wanders about without a house, and who has few wants, him I call a Brâhmana. (628)

36. 'Whosoever, after refraining from hurting (living) creatures, (both) those that tremble and those that are strong, does not kill or cause to be killed, him I call a Brâhmana. (629).

37. 'The man who is not hostile amongst the hostile, who is peaceful amongst the violent, not seizing (upon anything) amongst those that seize (upon everything), him I call a Brâhmana. (630)

38. 'The man whose passion and hatred, arrogance and hypocrisy have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of a needle, him I call a Brâhmana. (631)

39. 'The man that utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness, by which he does not offend any one, him I call a Brâhmana. (632)

40. 'Whosoever in the world does not take what has not been given (to him), be it long or short, small or large, good or bad, him I call a Brâhmana. (633)

41. 'The man who has no desire for this world or the next, who is desireless and liberated, him I call a Brâhmana. (634)

42. 'The man who has no desire, who knowingly is free from doubt, and has attained the depth of immortality, him I call a Brâhmana. (635)

43. 'Whosoever in this world has overcome good and evil, both ties, who is free from grief and defilement, and is pure, him I call a Brâhmana. (636)

44. 'The man that is stainless like the moon, pure, serene, and undisturbed, who has destroyed joy, him I call a Brâhmana. (637)

45. 'Whosoever has passed over this quagmire difficult to pass, (who has passed over) revolution (*samsâra*) and folly, who has crossed over, who has reached the other shore, who is meditative, free from desire and doubt, calm without seizing (upon anything), him I call a Brâhmana. (638)

46. 'Whosoever in this world, after abandoning sensual pleasures, wanders about houseless, and has destroyed the existence of sensual pleasures (*kâmabhava*), him I call a Brâhmana. (639)

47. 'Whosoever in this world, after abandoning desire, wanders about houseless, and has destroyed the existence of desire (*tanhâbhava*), him I call a Brâhmana. (640)

48. 'Whosoever, after leaving human attachment (*yoga*), has overcome divine attachment, and is liberated from all attachment, him I call a Brâhmana. (641)

49. 'The man that, after leaving pleasure and disgust, is calm and free from the elements of existence (*nirupadhi*), who is a hero, and has conquered all the world, him I call a Brâhmana. (642)

50. 'Whosoever knows wholly the vanishing and reappearance of beings, does not cling to (anything), is happy (*sugata*), and enlightened, him I call a Brâhmana. (643)

51. 'The man whose way neither gods nor Gandhabbas nor men know, and whose passions are destroyed, who is a saint, him I call a Brâhmana. (644)

52. 'The man for whom there is nothing, neither before nor after nor in the middle, who possesses nothing, and does not seize (upon anything), him I call a Brâhmana. (645)

53. 'The (man that is undaunted like a) bull, who

is eminent, a hero, a great sage (mahesi), victorious, free from desire, purified, enlightened, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (646)

54. 'The man who knows his former dwellings, who sees both heaven and hell, and has reached the destruction of births, him I call a Brāhmaṇa. (647)

55. 'For what has been designated as "name" and "family" in the world is only a term, what has been designated here and there is understood by common consent¹. (648)

56. 'Adhered to for a long time are the views of the ignorant, the ignorant tell us, one is a Brāhmaṇa by birth. (649)

57. 'Not by birth is one a Brāhmaṇa, nor is one by birth no Brāhmaṇa; by work (kammanā) one is a Brāhmaṇa, by work one is no Brāhmaṇa. (650)

58. 'By work one is a husbandman, by work one is an artisan, by work one is a merchant, by work one is a servant. (651)

59. 'By work one is a thief, by work one is a soldier, by work one is a sacrificer, by work one is a king. (652)

60. 'So the wise, who see the cause of things and understand the result of work, know this work as it really is². (653)

61. 'By work the world exists, by work mankind

¹ Samaññā h' esā lokasmim
Nāmagottam pakappitam
Sammukkā samudāgataṃ
Tattha tattha pakappitam.

² Evam etam yathābhūtaṃ
Kammam passanti paṇḍitā
Paṭikkasamuppādasā
Kammavipākakovidā.

exists, beings are bound by work as the linch-pin of the rolling cart (keeps the wheel on)¹. (654)

62. 'By penance, by a religious life, by self-restraint, and by temperance, by this one is a Brâhmana, such a one (they call) the best Brâhmana. (655)

63. 'He who is endowed with the threefold knowledge², is calm, and has destroyed regeneration,—know this, O Vâsettha,—he is to the wise Brahman and Sakka.' (656)

This having been said, the young men Vâsettha and Bhâradvâga spoke to Bhagavat as follows:

'It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! It is excellent, O venerable Gotama! As one raises what has been overthrown, or reveals what has been hidden, or tells the way to him who has gone astray, or holds out an oil lamp in the dark that those who have eyes may see the objects, even so by the venerable Gotama in manifold ways the Dhamma has been illustrated; we take refuge in the venerable Gotama, in the Dhamma, and in the Assembly of Bhikkhus; may the venerable Gotama receive us as followers (upâsaka), who from this day for life have taken refuge (in him).'

Vâsetthasutta is ended.

¹ Kammanâ vattatî loko,
Kammanâ vattatî pagâ,
Kammanibandhanâ sattâ
Rathassâmîva yâyato.

² Tîhi viggâhi sampanno.

10. KOKĀLIYASUTTA.

Kokāliya abuses Sāriputta and Moggallāna to Buddha; therefore as soon as he has left Buddha, he is struck with boils, dies and goes to the Paduma hell, whereupon Buddha describes to the Bhikkhus the punishment of backbiters in hell.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sāvattthī, in Getavana, in the park of Anāthapindika. Then the Bhikkhu Kokāliya approached Bhagavat, and after having approached and saluted Bhagavat he sat down apart; sitting down apart the Bhikkhu Kokāliya said this to Bhagavat : 'O thou venerable one, Sāriputta and Moggallāna have evil desires, they have fallen into the power of evil desires.'

When this had been said, Bhagavat spoke to the Bhikkhu Kokāliya as follows : '(Do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; (do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; appease, O Kokāliya, (thy) mind in regard to Sāriputta and Moggallāna : Sāriputta and Moggallāna are amiable¹.'

A second time the Bhikkhu Kokāliya said this to Bhagavat : 'Although thou, O venerable Bhagavat, (appearest) to me (to be) faithful and trustworthy, yet Sāriputta and Moggallāna have evil desires, they have fallen into the power of evil desires.'

A second time Bhagavat said this to the Bhikkhu Kokāliya : '(Do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; (do) not (say) so, Kokāliya ; appease, O Kokāliya, (thy) mind in regard to Sāriputta and Moggallāna : Sāriputta and Moggallāna are amiable.'

A third time the Bhikkhu Kokāliya said this to Bhagavat : 'Although thou, O venerable Bhagavat, (appearest) to me (to be) faithful and trustworthy,

¹ Pesalā ti piyasilā. Commentator.

yet Sâriputta and Moggallâna have evil desires, Sâriputta and Moggallâna have fallen into the power of evil desires.'

A third time Bhagavat said this to the Bhikkhu Kokâliya: '(Do) not (say) so, Kokâliya; ~~(do) not~~ (say) so, Kokâliya; appease, O Kokâliya, (thy) mind in regard to Sâriputta and Moggallâna: Sâriputta and Moggallâna are amiable.'

Then the Bhikkhu Kokâliya, after having risen from his seat and saluted Bhagavat and walked round him towards the right, went away; and when he had been gone a short time, all his body was struck with boils as large as mustard seeds; after being only as large as mustard seeds, they became as large as kidney beans; after being only as large as kidney beans, they became as large as chick peas; after being only as large as chick peas, they became as large as a Kolatthi egg (?); after being only as large as a Kolatthi egg, they became as large as the jujube fruit; after being only as large as the jujube fruit, they became as large as the fruit of the emblic myrobalan; after being only as large as the fruit of the emblic myrobalan, they became as large as the unripe beluva fruit; after being only as large as the unripe beluva fruit, they became as large as a billi fruit (?); after being as large as a billi fruit, they broke, and matter and blood flowed out. Then the Bhikkhu Kokâliya died of that disease, and when he had died the Bhikkhu Kokâliya went to the Paduma hell, having shown a hostile mind against Sâriputta and Moggallâna. Then when the night had passed Brahman Sahampati of a beautiful appearance, having lit up all Getavana, approached Bhagavat, and having approached and saluted Bha-

gavat, he stood apart, and standing apart Brahman Sahampati said this to Bhagavat: 'O thou venerable one, Kokāliya, the Bhikkhu, is dead; and after death, O thou venerable one, the Bhikkhu Kokāliya is gone to the Paduma hell, having shown a hostile mind against Sāriputta and Moggallāna.'

This said Brahman Sahampati, and after saying this and saluting Bhagavat, and walking round him towards the right, he disappeared there.

Then Bhagavat, after the expiration of that night, addressed the Bhikkhus thus: 'Last night, O Bhikkhus, when the night had (nearly) passed, Brahman Sahampati of a beautiful appearance, having lit up all Getavana, approached Bhagavat, and having approached and saluted Bhagavat, he stood apart, and standing apart Brahman Sahampati said this to Bhagavat: "O thou venerable one, Kokāliya, the Bhikkhu, is dead; and after death, O thou venerable one, the Bhikkhu Kokāliya is gone to the Paduma hell, having shown a hostile mind against Sāriputta and Moggallāna." This said Brahman Sahampati, O Bhikkhus, and having said this and saluted me, and walked round me towards the right, he disappeared there.'

When this had been said, a Bhikkhu asked Bhagavat: 'How long is the rate of life, O venerable one, in the Paduma hell?'

'Long, O Bhikkhu, is the rate of life in the Paduma hell, it is not easy to calculate either (by saying) so many years or so many hundreds of years or so many thousands of years or so many hundred thousands of years.'

'But it is possible, I suppose, to make a comparison, O thou venerable one?'

‘It is possible, O Bhikkhu;’ so saying, Bhagavat spoke (as follows): ‘Even as, O Bhikkhu, (if there were) a Kosala load of sesamum seed containing twenty khâris, and a man after the lapse of every hundred years were to take from it one sesamum seed at a time, then that Kosala load of sesamum seed, containing twenty khâris, would, O Bhikkhu, sooner by this means dwindle away and be used up than one Abbuda hell; and even as are twenty Abbuda hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Nirabbuda hell; and even as are twenty Nirabbuda hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Ababa hell; and even as are twenty Ababa hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Ahaha hell; and even as are twenty Ahaha hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one *Atata* hell; and even as are twenty *Atata* hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Kumuda hell; and even as are twenty Kumuda hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Sogandhika hell; and even as are twenty Sogandhika hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Uppalaka hell; and even as are twenty Uppalaka hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Pundarika hell; and even as are twenty Pundarika hells, O Bhikkhu, so is one Paduma hell; and to the Paduma hell, O Bhikkhu, the Bhikkhu Kokāliya is gone, having shown a hostile mind against Sâriputta and Moggallâna.’ This said Bhagavat, and having said this Sugata, the Master, furthermore spoke as follows:

1. ‘To (every) man that is born, an axe is born in his mouth, by which the fool cuts himself, when speaking bad language. (657)

2. ‘He who praises him who is to be blamed, or blames him who is to be praised, gathers up sin in his mouth, and through that (sin) he will not find any joy. (658)

3. 'Trifling is the sin that (consists in) losing riches by dice; this is a greater sin that corrupts the mind against Sugatas. (659)

4. 'Out of the one hundred thousand Nirabbudas (he goes) to thirty-six, and to five Abbudas; because he blames an Ariya he goes to hell, having employed his speech and mind badly. (660)

5. 'He who speaks falsely goes to hell, or he who having done something says, "I have not done it;" both these after death become equal, in another world (they are both) men guilty of a mean deed¹. (661)

6. 'He who offends an offenceless man, a pure man, free from sin, such a fool the evil (deed) reverts against, like fine dust thrown against the wind². (662)

7. 'He who is given to the quality of covetousness, such a one censures others in his speech, (being himself) unbelieving, stingy, wanting in affability, niggardly, given to backbiting. (663)

8. 'O thou foul-mouthed, false, ignoble, blasting, wicked, evil-doing, low, sinful, base-born man, do not be garrulous in this world, (else) thou wilt be an inhabitant of hell³. (664)

9. 'Thou spreadest pollution to the misfortune (of others), thou revilest the just, committing sin (yourself), and having done many evil deeds thou wilt go to the pool (of hell) for a long time. (665)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 306.

² Comp. Dh. v. 125.

³ Mukhadugga vibhūta-m-anariya
Bhūnahu * pāpaka dukkatakāri
Purisanta kalī avagāta
Mā bahubhāni dha nerayiko si.

* Bhūnahu bhūtihanaka vuddhināsaka. Commentator.

10. 'For one's deeds are not lost, they will surely come (back to you), (their) master will meet with them, the fool who commits sin will feel the pain in himself in the other world¹. (666)

11. 'To the place where one is struck with iron rods, to the iron stake with sharp edges he goes; then there is (for him) food as appropriate, resembling a red-hot ball of iron. (667)

12. 'For those who have anything to say (there) do not say fine things, they do not approach (with pleasing faces); they do not find refuge (from their sufferings), they lie on spread embers, they enter a blazing pyre. (668)

13. 'Covering (them) with a net they kill (them) there with iron hammers; they go to dense darkness², for that is spread out like the body of the earth. (669)

14. 'Then (they enter) an iron pot, they enter a blazing pyre, for they are boiled in those (iron pots) for a long time, jumping up and down in the pyre. (670)

15. 'Then he who commits sin is surely boiled in a mixture of matter and blood; whatever quarter he inhabits, he becomes rotten there from coming in contact (with matter and blood). (671)

16. 'He who commits sin will surely be boiled in the water, the dwelling-place of worms; there it is not (possible) to get to the shore, for the jars (are) exactly alike³. (?) (672)

¹ Comp. Revelation xiv. 13.

² *Andham* va *Timisam* âyanti.

³ *Puḷavâvasathe salilasmim*

Tattha kim paḷḷati kibbisakârî,

Gantum na hi tîram p' atthi

Sabbasamâ hi samantakapallâ.

17. 'Again they enter the sharp Asipattavana with mangled limbs; having seized the tongue with a hook, the different watchmen (of hell) kill (them). (673)

18. 'Then they enter Vetarant, that is difficult to cross and has got streams of razors with sharp edges; there the fools fall in, the evil-doers after having done evil. (674)

19. 'There black, mottled flocks of ravens eat them who are weeping, and dogs, jackals, great vultures, falcons, crows tear (them). (675)

20. 'Miserable indeed is the life here (in hell) which the man sees that commits sin. Therefore should a man in this world for the rest of his life be strenuous, and not indolent. (676)

21. 'Those loads of sesamum seed which are carried in Paduma hell have been counted by the wise, they are (several) nahutas and five koṭis, and twelve hundred koṭis besides¹. (677)

22. 'As long as hells are called painful in this world, so long people will have to live there for a long time; therefore amongst those who have pure, amiable, and good qualities one should always guard speech and mind.' (678)

Kokāliyasutta is ended.

11. NĀLAKASUTTA.

The Isi Asita, also called Kaṇhasiri, on seeing the gods rejoicing, asks the cause of it, and having heard that Buddha has been born, he descends from Tusita heaven. When the Sakyas showed the child to him, he received it joyfully and prophesied

¹ Nahutāni hi koṣiyo pañṇā bhavanti
Dvādasa koṭisatāni pun' aññā.

about it. Buddha explains to Nālaka, the sister's son of Asita, the highest state of wisdom.—Compare Lalita-vistara, Adhyāya VII; Asita and Buddha, or the Indian Simeon, by J. Muir, in the Indian Antiquary, Sept. 1878.

Vatthugāthā.

1. The Isi Asita saw in (their) resting-places during the day the joyful, delighted flocks of the Tidasa gods, and the gods in bright clothes, always highly praising Inda, after taking their clothes and waving them. (679)

2. Seeing the gods with pleased minds, delighted, and showing his respect, he said this on that occasion: 'Why is the assembly of the gods so exceedingly pleased, why do they take their clothes and wave them?' (680)

3. 'When there was an encounter with the Asuras, a victory for the gods, and the Asuras were defeated, then there was not such a rejoicing. What wonderful (thing) have the gods seen that they are so delighted?' (681)

4. 'They shout and sing and make music, they throw (about their) arms and dance; I ask you, the inhabitants of the tops of (mount) Meru, remove my doubt quickly, O venerable ones!' (682)

5. 'The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable, is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sakyas, in the country of Lumbini. Therefore we are glad and exceedingly pleased. (683)

6. 'He, the most excellent of all beings, the pre-eminent man, the bull of men, the most excellent of all creatures will turn the wheel (of the Dhamma) in the forest called after the Isis, (he who is) like the roaring lion, the strong lord of beasts.' (684)

7. Having heard that noise he descended from (the heaven of) Tusita. Then he went to Suddhodana's palace, and having sat down there he said this to the Sakyas: 'Where is the prince? I wish to see (him).'

(685)

8. Then the Sakyas showed to (the Isi), called Asita, the child, the prince who was like shining gold, manufactured by a very skilful (smith) in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory and having a beautiful appearance.

(686)

9. Seeing the prince shining like fire, bright like the bull of stars wandering in the sky, like the burning sun in autumn, free from clouds, he joyfully obtained great delight.

(687)

10. The gods held in the sky a parasol with a thousand circles and numerous branches, yaks' tails with golden sticks were fanned, but those who held the yaks' tails and the parasol were not seen.

(688)

11. The Isi with the matted hair, by name Kanhasiri, on seeing the yellow blankets (shining) like a golden coin, and the white parasol held over his head, received him delighted and happy.

(689)

12. And having received the bull of the Sakyas, he who was wishing to receive him and knew the signs and the hymns, with pleased thoughts raised his voice, saying: 'Without superior is this, the most excellent of men.'

(690)

13. Then remembering his own migration he was displeased and shed tears; seeing this the Sakyas asked the weeping Isi, whether there would be any obstacle in the prince's path.

(691)

14. Seeing the Sakyas displeased the Isi said: 'I do not remember anything (that will be) unlucky for the prince, there will be no obstacles at

all for him, for this is no inferior (person). Be without anxiety. (692)

15. 'This prince will reach the summit of perfect enlightenment, he will turn the wheel of the Dhamma, he who sees what is exceedingly pure (i. e. Nibbâna), this (prince) feels for the welfare of the multitude, and his religion¹ will be widely spread. (693)

16. 'My life here will shortly be at an end, in the middle (of his life) there will be death for me; I shall not hear the Dhamma of the incomparable one; therefore I am afflicted, unfortunate, and suffering.' (694)

17. Having afforded the Sakyas great joy he went out from the interior of the town to lead a religious life; but taking pity on his sister's son, he induced him to embrace the Dhamma of the incomparable one. (695)

18. 'When thou hearest from others the sound "Buddha," (or) "he who has acquired perfect enlightenment walks the way of the Dhamma," then going there and enquiring about the particulars, lead a religious life with that Bhagavat.' (696)

19. Instructed by him, the friendly-minded, by one who saw in the future what is exceedingly pure (i. e. Nibbâna), he, Nālaka, with a heap of gathered-up good works, and with guarded senses dwelt (with him), looking forward to Gina (i. e. Buddha). (697)

20. Hearing the noise, while the excellent Gina turned the wheel (of the Dhamma), and going and seeing the bull of the Isis, he, after being converted,

¹ *Brahmakariyam* = *sâsanam*. Commentator.

asked the eminent Muni about the best wisdom, when the time of Asita's order had come. (698)

The Vatthugāthās are ended.

21. 'These words of Asita are acknowledged true (by me), therefore we ask thee, O Gotama, who art perfect in all things (dhamma). (699)

22. 'O Muni, to me who am houseless, and who wish to embrace a Bhikkhu's life, explain when asked the highest state, the state of wisdom (moneyya).' (700)

23. 'I will declare to thee the state of wisdom,'—so said Bhagavat,—'difficult to carry out, and difficult to obtain; come, I will explain it to thee, stand fast, be firm. (701)

24. 'Let a man cultivate equanimity: which is (both) reviled and praised in the village, let him take care not to corrupt his mind, let him live calm, and without pride. (702)

25. 'Various (objects) disappear, like a flame of fire in the wood¹; women tempt the Muni, let them not tempt him. (703)

26. 'Let him be disgusted with sexual intercourse, having left behind sensual pleasures of all kinds, being inoffensive and dispassionate towards living creatures, towards anything that is feeble or strong. (704)

27. 'As I am so are these, as these are so am I, identifying himself with others, let him not kill nor cause (any one) to kill². (705)

¹ *Ukkāvaṭṭā nikkharanti*
Dāye aggisikhūpamā.

² *Yathā ahaṃ tathā ete*
Yathā ete tathā ahaṃ

28. 'Having abandoned desire and covetousness let him act as one that sees clearly where a common man sticks, let him cross over this hell. (706)

29. 'Let him be with an empty stomach, taking little food, let him have few wants and not be covetous; not being consumed by desire he will without desire be happy. (707)

30. 'Let the Muni, after going about for alms, repair to the outskirts of the wood, let him go and sit down near the root of a tree. (708)

31. 'Applying himself to meditation, and being wise, let him find his pleasure in the outskirts of the wood, let him meditate at the root of a tree enjoying himself. (709)

32. 'Then when night is passing away let him repair to the outskirts of the village, let him not delight in being invited nor in what is brought away from the village. (710)

33. 'Let not the Muni, after going to the village, walk about to the houses in haste; cutting off (all) talk while seeking food, let him not utter any coherent speech¹. (711)

34. "'What I have obtained that is good," "I did not get (anything that is) good," so thinking in both cases he returns to the tree unchanged². (712)

35. 'Wandering about with his alms-bowl in his

Attānam upamam katvā

Na haneyya na ghātaye.

Comp. Dh. v. 129.

¹ Na vākam payutam bhane.

² Alattham yad idam sādhu

Nālattham kusalam iti,

Ubhayen' eva so tâdi *

Rukkham va upanivattati.

* Tâdi = nibbikâro. Commentator.

hand, considered dumb without being dumb, let him not blush at a little gift, let him not despise the giver. (713)

36. 'Various are the practices illustrated by the Samana, they do not go twice to the other shore, this (is) not once thought¹. (?) (714)

37. 'For whom there is no desire, for the Bhikkhu who has cut off the stream (of existence) and abandoned all kinds of work, there is no pain. (715)

38. 'I will declare to thee the state of wisdom,'—so said Bhagavat,—'let one be like the edge of a razor, having struck his palate with his tongue, let him be restrained in (regard to his) stomach. (716)

39. 'Let his mind be free from attachment, let him not think much² (about worldly affairs), let him be without defilement, independent, and devoted to a religious life. (717)

40. 'For the sake of a solitary life and for the sake of the service that is to be carried out by Samanas, let him learn, solitariness is called wisdom³; alone indeed he will find pleasure. (718)

41. 'Then he will shine through the ten regions, having heard the voice of the wise, of the meditating, of those that have abandoned sensual pleasures, let my adherent then still more devote himself to modesty and belief. (719)

42. 'Understand this from the waters in chasms

¹ *Ukkāvaṭṭā hi paṭipadā
Samanena pakāsitā,
Na pāram digunam yanti,
Na idam ekagunam mutam.*

² *Na kāpi bahu kintaye.*

³ *Ekattam monam akkhātam.*

and cracks : noisy go the small waters, silent goes the vast ocean¹. (720)

43. 'What is deficient that makes a noise, what is full that is calm; the fool is like a half-(filled) water-pot, the wise is like a full pool. (721)

44. 'When the Samana speaks much that is possessed of good sense, he teaches the Dhamma while knowing it, while knowing it he speaks much². (722)

45. 'But he who while knowing it is self-restrained, and while knowing it does not speak much, such a Muni deserves wisdom (mona), such a Muni has attained to wisdom (mona)³.' (723)

Nâlakasutta is ended.

12. DVAYATÂNUPASSANÂSUTTA.

All pain in the world arises from upadhi, aviggâ, samkhârâ, viññâna, phassa, vedanâ, tanhâ, upâdâna, ârambha, âhâra, iñgita, nissaya, rūpa, mosadhamma, sukha.

So it was heard by me :

At one time Bhagavat dwelt at Sâvatthî in Pub-bârâma, Migâramâtar's mansion. At that time Bhagavat on the Uposatha day⁴, on the fifteenth,

¹ Tan nadîhi vigânâtha

Sobbhesu padaresu ka :

Sanantâ yanti kussobbhâ

Tunhî yâti mahodadhi.

² Yam samano bahu bhâsati

Upetam atthasamhitam

Gânam so dhammam deseti

Gânam so bahu bhâsati.

³ Yo ka gânam samyatatto

Gânam na bahu bhâsati

Sa munî monam arahati

Sa munî monam agghagâ.

⁴ See Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 140.

it being full moon, in the evening was sitting in the open air, surrounded by the assembly of Bhikkhus. Then Bhagavat surveying the silent assembly of Bhikkhus addressed them (as follows):

‘Whichever Dhammas there are, O Bhikkhus, good, noble, liberating, leading to perfect enlightenment,—what is the use to you of listening to these good, noble, liberating Dhammas, leading to perfect enlightenment? If, O Bhikkhus, there should be people that ask so, they shall be answered thus: Yes, for the right understanding of the two Dhammas.’ ‘Which two do you mean?’ ‘(I mean), “this is pain, this is the origin of pain,” this is one consideration, “this is the destruction of pain, this is the way leading to the destruction of pain,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly¹, is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

1. ‘Those who do not understand pain and the origin of pain, and where pain wholly and totally is stopped, and do not know the way that leads to the cessation of pain, (724)

2. ‘They, deprived of the emancipation of thought

¹ . . . kâ upanisâ savanâyâ ’ti iti ke bhikkhave puṭṭhitaro assu te evam assu vaṭṭanîyâ: yâvad eva dvayatânam dhammânam yathâbhûtam ñânâyâ ’ti, kiññka dvayatam vadetha? ‘idam dukkham, ayam dukkhasamudayo’ ti ayam ekânupassanâ, ‘ayam dukkhanirodho, ayam dukkhanirodhagâminî paṭipadâ’ ti ayam dutiyânupassanâ; evam sammâdvayatânupassino . . .

and the emancipation of knowledge, are unable to put an end (to *samsâra*), they will verily continue to undergo birth and decay. (725)

3. 'And those who understand pain and the origin of pain, and where pain wholly and totally is stopped, and who know the way that leads to the cessation of pain, (726)

4. 'They, endowed with the emancipation of thought and the emancipation of knowledge, are able to put an end (to *samsâra*), they will not undergo birth and decay. (727)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the upadhis (elements of existence)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the upadhis, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

5. 'Whatever pains there are in the world, of many kinds, they arise having their cause in the upadhis; he who being ignorant creates upadhi, that fool again undergoes pain; therefore being wise do not create upadhi, considering what is the birth and origin of pain. (728)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the

Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *aviggâ* (ignorance)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of *aviggâ*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

6. 'Those who again and again go to *samsâra* with birth and death, to existence in this way or in that way,—that is the state of *aviggâ*. (729)

7. 'For this *aviggâ* is the great folly by which this (existence) has been traversed long, but those beings who resort to knowledge do not go to re-birth. (730)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *samkhâras* (matter)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the *samkhâras*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state

of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

8. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *samkhâras*, by the destruction of the *samkhâras* there will be no origin of pain. (731)

9. ‘Looking upon this pain that springs from the *samkhâras* as misery, from the cessation of all the *samkhâras*, and from the destruction of consciousness will arise the destruction of pain, having understood this exactly, (732)

10. ‘The wise who have true views and are accomplished, having understood (all things) completely, and having conquered all association with Mâra, do not go to re-birth. (733)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *viññâna* (consciousness),” this is one consideration, “but from the complete destruction of *viññâna*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

11. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *viññâna*, by the destruction of *viññâna* there is no origin of pain. (734)

12. 'Looking upon this pain that springs from *viññâna* as misery, from the cessation of *viññâna* a Bhikkhu free from desire (will be) perfectly happy (parinibbata). (735)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of *phassa* (touch)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of *phassa*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

13. 'For those who are ruined by *phassa*, who follow the stream of existence, who have entered a bad way, the destruction of bonds is far off. (736)

14. 'But those who, having fully understood *phassa*, knowingly have taken delight in cessation, they verily from the comprehension of *phassa*, and being free from desire, are perfectly happy. (737)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *vedanâs* (sensations)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the *vedanâs*, through absence of passion, there is

no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

15. 'Pleasure or pain, together with want of pleasure and want of pain, whatever is perceived internally and externally, (738)

16. 'Looking upon this as pain, having touched what is perishable and fragile, seeing the decay (of everything), the Bhikkhu is disgusted, having from the perishing of the vedanâs become free from desire, and perfectly happy. (739)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of tañhâ (desire)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of tañhâ, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

17. 'A man accompanied by tañhâ, for a long time transmigrating into existence in this way or

that way, does not overcome transmigration (*sam-sâra*). (740)

18. 'Looking upon this as misery, this origin of the pain of *tanhâ*, let the Bhikkhu free from *tanhâ*, not seizing (upon anything), thoughtful, wander about. (741)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *upâdânas* (the seizures)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the *upâdânas*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

19. 'The existence is in consequence of the *upâdânas*; he who has come into existence goes to pain, he who has been born is to die, this is the origin of pain. (742)

20. 'Therefore from the destruction of the *upâdânas* the wise with perfect knowledge, having seen (what causes) the destruction of birth, do not go to re-birth. (743)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in

consequence of the ârambhas (exertions)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the ârambhas, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).' This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

21. 'Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the ârambhas, by the destruction of the ârambhas there is no origin of pain. (744)

22, 23. 'Looking upon this pain that springs from the ârambhas as misery, having abandoned all the ârambhas, birth and transmigration have been crossed over by the Bhikkhu who is liberated in non-exertion, who has cut off the desire for existence, and whose mind is calm; there is for him no re-birth. (745, 746)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: "Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the âhâras (food?)," this is one consideration, "but from the complete destruction of the âhâras, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain," this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still

remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

24. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the âhâras, by the destruction of the âhâras there is no origin of pain. (747)

25. ‘Looking upon this pain that springs from the âhâras as misery, having seen the result of all âhâras, not resorting to all âhâras, (748)

26. ‘Having seen that health is from the destruction of desire, he that serves discriminatingly and stands fast in the Dhamma cannot be reckoned as existing, being accomplished¹. (749)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *iñgitas* (commotions),” this is one consideration, “but from the complete destruction of the *iñgitas*, through absence of passion, there is no origin of pain,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

27. ‘Whatever pain arises is all in consequence of the *iñgitas*, by the destruction of the *iñgitas* there is no origin of pain. (750)

28. ‘Looking upon this pain that springs from

¹ *Samkham* nôpeti vedagû.

the *iñgitas* as misery, and therefore having abandoned the *iñgitas* and having stopped the *samkhâras*, let the Bhikkhu free from desire and not seizing (upon anything), thoughtful, wander about. (751)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “For the *nissita* (dependent) there is vacillation,” this is one consideration, “the independent (man) does not vacillate,” this is the second consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad duly, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected: in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an *Anâgâmin* (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke:

29. ‘The independent (man) does not vacillate, and the dependent (man) seizing upon existence in one way or in another, does not overcome *sam-sâra*. (752)

30. ‘Looking upon this as misery (and seeing) great danger in things you depend upon, let a Bhikkhu wander about independent, not seizing (upon anything), thoughtful. (753)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is: “The formless (beings), O Bhikkhus, are calmer than the *rûpas* (for *ruppa*, i.e. form-possessing),” this is one consideration, “cessation is calmer than the formless,” this is another consideration; thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that con-

siders the Dyad dully, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected : in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

31. ‘Those beings who are possessed of form, and those who dwell in the formless (world), not knowing cessation, have to go to re-birth. (754)

32. ‘But those who, having fully comprehended the forms, stand fast in the formless (worlds), those who are liberated in the cessation, such beings leave death behind. (755)

“Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way,” if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is : “What has been considered true by the world of men, together with the gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmanas, gods, and men, that has by the noble through their perfect knowledge been well seen to be really false,” this is one consideration ; “what, O Bhikkhus, has been considered false by the world of men, together with the gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmanas, gods, and men, that has by the noble through their perfect knowledge been well seen to be really true,” this is another consideration. Thus, O Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu that considers the Dyad dully, that is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected : in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one that does not return).’ This said Bhagavat,

(and) when Sugata had said this, the Master further spoke :

33. 'Seeing the real in the unreal, the world of men and gods dwelling in name and form¹, he thinks : "This is true." (756)

34. 'Whichever way they think (it), it becomes otherwise, for it is false to him, and what is false is perishable². (?) (757)

35. 'What is not false, the Nibbâna, that the noble conceive as true, they verily from the comprehension of truth are free from desire (and) perfectly happy³. (758)

"Should there be a perfect consideration of the Dyad in another way," if, O Bhikkhus, there are people that ask so, they shall be told, there is, and how there is : "What, O Bhikkhus, has been considered pleasure by the world of men, gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmanas, gods, and men, that has by the noble by (their) perfect knowledge been well seen to be really pain," this is one consideration ; "what, O Bhikkhus, has been considered pain by the world of men, gods, Mâra, Brahman, and amongst the Samanas, Brâhmanas, gods, and men, that has by the noble by their perfect knowledge been well seen to be really pleasure," this is the second consideration. Thus, O

¹ Nâmarûpasmim, 'individuality.'

² Yena yena hi maññanti
Tato tam hoti aññathâ,
Tam hi tassa musâ hoti,
Mosadhammam hi ittaram.

³ Amosadhammam nibbânam
Tad ariyâ sakkato vidû,
Te ve sakkâbhisamayâ
Nikkhâtâ parinibbutâ.

Bhikkhus, by the Bhikkhu who considers the Dyad duly, who is strenuous, ardent, resolute, of two fruits one fruit is to be expected : in this world perfect knowledge, or, if any of the (five) attributes still remain, the state of an Anâgâmin (one who does not return).’ This said Bhagavat, (and) when Sugata had said so, the Master further spoke :

36. ‘ Form, sound, taste, smell, and touch are all wished for, pleasing and charming (things) as long as they last, so it is said. (759)

37. ‘ By you, by the world of men and gods these (things) are deemed a pleasure, but when they cease it is deemed pain by them. (760)

38. ‘ By the noble the cessation of the existing body is regarded as pleasure ; this is the opposite of (what) the wise in all the world (hold)¹. (761)

39. ‘ What fools say is pleasure that the noble say is pain, what fools say is pain that the noble know as pleasure :—see here is a thing difficult to understand, here the ignorant are confounded. (762)

40. ‘ For those that are enveloped there is gloom, for those that do not see there is darkness, and for the good it is manifest, for those that see there is light ; (even being) near, those that are ignorant of the way and the Dhamma, do not discern (anything)². (763)

¹ Sukhan ti di~~tti~~ham ariyehi
Sakkâyass’ uparodhanam,
Pa~~kk~~anîkam idam hoti
Sabbalokena passatam.

² Nivutânam tamo hoti
Andhakâro apassatam,
Satañ ãa viva~~ta~~m hoti
Âloko passatâm iva,
Santike na vigânanti
Maggadhammass’ akovidâ.

41. 'By those that are overcome by the passions of existence, by those that follow the stream of existence, by those that have entered the realm of Mâra, this Dhamma is not perfectly understood. (764)

42. 'Who except the noble deserve the well understood state (of Nibbâna)? Having perfectly conceived this state, those free from passion are completely extinguished¹. (765)

This spoke Bhagavat. Glad those Bhikkhus rejoiced at the words of Bhagavat. While this explanation was being given, the minds of sixty Bhikkhus, not seizing (upon anything), were liberated.

Dvayatânupassanâsutta is ended.

Mahâvagga, the third.

¹ Ko nu aññatra-m-ariyehi
Padam sambuddham arahati
Yam padam samma-d-aññâya
Parinibbanti anâsavâ.

IV. *ATTHAKAVAGGA.*

1. KÂMASUTTA.

Sensual pleasures are to be avoided.

1. If he who desires sensual pleasures is successful, he certainly becomes glad-minded, having obtained what a mortal wishes for. (766)

2. But if those sensual pleasures fail the person who desires and wishes (for them), he will suffer, pierced by the arrow (of pain). (767)

3. He who avoids sensual pleasures as (he would avoid treading upon) the head of a snake with his foot, such a one, being thoughtful (sato), will conquer this desire. (768)

4. He who covets extensively (such) pleasures (as these), fields, goods, or gold, cows and horses, servants, women, relations, (769)

5. Sins will overpower him, dangers will crush him, and pain will follow him as water (pours into) a broken ship. (770)

6. Therefore let one always be thoughtful, and avoid pleasures; having abandoned them, let him cross the stream, after baling out the ship, and go to the other shore. (771)

Kâmasutta is ended.

2. GUHATTHAKASUTTA.

Let no one cling to existence and sensual pleasures.

1. A man that lives adhering to the cave (i.e. the body), who is covered with much (sin), and sunk into delusion, such a one is far from seclusion, for the sensual pleasures in the world are not easy to abandon. (772)

2. Those whose wishes are their motives, those who are linked to the pleasures of the world, they are difficult to liberate, for they cannot be liberated by others, looking for what is after or what is before, coveting these and former sensual pleasures. (773)

3. Those who are greedy of, given to, and infatuated by sensual pleasures, those who are niggardly, they, having entered upon what is wicked, wail when they are subjected to pain, saying: 'What will become of us, when we die away from here?' (774)

4. Therefore let a man here¹ learn, whatever he knows as wicked in the world, let him not for the sake of that (?) practise (what is) wicked²; for short is this life, say the wise. (775)

5. I see in the world this trembling race given to desire for existences; they are wretched men who lament in the mouth of death, not being free from the desire for reiterated existences. (776)

6. Look upon those men trembling in selfishness, like fish in a stream nearly dried up, with little water; seeing this, let one wander about unselfish, without forming any attachment to existences. (777)

¹ Idheva=imasmim yeva sāsane. Commentator.

² Na tassa hetu visamam kareyya.

7. Having subdued his wish for both ends¹, having fully understood touch without being greedy, not doing what he has himself blamed, the wise (man) does not cling to what is seen and heard². (778)

8. Having understood name³, let the Muni cross over the stream, not defiled by any grasping; having pulled out the arrow (of passion), wandering about strenuous, he does not wish for this world or the other. (779)

Guhatt^hakasutta is ended.

3. DUTTHATT^hAKASUTTA.

The Muni undergoes no censure, for he has shaken off all systems of philosophy, and is therefore independent.

1. Verily, some wicked-minded people censure, and also just-minded people censure, but the Muni does not undergo the censure that has arisen; therefore there is not a discontented (khila) Muni anywhere. (780)

2. How can he who is led by his wishes and possessed by his inclinations overcome his own (false) view? Doing his own doings let him talk according to his understanding⁴. (781)

3. The person who, without being asked, praises

¹ Comp. Sallasutta, v. 9.

² Ubhosu antesu vineyya *khandam*
Phassam pariññāya anānugiddho
Yad atta garahī tad akubbamāno
Na lippatī di^hhasutesu dhīro.

³ Saññam = nāmarūpam. Commentator.

⁴ Sakam hi di^hhim katham akkayeyya
Khandānunnīto rūkhiyā nivitt^ho,
Sayam samattāni pakubbamāno
Yathā hi gāneyya tathā vadeyya.

his own virtue and (holy) works to others, him the good call ignoble, one who praises himself¹. (782)

4. But the Bhikkhu who is calm and of a happy mind, thus not praising himself for his virtues, him the good call noble, one for whom there are no desires anywhere in the world². (783)

5. He whose Dhammas are (arbitrarily) formed and fabricated, placed in front, and confused, because he sees in himself a good result, is therefore given to (the view which is called) *kuppa-paṭikkāsanti*³. (?) (784)

6. For the dogmas of philosophy are not easy to overcome, amongst the Dhammas (now this and now that) is adopted after consideration; therefore a man rejects and adopts (now this and now that) Dhamma amongst the dogmas⁴. (785)

7. For him who has shaken off (sin) there is nowhere in the world any prejudiced view of the different existences; he who has shaken off (sin), after leaving deceit and arrogance behind, which (way) should he go, he (is) independent⁵. (786)

¹ Yo ātumānam sayam eva pāvā=yo evaṃ attānam sayam eva vadati. Commentator.

² Yass' ussādā n' atthi kuhiṇṇi loke.

³ Pakappitā samkhatā yassa dhammā
Purakkhatā santi avivādātā
Yad attanī passati ānisamsam
Tam nissito kuppa-paṭikkāsantim.

⁴ Diḥhīnivesā na hi svātivattā,
Dhammesu nikkeheyya samuggahītam,
Tasmā naro tesu nivesanesu
Nirassatī ādiyati-kka dhammam.

Comp. Paramatthakasutta, v. 6.

⁵ Dhonassa hī n' atthi kuhiṇṇi loke
Pakappitā diḥhi bhavābhavesu,
Māyaṇ ka mānaṇ ka pahāya dhono
Sa kena gakkheyya, anūpayo so.

8. But he who is dependent undergoes censure amongst the Dhammas; with what (name) and how should one name him who is independent? For by him there is nothing grasped or rejected, he has in this world shaken off every (philosophical) view¹. (787)

Dutthattthakasutta is ended.

4. SUDDHATTHAKASUTTA.

No one is purified by philosophy, those devoted to philosophy run from one teacher to another, but the wise are not led by passion, and do not embrace anything in the world as the highest.

1. I see a pure, most excellent, sound man, by his views a man's purification takes place, holding this opinion, and having seen this view to be the highest, he goes back to knowledge, thinking to see what is pure². (788)

2. If a man's purification takes place by (his philosophical) views, or he by knowledge leaves pain behind, then he is purified by another (way than the ariyamagga, i. e. the noble way), together with his upadhis, on account of his views he tells him to say so³. (789)

¹ Upayo * hi dhammesu upeti vâdam
Anûpayam kena katham vadeyya
Attam nirattam na hi tassa atthi
Adhosi so di//him idh' eva sabbam.

² Passâmi suddham paramam arogam,
Di//hena samsuddhi narassa hoti,
Et' âbhigânam paraman ti ñatvâ
Suddhânupassîti pakkehi ñânam.

³ Di//hîhi nam pâva tathâ vadânam.

Comp. Garâsutta, v. 10; Pasûrasutta, v. 7.

* Upayo ti tanhâdi//hinissito. Commentator.

3. But the Brâhmaṇa who does not cling to what has been seen, or heard, to virtue and (holy) works, or to what has been thought, to what is good and to what is evil, and who leaves behind what has been grasped, without doing anything in this world, he does not acknowledge that purification comes from another¹. (790)

4. Having left (their) former (teacher) they go to another, following their desires they do not break asunder their ties; they grasp, they let go like a monkey letting go the branch (just) after having caught (hold of it). (791)

5. Having himself undertaken some (holy) works he goes to various (things) led by his senses, but a man of great understanding, a wise man who by his wisdom has understood the Dhamma, does not go to various (occupations). (792)

6. He being secluded amongst all the Dhammas, whatever has been seen, heard, or thought—how should any one in this world be able to alter him, the seeing one, who wanders openly²? (793)

7. They do not form (any view), they do not prefer (anything), they do not say, 'I am infinitely pure;' having cut the tied knot of attachment, they do not long for (anything) anywhere in the world. (794)

¹ Na brâhmaṇo aññato suddhim âha
Ditt~~the~~ sute sīlavate mute vā
Puññe ka pāpe ka anūpalitto
Attaññāho na idha pakubbamāno.

² Sa sabbadhammesu visenibhūto *
Yaṃ kiñci ditt~~ham~~ va sutam mutam vā
Tam eva dassim viva~~am~~ karantam
Ken' idha lokasmim vikappayeyya?

* Mārasenam vināsetvā itabhāvena visenibhūto. Commentator.

8. He is a Brâhmana that has conquered (sin)¹; by him there is nothing embraced after knowing and seeing it; he is not affected by any kind of passion; there is nothing grasped by him as the highest in this world. (795)

Suddhatthakasutta is ended.

5. PARAMATTHAKASUTTA.

One should not give oneself to philosophical disputations; a Brâhmana who does not adopt any system of philosophy, is unchangeable, has reached Nibbâna.

1. What one person, abiding by the (philosophical) views, saying, 'This is the most excellent,' considers the highest in the world, everything different from that he says is wretched, therefore he has not overcome dispute². (796)

2. Because he sees in himself a good result, with regard to what has been seen (or) heard, virtue and (holy) works, or what has been thought, therefore, having embraced that, he looks upon everything else as bad³. (797)

3. The expert call just that a tie dependent

¹ *Katunnam kilesasîmânânam atîtatâ Sîmâtigo bâhitapâpattâ ka brâhmano.*

² *Paraman ti diññisu paribbasâno
Yad uttarim kurute gantu loke
Hînâ ti aññe tato sabbam âha,
Tasmâ vivâdâni avîtivatto.*

Properly, 'others (are) wretched.'

³ *Yad attanî passati ânisamsam
Ditthe sute sîlavate mute vâ
Tad eva so tattha samuggahâya
Nihînato passati sabbam aññam.*

upon which one looks upon anything else as bad. Therefore let a Bhikkhu not depend upon what is seen, heard, or thought, or upon virtue and (holy) works¹. (798)

4. Let him not form any (philosophical) view in this world, either by knowledge or by virtue and (holy) works, let him not represent himself equal (to others), nor think himself either low or distinguished. (799)

5. Having left what has been grasped, not seizing upon anything he does not depend even on knowledge. He does not associate with those that are taken up by different things, he does not return to any (philosophical) view². (800)

6. For whom there is here no desire for both ends, for reiterated existence either here or in another world, for him there are no resting-places (of the mind) embraced after investigation amongst the doctrines (dhammesu)³. (801)

7. In him there is not the least prejudiced idea with regard to what has been seen, heard, or thought; how could any one in this world alter such a Brâhmaṇa who does not adopt any view? (802)

¹ *Tam vâpi gantham kusalâ vadanti
Yam nissito passati hīnam aññam,
Tasmâ hi diṭṭham va sutam mutam vâ
Sīlabbatam bhikkhu na nissayeyya.*

² *Attam pahāya anupâdiyāno
Ñāne pi so nissayam no karoti,
Sa ve viyattesu na vaggasārī,
Diṭṭhim pi so na paṭṭheti kiñci.*

³ *Yass' ūbhayante paṇidhīdha n' atthi
Bhavâbhavāya idha vâ huram vâ
Nivesanā tassa na santi keci
Dhammesu nikkheyya samuggahitā.*

8. They do not form (any view), they do not prefer (anything), the Dhammas are not chosen by them, a Brâhmana is not dependent upon virtue and (holy) works; having gone to the other shore, such a one does not return. (803)

Paramatthakasutta is ended.

6. GARÂSUTTA.

From selfishness come grief and avarice. The Bhikkhu who has turned away from the world and wanders about houseless, is independent, and does not wish for purification through another.

1. Short indeed is this life, within a hundred years one dies, and if any one lives longer, then he dies of old age. (804)

2. People grieve from selfishness, perpetual cares kill them, this (world) is full of disappointment; seeing this, let one not live in a house. (805)

3. That even of which a man thinks 'this is mine' is left behind by death: knowing this, let not the wise (man) turn himself to worldliness (while being my) follower¹. (806)

4. As a man awakened does not see what he has met with in his sleep, so also he does not see the beloved person that has passed away and is dead. (807)

5. Both seen and heard are the persons whose particular name is mentioned, but only the name

¹ Maranena pi tam pahîyati
Yam puriso mama-y-idan ti maññati,
Evam pi veditvâ pandîto
Na pamattâya nametha mâmakko.

remains undecayed of the person that has passed away ¹. (808)

6. The greedy in their selfishness do not leave sorrow, lamentation, and avarice; therefore the Munis leaving greediness wandered about seeing security (i. e. Nibbâna). (809)

7. For a Bhikkhu, who wanders about unattached and cultivates the mind of a recluse, they say it is proper that he does not show himself (again) in existence ². (810)

8. Under all circumstances the independent Muni does not please nor displease (any one); sorrow and avarice do not stick to him (as little) as water to a leaf. (811)

9. As a drop of water does not stick to a lotus, as water does not stick to a lotus, so a Muni does not cling to anything, namely, to what is seen or heard or thought ³. (812)

10. He who has shaken off (sin) does not therefore think (much of anything) because it has been seen or heard or thought; he does not wish for

¹ *Di//hâpi sutâpi te ganâ*
Yesam nâmam idam pavukkati
Nâmam evâvasissati
Akkheyam petassa gantuno.

² *Patilīnaṅkarassa bhikkhuno*
*Bhagamānassa vittaṃ mānasam **
Sāmaggiyam āhu tassa tam
Yo attānam bhavane na dassaye.

³ *Udabindu yathâpi pokkhare*
Padume vâri yathâ na lippati
Evam muni nōpalippati
Yad idam di//hasutam mutesu vâ.

* B¹ has *vivitta-*.

purification through another, for he is not pleased nor displeased (with anything)¹. (813)

Garâsutta is ended.

7. TISSAMETTEYYASUTTA.

Sexual intercourse should be avoided.

1. 'Tell me, O venerable one,'—so said the venerable Tissa Metteyya,—'the defeat of him who is given to sexual intercourse; hearing thy precepts we will learn in seclusion.' (814)

2. 'The precepts of him who is given to sexual intercourse, O Metteyya,'—so said Bhagavat,—'are lost, and he employs himself wrongly, this is what is ignoble in him.' (815)

3. 'He who, having formerly wandered alone, gives himself up to sexual intercourse, him they call in the world a low, common fellow, like a rolling chariot.' (816)

4. 'What honour and renown he had before, that is lost for him; having seen this let him learn to give up sexual intercourse.' (817)

5. 'He who overcome by his thoughts meditates like a miser, such a one, having heard the (blaming) voice of others, becomes discontented.' (818)

6. 'Then he makes weapons (i. e. commits evil

¹ Dhono na hi tena maññati
Yad idam di//hasutam mutesu vâ,
Nâññena visuddhim ikkhati,
Na hi so raggati no viraggati.

Comp. Suddha//hakasutta, v. 2.

deeds) urged by the doctrines of others, he is very greedy, and sinks into falsehood ¹. (819)

7. 'Designated "wise" he has entered upon a solitary life, then having given himself up to sexual intercourse, he (being) a fool suffers pain. (820)

8. 'Looking upon this as misery let the Muni from first to last in the world firmly keep to his solitary life, let him not give himself up to sexual intercourse. (821)

9. 'Let him learn seclusion, this is the highest for noble men, but let him not therefore think himself the best, although he is verily near Nibbâna. (822)

10. 'The Muni who wanders void (of desire), not coveting sensual pleasures, and who has crossed the stream, him the creatures that are tied in sensual pleasures envy.' (823)

Tissametteyyasutta is ended.

8. PASŪRASUTTA.

Disputants brand each other as fools, they wish for praise, but being repulsed they become discontented; one is not purified by dispute, but by keeping to Buddha, who has shaken off all sin.

1. Here they maintain 'purity,' in other doctrines (dhamma) they do not allow purity; what they have devoted themselves to, that they call good, and they enter extensively upon the single truths ². (824)

¹ Atha satthâni kurute
Paravâdehi kodito,
Esa khv-assa mahâgedho,
Mosavaḅḅam pagâhati.

² Idh' eva suddhim iti vâdiyanti
Nâññesu dhammesu visuddhim âhu
Yam nissitâ tattha subham vadânâ
Paḅḅekasaḅḅesu puthû nivittâ.

2. Those wishing for dispute, having plunged into the assembly, brand each other as fools mutually, they go to others and pick a quarrel, wishing for praise and calling themselves (the only) expert. (825)

3. Engaged in dispute in the middle of the assembly, wishing for praise he lays about on all sides; but when his dispute has been repulsed he becomes discontented, at the blame he gets angry he who sought for the faults (of others). (826)

4. Because those who have tested his questions say that his dispute is lost and repulsed, he laments and grieves having lost his disputes; 'he has conquered me,' so saying he wails. (827)

5. These disputes have arisen amongst the Samanas, in these (disputes) there is (dealt) blow (and) stroke; having seen this, let him leave off disputing, for there is no other advantage in trying to get praise. (828)

6. Or he is praised there, having cleared up the dispute in the middle of the assembly; therefore he will laugh and be elated, having won that case as he had a mind to. (829)

7. That which is his exaltation will also be the field of his defeat, still he talks proudly and arrogantly; seeing this, let no one dispute, for the expert do not say that purification (takes place) by that¹. (830)

8. As a hero nourished by kingly food goes about roaring, wishing for an adversary—where he (i.e. the philosopher, Ditt~~h~~igatika) is, go thou there, O

¹ Yâ unmatî sâssa vighâtabhûmi,
Mânâtîmânâṃ vadate pan' eso,
Etam pi disvâ na vivâdayetha
Na hi tena suddhim kusalâ vadanti.

Comp. Suddhat~~h~~akasutta, v. 2.

hero ; formerly there was nothing like this to fight against¹. (831)

9. Those who, having embraced a (certain philosophical) view, dispute and maintain 'this only (is) true,' to them say thou when a dispute has arisen, 'Here is no opponent² for thee.' (832)

10. Those who wander about after having secluded themselves, without opposing view to view—what (opposition) wilt thou meet with amongst those, O Pasûra, by whom nothing in this world is grasped as the best ? (833)

11. Then thou wentest to reflection thinking in thy mind over the (different philosophical) views ; thou hast gone into the yoke with him who has shaken off (all sin), but thou wilt not be able to proceed together (with him)³. (834)

Pasûrasutta is ended.

9. MÂGANDIYASUTTA.

A dialogue between Mâgandiya and Buddha. The former offers Buddha his daughter for a wife, but Buddha refuses her. Mâgandiya says that purity comes from philosophy, Buddha from 'inward peace.' The Muni is a confessor of peace, he does not dispute, he is free from marks.

1. Buddha : 'Even seeing Tanhâ, Arati, and Ragâ (the daughters of Mâra), there was not the least wish

¹ Sûro yathâ râgakhâdâya putt^ho
Abhigaggam eti pa^{ti}sûram ikkham—
Yen' eva so tena palehi sûra,
Pubbe va n' atthi yad idam yudhâya.

² Pa^{ti}isenikattâ ti pa^{ti}lomakâra^{ko}. Commentator.

³ Atha tvam pavitakkam âgamâ
Manasâ dⁱtt^higatâni kintayanto,
Dhonena yugam samâgamâ,
Na hi tvam pagghasi sampayâtave.

(in me) for sexual intercourse. What is this (thy daughter's body but a thing) full of water and excrement? I do not even want to touch it with my foot.' (835)

2. Mâgandiya: 'If thou dost not want such a pearl, a woman desired by many kings, what view, virtue, and (holy) works, (mode of) life, re-birth dost thou profess?' (836)

3. "“This I say,” so (I do now declare), after investigation there is nothing amongst the doctrines which such a one (as I would) embrace,—O Mâgandiya, so said Bhagavat,—‘and seeing (misery) in the (philosophical) views, without adopting (any of them), searching (for truth) I saw “inward peace¹.”’ (837)

4. 'All the (philosophical) resolutions² that have been formed,'—so said Mâgandiya,—‘those indeed thou explainest without adopting (any of them); the notion “inward peace” which (thou mentionest), how is this explained by the wise?’ (838)

5. 'Not by (any philosophical) opinion, not by tradition, not by knowledge,'—O Mâgandiya, so said Bhagavat,—‘not by virtue and (holy) works can any one say that purity exists; nor by absence of (philosophical) opinion, by absence of tradition, by absence of knowledge, by absence of virtue and (holy) works either; having abandoned these without adopting (anything else), let him, calm and independent, not desire existence³. (839)

¹ *Idam vadâmîti na tassa hoti—Mâgandiyâ ti Bhagavâ—
Dhammesu nikkheyya samuggahîtam
Passaṇ ka ditihiṣu anuggahâya
Agghattasantim pakinam adassam.*

² *Vinikkhaya, placita?*

³ *Na ditihiyâ na sutiyâ na ñâṇena—Mâgandiyâ ti Bhagavâ—
Sīlabbatenâpi na suddhim âha*

6. 'If one cannot say by (any philosophical) opinion, or by tradition, or by knowledge,—so said Māgandiya,—'or by virtue and (holy) works that purity exists, nor by absence of (philosophical) opinion, by absence of tradition, by absence of knowledge, by absence of virtue and (holy) works, then I consider the doctrine foolish, for by (philosophical) opinions some return to purity.' (840)

7. 'And asking on account of (thy philosophical) opinion,' O Māgandiya,—so said Bhagavat,—'thou hast gone to infatuation in what thou hast embraced, and of this (inward peace) thou hast not the least idea, therefore thou holdest it foolish ¹.' (841)

8. 'He who thinks himself equal (to others), or distinguished, or low, he for that very reason disputes; but he who is unmoved under those three conditions, for him (the notions) "equal" and "distinguished" do not exist.' (842)

9. 'The Brāhmaṇa for whom (the notions) "equal" and "unequal" do not exist, would he say, "This is true?" Or with whom should he dispute, saying, "This is false?" With whom should he enter into dispute ²?' (843)

10. 'Having left his house, wandering about

Adi//hiyâ assutiyâ aññā
Asīlatâ abbatâ no pi tena,
Ete ka nissagga anuggahāya
Santo anissāya bhavam na gappe.

¹ Di//hiñ ka nissāya anupukkhamāno
Samuggahītesu pamoham āgā
Ito ka nāddakkhi anum pi saññam
Tasmā tuvaṃ momuhato dahāsi.

² Sakkaṇ ti so brāhmaṇo kim vadeyya
Musā ti vā so vivadetha kena
Yasmim samam visamañ kâpi n' atthi
Sa kena vādam paṭisamyugeyya.

houseless, not making acquaintances in the village, free from lust, not desiring (any future existence), let the Muni not get into quarrelsome talk with people. (844)

11. 'Let not an eminent man (nâga) dispute after having embraced those (views) separated from which he (formerly) wandered in the world; as the thorny lotus elambuga is undefiled by water and mud, so the Muni, the confessor of peace, free from greed, does not cling to sensual pleasures and the world. (845)

12. 'An accomplished man does not by (a philosophical) view, or by thinking become arrogant, for he is not of that sort; not by (holy) works, nor by tradition is he to be led, he is not led into any of the resting-places (of the mind). (846)

13. 'For him who is free from marks there are no ties, to him who is delivered by understanding there are no follies; (but those) who grasped after marks and (philosophical) views, they wander about in the world annoying (people)¹. (847)

Mâgandiyasutta is ended.

10. PURÂBHEDASUTTA.

Definition of a calm Muni.

1. 'With what view and with what virtue is one called calm, tell me that, O Gotama, (when) asked about the best man?' (848)

2. 'He whose desire is departed before the dissolution (of his body),'—so said Bhagavat,—'who

¹ *Saññâvirattassa na santi ganthâ,
Paññâvimuttassa na santi mohâ,
Saññañ ka diñhiñ ka ye aggahesum
Te ghaṭṭayantâ viṭkaranti loke.*

does not depend upon beginning and end, nor reckons upon the middle, by him there is nothing preferred¹. (849)

3. 'He who is free from anger, free from trembling, free from boasting, free from misbehaviour, he who speaks wisely, he who is not elated, he is indeed a Muni who has restrained his speech. (850)

4. 'Without desire for the future he does not grieve for the past, he sees seclusion in the phasas (touch), and he is not led by (any philosophical) views. (851)

5. 'He is unattached, not deceitful, not covetous, not envious, not impudent, not contemptuous, and not given to slander. (852)

6. 'Without desire for pleasant things and not given to conceit, and being gentle, intelligent, not credulous, he is not displeased (with anything). (853)

7. 'Not from love of gain does he learn, and he does not get angry on account of loss, and untroubled by desire he has no greed for sweet things². (854)

8. 'Equable (upekhaka), always thoughtful, he does not think himself equal (to others)³ in the world, nor distinguished, nor low: for him there are no desires (ussada). (855)

¹ Vîtatamho purâ bhedâ
Pubbam antam anissito
Vemagghe n' ûpasamkheyyo
Tassa n' atthi purekkhatam.

² Rasesu nânugigghati

³ Na loke maññate samam
Na visesî na nîkeyyo.

Compare Tuvaṭṭakasutta, v. 4; Attadāṇḍasutta, v. 20.

9. 'The man for whom there is nothing upon which he depends, who is independent, having understood the Dhamma, for whom there is no desire for coming into existence or leaving existence, (856)

10. 'Him I call calm, not looking for sensual pleasures; for him there are no ties, he has overcome desire. (857)

11. 'For him there are no sons, cattle, fields, wealth, nothing grasped or rejected is to be found in him. (858)

12. 'That fault of which common people and Samanas and Brâhmanas say that he is possessed, is not possessed by him, therefore he is not moved by their talk. (859)

13. 'Free from covetousness, without avarice, the Muni does not reckon himself amongst the distinguished, nor amongst the plain, nor amongst the low, he does not enter time, being delivered from time¹. (860)

14. 'He for whom there is nothing in the world (which he may call) his own, who does not grieve over what is no more, and does not walk amongst the Dhammas (after his wish), he is called calm².' (861)

Purâbhedasutta is ended.

11. KALAHAVIVÂDASUTTA.

The origin of contentions, disputes, &c. &c.

1. 'Whence (do spring up) contentions and disputes, lamentation and sorrow together with envy;

¹ Vîtagedho amakkharî
Na ussesu vadate muni
Na samesu na omesu,
Kappam n' eti akappiyo.

² Comp. infra, Attadandasutta, v. 16, and Dh. v. 367.

and arrogance and conceit together with slander, whence do these spring up? pray, tell me this.' (862)

2. 'From dear (objects) spring up contentions and disputes, lamentation and sorrow together with envy; arrogance and conceit together with slander; contentions and disputes are joined with envy, and there is slander in the disputes arisen.' (863)

3. 'The dear (objects) in the world whence do they originate, and (whence) the covetousness that prevails in the world, and desire and fulfilment whence do they originate, which are (of consequence) for the future state of a man¹?' (864)

4. 'From wish² originate the dear (objects) in the world, and the covetousness that prevails in the world, and desire and fulfilment originate from it, which are (of consequence) for the future state of a man.' (865)

5. 'From what has wish in the world its origin, and resolutions³ whence do they spring, anger and falsehood and doubt, and the Dhammas which are made known by the Samana (Gotama)?' (866)

6. 'What they call pleasure and displeasure in the world, by that wish springs up; having seen decay and origin in (all) bodies⁴, a person forms (his) resolutions in the world.' (867)

7. 'Anger and falsehood and doubt, these Dhammas are a couple⁵; let the doubtful learn in the way of knowledge, knowingly the Dhammas have been proclaimed by the Samana.' (868)

8. 'Pleasure and displeasure, whence have they

¹ Ye samparâyâya narassa honti.

² *Khanda*.

³ Vinikkhaya.

⁴ Rûpesu disvâ vibhavam bhavañ ka.

⁵ Te pi kodhâdayo dhammâ sâtâsâtadvaye sante eva pahonti uppagganti. Commentator.

their origin, for want of what do these not arise? This notion which (thou mentionest), viz. "decay and origin," tell me from what does this arise.' (869)

9. 'Pleasure and displeasure have their origin from phassa (touch), when there is no touch they do not arise. This notion which (thou mentionest), viz. "decay and origin," this I tell thee has its origin from this.' (870)

10. 'From what has phassa its origin in the world, and from what does grasping spring up? For want of what is there no egotism, by the cessation of what do the touches not touch?' (871)

11. 'On account of name and form the touches (exist), grasping has its origin in wish; by the cessation of wishes there is no egotism, by the cessation of form the touches do not touch.' (872)

12. 'How is one to be constituted that (his) form may cease to exist, and how do joy and pain cease to exist? Tell me this, how it ceases, that we should like to know, such was my mind¹?' (873)

13. 'Let one not be with a natural consciousness, nor with a mad consciousness, nor without consciousness, nor with (his) consciousness gone; for him who is thus constituted form ceases to exist, for what is called delusion has its origin in consciousness².' (?) (874)

14. 'What we have asked thee thou hast explained

¹ Katham sametassa vibhoti rūpam,
Sukham dukham vāpi katham vibhoti,
Etam me pabrūhi, yathā vibhoti
Tam gāṇiyāma, iti me mano ahū.

² Na sannasaññi na visannasaññi
No pi asaññi na vibhūtasaññi
Evam sametassa vibhoti rūpam
Saññānidāna hi papañkasamkhā.

unto us; we will ask thee another question, answer us that: Do not some (who are considered) wise in this world tell us that the principal (thing) is the purification of the yakkha, or do they say something different from this¹?' (875)

15. 'Thus some (who are considered) wise in this world say that the principal (thing) is the purification of the yakkha; but some of them say samaya (annihilation), the expert say (that the highest purity lies) in anupâdisesa (none of the five attributes remaining)². (876)

16. 'And having known these to be dependent, the investigating Muni, having known the things we depend upon, and after knowing them being liberated, does not enter into dispute, the wise (man) does not go to reiterated existence³.' (877)

Kalahavivâdasutta is ended.

12. KŪLAVIYŪHASUTTA.

A description of disputing philosophers. The different schools of philosophy contradict each other, they proclaim different truths, but the truth is only one. As long as the disputations are going on, so long will there be strife in the world.

1. Abiding by their own views, some (people), having got into contest, assert themselves to be

¹ Comp. Sundarikabhâradvâgasutta, v. 25.

² Ettâvat' aggam pi vadanti h' eke
Yakkhassa suddhim idha paññitâse,
Tesam pun' eke samayam* vadanti.
Anupâdisese kusalâ vadânâ.

³ Ete ka ñatvâ upanissitâ ti
Ñatvâ munî nissaye so vimamsî
Ñatvâ vimutto na vivâdam eti
Bhavâbhavâya na sameti dhîro.

* Ukkhedam. Commentator.

the (only) expert (saying), '(He) who understands this, he knows the Dhamma ; he who reviles this, he is not perfect¹.' (878)

2. So having got into contest they dispute : ' The opponent (is) a fool, an ignorant (person), ' so they say. Which one of these, pray, is the true doctrine (vâda)? for all these assert themselves (to be the only) expert. (879)

3. He who does not acknowledge an opponent's doctrine (dhamma), he is a fool, a beast, one of poor understanding, all are fools with a very poor understanding ; all these abide by their (own) views. (880)

4. They are surely purified by their own view, they are of a pure understanding, expert, thoughtful, amongst them there is no one of poor understanding, their view is quite perfect ! (881)

5. I do not say, ' This is the reality, ' which fools say mutually to each other ; they made their own views the truth, therefore they hold others to be fools. (882)

6. What some say is the truth, the reality, that others say is void, false, so having disagreed they dispute. Why do not the Samanas say one (and the same thing) ? (883)

7. For the truth is one, there is not a second, about which one intelligent man might dispute with another intelligent man ; (but) they themselves praise different truths, therefore the Samanas do not say one (and the same thing)². (884)

¹ *Sakam sakam dīṭṭhi paribbasānā*
Viggayha nānā kusalā vadanti
Yo evaṃ gānāti sa vedi dhammaṃ
Idaṃ paṭikkosam akevaṃ so.

² *Ekam hi saṅkham na dutṭham atthi*
Yasmim pagāno vivade pagānam,

8. Why do the disputants that assert themselves (to be the only) expert, proclaim different truths? Have many different truths been heard of, or do they (only) follow (their own) reasoning? (885)

9. There are not many different truths in the world, no eternal ones except consciousness; but having reasoned on the (philosophical) views they proclaim a double Dhamma, truth and falsehood¹. (886)

10. In regard to what has been seen, or heard, virtue and (holy) works, or what has been thought, and on account of these (views) looking (upon others) with contempt, standing in (their) resolutions joyful, they say that the opponent is a fool and an ignorant person². (?) (887)

11. Because he holds another (to be) a fool, therefore he calls himself expert, in his own opinion he is one that tells what is propitious, others he blames, so he said³. (?) (888)

12. He is full of his overbearing (philosophical) view, mad with pride, thinking himself perfect, he is in his own opinion anointed with the spirit (of genius), for his (philosophical) view is quite complete. (889)

Nânâ te saṅkâni sayam thunanti,
Tasmâ na ekam samanâ vadanti.

¹ Na h' eva saṅkâni bahûni nânâ
Aññatra saññâya nikkâni loke,
Takkañ ãa diṭṭhisu pakappayitvâ
Sakkaṃ musâ ti dvayadhammam âhu.

² Diṭṭhe sute sîlavate mute vâ
Ete ãa nissâya vimânadassî
Vinikkhaye ãhatvâ pahassamânâ
Bâlo paro akusalo ti ãâhu.

³ Yen' eva bâlo ti param dahâti
Tenâtumânam kusalo ti ãâha,
Sayam attanâ so kusalâ vadâno
Aññam vimâneti, tath' eva pâvâ.

13. If he according to another's report is low, then (he says) the other is also of a low understanding, and if he himself is accomplished and wise, there is not any fool amongst the Samanas¹. (890)

14. 'Those who preach a doctrine (dhamma) different from this, fall short of purity and are imperfect,' so the Titthiyas say repeatedly, for they are inflamed by passion for their own (philosophical) views. (891)

15. Here they maintain purity, in other doctrines (dhamma) they do not allow purity; so the Titthiyas, entering extensively (upon details), say that in their own way there is something firm. (892)

16. And saying that there is something firm in his own way he holds his opponent to be a fool; thus he himself brings on strife, calling his opponent a fool and impure (asuddhadhamma). (893)

17. Standing in (his) resolution, having himself measured (teachers, &c.), he still more enters into dispute in the world; but having left all resolutions nobody will excite strife in the world². (894)

Kûlavīyûhasutta is ended.

¹ Parassa ke hi vaṭasā nihīno
Tumo * saḥā hoti nihīnapañño,
Atha ke sayam vedagu hoti dhīro
Na koḍi bālo samānesū atthi.

² Vinikkhaye thatvā sayam pamāya
Uddham so lokasmim vivādam eti,
Hitvāna sabbāni vinikkhayāni
Na medhakam kurute gantu loke.

* So pi ten' eva. Commentator. Ved. tva (?).

13. MAHÂVIYÔHASUTTA.

Philosophers cannot lead to purity, they only praise themselves and stigmatise others. But a Brâhmana has overcome all dispute, he is indifferent to learning, he is appeased.

1. Those who abiding in the (philosophical) views dispute, saying, 'This is the truth,' they all incur blame, and they also obtain praise in this matter. (895)

2. This is little, not enough to (bring about) tranquillity, I say there are two fruits of dispute; having seen this let no one dispute, understanding Khema (i. e. Nibbâna) to be the place where there is no dispute. (896)

3. The opinions that have arisen amongst people, all these the wise man does not embrace; he is independent. Should he who is not pleased with what has been seen and heard resort to dependency¹? (?) (897)

4. Those who consider virtue the highest of all, say that purity is associated with restraint; having taken upon themselves a (holy) work they serve. Let us learn in this (view), then, his (the Master's) purity; wishing for existence they assert themselves to be the only expert². (898)

5. If he falls off from virtue and (holy) works, he trembles, having missed (his) work; he laments, he

¹ Yâ kâ' imâ sammutiyo puthuggâ
Sabbâ va etâ na upeti vidvâ,
Anûpayo so, upayam kim eyya
Ditthe sute khantim * akubbamâno?

² Siluttamâ saññamenâhu suddhim,
Vatam samâdâya upaññitâse,
Idh' eva sikkhema ath' assa suddhim,
Bhavûpanîtâ kusalâ vadânâ.

* So all the MSS.

prays for purity in this world, as one who has lost his caravan or wandered away from his house. (899)

6. Having left virtue and (holy) works altogether, and both wrong and blameless work, not praying for purity or impurity, he wanders abstaining (from both purity and impurity), without having embraced peace. (900)

7. By means of penance, or anything disliked, or what has been seen, or heard, or thought, going upwards they wail for what is pure, without being free from desire for reiterated existence. (901)

8. For him who wishes (for something there always are) desires¹, and trembling in (the midst of his) plans; he for whom there is no death and no re-birth, how can he tremble or desire anything? (902)

9. What some call the highest Dhamma, that others again call wretched; which one of these, pray, is the true doctrine (vâda)? for all these assert themselves (to be the only) expert. (903)

10. Their own Dhamma they say is perfect, another's Dhamma again they say is wretched; so having disagreed they dispute, they each say their own opinions (are) the truth. (904)

11. If one (becomes) low by another's censure, then there will be no one distinguished amongst the Dhammas; for they all say another's Dhamma (is) low, in their own they say there is something firm². (905)

¹ Gappitâni.

² Parassa *ke* vamhayitena hīno

Na ko^{hi} dhammesu visesi assa,

Puthû hi a^ññassa vadanti dhamma^m

Nihīnato samhi da^ham vadânâ.

12. The worshipping of their own Dhamma is as great as their praise of their own ways; all schools would be in the same case, for their purity is individual¹. (906)

13. There is nothing about a Brāhmaṇa dependent upon others, nothing amongst the Dhammas which he would embrace after investigation; therefore he has overcome the disputes, for he does not regard any other Dhamma as the best. (907)

14. 'I understand, I see likewise this,' so saying, some by (their philosophical) views return to purity. If he saw purity, what then (has been effected) by another's view? Having conquered they say that purity exists by another². (?) (908)

15. A seeing man will see name and form, and having seen he will understand those (things); let him at pleasure see much or little, for the expert do not say that purity exists by that. (909)

16. A dogmatist is no leader to purity, being guided by prejudiced views, saying that good consists in what he is given to, and saying that purity is there, he saw the thing so³. (910)

17. A Brāhmaṇa does not enter time, (or) the

¹ Sadhammapûgâ ka panâ tath' eva
Yathâ pasamsanti sakâyanâni,
Sabbe pavâdâ tath' ivâ bhaveyyum
Suddhî hi nesam pakâttam eva.

² Gânâmi passâmi tath' eva etam
ditthiyâ eke pakâenti suddhim
Addakkhi ke kim hi tumassa tena
Atisitvâ aññena vadanti suddhim.

³ Nivissavâdî na hi suddhinâyo
Pakappitâ ditthi purekkharâno
Yam nissito tattha subham vadâno
Suddhim vado tattha, tath' addasâ so.

number (of living beings), (he is) no follower of (philosophical) views, nor a friend of knowledge; and having penetrated the opinions that have arisen amongst people, he is indifferent to learning, while others acquire it. (911)

18. The Muni, having done away with ties here in the world, is no partisan in the disputes that have arisen; appeased amongst the unappeased he is indifferent, not embracing learning, while others acquire it. (912)

19. Having abandoned his former passions, not contracting new ones, not wandering according to his wishes, being no dogmatist, he is delivered from the (philosophical) views, being wise, and he does not cling to the world, neither does he blame himself. (913)

20. Being secluded amongst all the doctrines (dhamma), whatever has been seen, heard, or thought, he is a Muni who has laid down his burden and is liberated, not belonging to time (na kappiyo), not dead, not wishing for anything. So said Bhagavat. (914)

Mahâviyûhasutta is ended.

14. TUVATAKASUTTA.

How a Bhikkhu attains bliss, what his duties are, and what he is to avoid.

1. 'I ask thee, who art a kinsman of the Âdikkas and a great Isi, about seclusion (viveka) and the state of peace. How is a Bhikkhu, after having seen it, extinguished, not grasping at anything in the world?' (915)

2. 'Let him completely cut off the root of what is called *papañka*¹ (delusion), thinking "I am wisdom;"—so said Bhagavat,—'all the desires that arise inwardly, let him learn to subdue them, always being thoughtful. (916)

3. 'Let him learn every Dhamma inwardly or outwardly; let him not therefore be proud, for that is not called bliss by the good. (917)

4. 'Let him not therefore think himself better (than others or) low or equal (to others); questioned by different people, let him not adorn himself². (918)

5. 'Let the Bhikkhu be appeased inwardly, let him not seek peace from any other (quarter); for him who is inwardly appeased there is nothing grasped or rejected. (919)

6. 'As in the middle (i. e. depth) of the sea no wave is born, (but as it) remains still³, so let the Bhikkhu be still³, without desire, let him not desire anything whatever.' (920)

7. He with open eyes expounded clearly the Dhamma that removes (all) dangers; tell (now) the religious practices; the precepts or contemplation⁴. (921)

8. Bhagavat: 'Let him not be greedy with his eyes, let him keep his ears from the talk of the town, let him not be greedy after sweet things, and let him not desire anything in the world. (922)

9. 'When he is touched by the touch (of illness),

¹ *Aviggādayo kilesā*. Commentator.

² *Nātumānam vikappayan ti* *he*.

³ *Thito*.

⁴ *Akittayī vivaṭṭakkhu sakkhi*
Dhammam parissayavinayam,
Paṭipadam vadehi, bhaddan te,
Pātimokkham athavāpi samādhim.

let the Bhikkhu not lament, and let him not wish for existence anywhere, and let him not tremble at dangers. (923)

10. 'Having obtained boiled rice and drink, solid food and clothes, let him not store up (these things), and let him not be anxious, if he does not get them. (924)

11. 'Let him be meditative, not prying, let him abstain from misbehaviour¹, let him not be indolent, let the Bhikkhu live in his quiet dwelling. (925)

12. 'Let him not sleep too much, let him apply himself ardently to watching, let him abandon sloth, deceit, laughter, sport, sexual intercourse, and adornment. (926)

13. 'Let him not apply himself to practising (the hymns of) the *Âthabbana*(-veda), to (the interpretation of) sleep and signs, nor to astrology; let not (my) follower (*mâmaka*) devote himself to (interpreting) the cry of birds, to causing impregnation, nor to (the art of) medicine. (927)

14. 'Let the Bhikkhu not tremble at blame, nor puff himself up when praised; let him drive off covetousness together with avarice, anger, and slander. (928)

15. 'Let the Bhikkhu not be engaged in purchase and sale, let him not blame others in anything, let him not scold in the village, let him not from love of gain speak to people. (929)

16. 'Let not the Bhikkhu be a boaster, and let him not speak coherent² language; let him not learn pride, let him not speak quarrelsome language. (930)

¹ Virame *kukkukkam*.

² Payuta; comp. *Nâlakasutta*, v. 33.

17. 'Let him not be led into falsehood, let him not consciously do wicked things; and with respect to livelihood, understanding, virtue, and (holy) works let him not despise others. (931)

18. 'Having heard much talk from much-talking Samanas let him not irritated answer them with harsh language; for the good do not thwart¹ others. (932)

19. 'Having understood this Dhamma, let the investigating and always thoughtful Bhikkhu learn; having conceived bliss to consist in peace, let him not be indolent in Gotama's commandments. (933)

20. 'For he a conqueror unconquered saw the Dhamma visibly, without any traditional instruction²; therefore let him learn, heedful in his, Bhagavat's, commandments, and always worshipping.' (934)

Tuvaṭṭakasutta is ended.

15. ATTADANDASUTTA.

Description of an accomplished Muni.

1. From him who has seized a stick fear arises. Look at people killing (each other); I will tell of grief as it is known to me. (935)

2. Seeing people struggling like fish in (a pond with) little water, seeing them obstructed by each other, a fear came over me. (936)

3. The world is completely unsubstantial, all quarters are shaken; wishing for a house for myself I did not see (one) uninhabited. (937)

4. But having seen (all beings) in the end obstructed, discontent arose in me; then I saw in

¹ Paṭisenikaronti.

² Sakkhi dhammam anātiham adassī.

this world an arrow, difficult to see, stuck in the heart. (938)

5. He who has been pierced by this arrow runs through all quarters ; but having drawn out that arrow, he will not run, he will sit down (quietly). (939)

6. There (many) studies are gone through ; what is tied in the world let him not apply himself to (untie) it ; having wholly transfixed desire, let him learn his own extinction (nibbâna). (940)

7. Let the Muni be truthful, without arrogance, undeceitful, free from slander, not angry, let him overcome avarice. (941)

8. Let the man who has turned his mind to Nibbâna conquer sleepiness, drowsiness, and sloth ; let him not live together with indolence, let him not indulge in conceit. (942)

9. Let him not be led into falsehood, let him not turn his affection to form ; let him penetrate arrogance, let him wander abstaining from violence. (943)

10. Let him not delight in what is old, let him not bear with what is new, let him not grieve for what is lost, let him not give himself up to desire¹. (944)

11. (This desire) I call greed, the great stream, I call (it) precipitation, craving, a trouble, a bog of lust difficult to cross². (945)

12. The Muni who without deviating from truth

¹ *Âkâsam* na sito siyâ ti *tanham* nissito na bhaveyya.
Commentator.

² *Gedham* brâmi mahogho ti
Âgavam brâmi gappanam
Ârammanam pakappanam
Kâmapamko durakkayo.

stands fast on the firm ground (of Nibbâna, being) a Brâhmaṇa, he, having forsaken everything, is indeed called calm. (946)

13. He indeed is wise, he is accomplished, having understood the Dhamma independent (of everything); wandering rightly in the world he does not envy any one here. (947)

14. Whosoever has here overcome lust, a tie difficult to do away with in the world, he does not grieve, he does not covet¹, having cut off the stream, and being without bonds. (948)

15. What is before (thee), lay that aside; let there be nothing behind thee; if thou wilt not grasp after what is in the middle, thou wilt wander calm². (949)

16. The man who has no desire at all for name and form (individuality) and who does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed does not decay in the world³. (950)

17. He who does not think, 'this is mine' and 'for others there is also something,' he, not having ego-tism, does not grieve at having nothing⁴. (951)

18. Not being harsh, not greedy, being without desire, and being the same under all circumstances (samo⁵),—that I call a good result, when asked about an undaunted man. (952)

19. For him who is free from desire, for the

¹ *Nāggheti*=*nābhigghati* (read *nābhigghāyati*). Commentator.

² Comp. *infra*, *Gatukammin's* question, v. 4, and *Dhammapada*, p. 308.

³ Comp. *infra*, *Gatukammin's* question, v. 5.

⁴ *Yassa n'atthi 'idam me' ti*

'Paresam vāpi kiññānam'

Mamattam so asamvindam

'N'atthi me' ti na soḷati.

⁵ =*upekhako*. Commentator.

discerning (man) there is no *Samkhâra* ; abstaining from every sort of effort he sees happiness everywhere¹. (953)

20. The Muni does not reckon himself amongst the plain, nor amongst the low, nor amongst the distinguished ; being calm and free from avarice, he does not grasp after nor reject anything². (954)

Attadandasutta is ended.

16. SÂRIPUTTASUTTA.

On Sâriputta asking what a Bhikkhu is to devote himself to, Buddha shows what life he is to lead.

1. 'Neither has before been seen by me,'—so said the venerable Sâriputta,—'nor has any one heard of such a beautifully-speaking master, a teacher arrived from the Tusita heaven. (955)

2. 'As he, the clearly-seeing, appears to the world of men and gods, after having dispelled all darkness, so he wanders alone in the midst (of people). (956)

3. 'To this Buddha, who is independent, unchanged, a guileless teacher, who has arrived (in the world), I have come supplicatingly with a question³ from many who are bound in this world. (957)

4. 'To a Bhikkhu who is loath (of the world) and affects an isolated seat, the root of a tree or a cemetery, or (who lives) in the caves of the mountains, (958)

¹ *Anegassa vigânato*
N' atthi kâkhi nisaṃkhiti,
Virato so viyârambhâ
Khemam passati sabbadhi.

² Comp. supra, *Purâbhedasutta*, vv. 15, 20.

³ Atthi pañhena âgamim = atthiko pañhena âgato 'mhîti atthi-kânam vâ pañhena atthi âgamanañ kâ ti. Commentator.

5. 'How many dangers (are there not) in these various dwelling-places at which the Bhikkhu does not tremble in his quiet dwelling! (959)

6. 'How many dangers (are there not) in the world for him who goes to the immortal region¹, (dangers) which the Bhikkhu overcomes in his distant dwelling! (960)

7. 'Which are his words, which are his objects in this world, which are the virtue and (holy) works of the energetic Bhikkhu? (961)

8. 'What study having devoted himself to, intent on one object², wise and thoughtful, can he blow off his own filth as the smith (blows off) that of the silver³? (962)

9. 'What is pleasant for him who is disgusted (with birth, &c.),—O Sâriputta,' so said Bhagavat, —'if he cultivates a lonely dwelling-place, and loves perfect enlightenment in accordance with the Dhamma, that I will tell thee as I understand it. (963)

10. 'Let not the wise and thoughtful Bhikkhu wandering on the borders⁴ be afraid of the five dangers: gad-flies and (all other) flies⁵, snakes, contact with (evil) men⁶, and quadrupeds. (964)

11. 'Let him not be afraid of adversaries⁷, even having seen many dangers from them; further he

¹ *Gakkhato amatam disam.*

² *Ekodi=ekaggakitto.* Commentator.

³ *Comp. Dhp. v. 239.*

⁴ *Pariyantakârî.*

⁵ *Damsâdhipâtânan ti piṅgalamakkhikânañ ka sesamakkhikânañ ka, sesamakkhikâ hi tato adhipatitvâ khâdanti, tasmâ adhipâtâ ti vukkanti.* Commentator.

⁶ *Manussaphassânan ti korâdiphassânam.* Commentator.

⁷ *Paradhammikânam.*

will overcome other dangers while seeking what is good. (965)

12. 'Touched by sickness and hunger let him endure cold and excessive heat, let him, touched by them in many ways, and being houseless, make strong exertions. (966)

13. 'Let him not commit theft, let him not speak falsely, let him touch friendly what is feeble or strong, what he acknowledges to be the agitation of the mind, let him drive that off as a partisan of *Kaṇha* (i. e. *Māra*). (967)

14. 'Let him not fall into the power of anger and arrogance; having dug up the root of these, let him live, and let him overcome both what is pleasant and what is unpleasant. (968)

15. 'Guided by wisdom, taking delight in what is good, let him scatter those dangers, let him overcome discontent in his distant dwelling, let him overcome the four causes of lamentation. (969)

16. 'What shall I eat, or where shall I eat?—he lay indeed uncomfortably (last night)—where shall I lie this night? let the *Sekha* who wanders about houseless subdue these lamentable doubts. (970)

17. 'Having had in (due) time both food and clothes, let him know moderation in this world for the sake of happiness; guarded in these (things) and wandering restrained in the village let him, even (if he be) irritated, not speak harsh words. (971)

18. 'Let him be with down-cast eyes, and not prying, devoted to meditation, very watchful; having acquired equanimity let him with a composed mind cut off the seat of doubt, and misbehaviour. (972)

19. 'Urged on by words (of his teachers) let him be thoughtful and rejoice (at this urging), let

him break stubbornness in his fellow-students, let him utter propitious words and not unseasonable, let him not think detractingly of others. (973)

20. 'And then the five impurities in the world, the subjection of which he must learn thoughtfully, —let him overcome passion for form, sound and taste, smell and touch. (974)

21. 'Let the Bhikkhu subdue his wish for these Dhammas and be thoughtful, and with his mind well liberated, then in time he will, reflecting upon Dhamma, and having become intent upon one object, destroy darkness.' So said Bhagavat. (975)

Sâriputtasutta is ended.

Atthakavagga, the fourth.

V. PÂRÂYANAVAGGA.

To the Brâhmana Bâvarî, living on the banks of the Godhâvarî, in Assaka's territory, comes another Brâhmana and asks for five hundred pieces of money, but not getting them he curses Bâvarî, saying, 'May thy head on the seventh day hence cleave into seven.' A deity comforts Bâvarî by referring him to Buddha. Then Bâvarî sends his sixteen disciples to Buddha, and each of them asks Buddha a question.

1. VATTHUGÂTHÂ.

1. From the beautiful city of the Kosalas (Sâvatthî) a Brâhmana, well versed in the hymns, went to the South (Dakkhinâpatha) wishing for nothingness¹. (976)

2. In Assaka's territory, in the neighbourhood of Aḷaka, he dwelt on the banks of the Godhâvarî, (living) on gleanings and fruit. (977)

3. And close by the bank there was a large village, with the income of which he prepared a great sacrifice. (978)

4. Having offered the great sacrifice, he again entered the hermitage. Upon his re-entering, another Brâhmana arrived, (979)

5. With swollen feet², trembling, covered with mud, with dust on his head. And he going up

¹ Âkiñkañña.

² Ugghaṭṭapâdo ti maggakkamanena ghaṭṭapâdatalo panhikâya vâ panhikam gopphakena vâ gopphakam gannukena gannukam âgantvâpi ghaṭṭapâdo. Commentator.

to him (i. e. the first Brâhmana) demanded five hundred (pieces of money). (980)

6. Bâvarî, seeing him, bade him be seated, asked him whether he was happy and well, and spoke as follows : (981)

7. 'What gifts I had are all given away by me ; pardon me, O Brâhmana, I have no five hundred.' (982)

8. 'If thou wilt not give to me who asks, may thy head on the seventh day cleave into seven.' (983)

9. So after the usual ceremonies this impostor made known his fearful (curse). On hearing these his words Bâvarî became sorrowful. (984)

10. He wasted away taking no food, transfixed by the arrow of grief, but yet his mind delighted in meditation. (985)

11. Seeing Bâvarî struck with horror and sorrowful, the benevolent deity (of that place) approached him and said as follows : (986)

12. 'He does not know (anything about) the head ; he is a hypocrite coveting riches ; knowledge of the head and head-splitting is not found in him¹.' (987)

13. 'If the venerable (deity) knows it, then tell me, when asked, all about the head and head-splitting ; let us hear thy words.' (988)

14. 'I do not know this ; knowledge of it is not found in me ; as to the head and head-splitting, this is to be seen by Buddhas (only).' (989)

15. 'Who then, say, in the circumference of the

¹ Na so muddham pagânâti,
Kuhako so dhanatthiko,
Muddhani muddhapâte ka
Ñânam tassa na viggati.

earth knows the head and head-splitting, tell me that, O deity?' (990)

16. 'Formerly went out from Kapilavatthu a ruler of the world, an offspring of the Okkāka king, the Sakya son, the light-giving; (991)

17. 'He is, O Brāhmaṇa, the perfectly Enlightened (Sambuddha); perfect in all things, he has attained the power of all knowledge, sees clearly in everything; he has arrived at the destruction of all things, and is liberated in the destruction of the upadhis¹. (992)

18. 'He is Buddha, he is Bhagavat in the world, he, the clearly-seeing, teaches the Dhamma; go thou to him and ask, he will explain it to thee.' (993)

19. Having heard the word 'Sambuddha,' Bāvari rejoiced, his grief became little, and he was filled with great delight. (994)

20. Bāvari glad, rejoicing, and eager asked the deity: 'In what village or in what town or in what province dwells the chief of the world, that going there we may adore the perfectly Enlightened, the first of men?' (995)

21. 'In Sāvattṭī, the town of the Kosalas, dwells Gina (the Victorious), of great understanding and excellent wide knowledge, he the Sakya son, unyoked, free from passion, skilled in head-splitting, the bull of men.' (996)

22. Then (Bāvari) addressed his disciples, Brāhmaṇas, perfect in the hymns: 'Come, youths, I will tell (you something), listen to my words: (997)

23. 'He whose appearance in the world is difficult to be met with often, he is at the present time²

¹ Sabbadhammakkhayaṃ patto (i. e. nibbāna)
Vimutto upadhisamkhaṇḍe.

² Sv-āgga.

born in the world and widely renowned as Sambuddha (the perfectly Enlightened); go quickly to Sâvatthî and behold the best of men.' (998)

24. 'How then can we know, on seeing him, that he is Buddha, O Brâhmana? Tell us who do not know him, by what may we recognise him?' (999)

25. 'For in the hymns are to be found the marks of a great man, and thirty-two are disclosed altogether, one by one.' (1000)

26. 'For him on whose limbs these marks of a great man are to be found, there are two ways left, a third does not exist. (1001)

27. 'If he abides in a dwelling, he will subdue this earth without rod (or) sword, he will rule with justice. (1002)

28. 'And if he departs from his dwelling for the wilderness, he becomes the saint, incomparable Sambuddha, who has removed the veil (from the world)¹. (1003)

29. 'Ask in your mind about my birth and family, my marks, hymns, and my other disciples, the head and head-splitting. (1004)

30. 'If he is Buddha, the clear-sighted, then he will answer by word of mouth the questions you have asked in your mind.' (1005)

31, 32, 33. Having heard Bâvari's words his disciples, sixteen Brâhmanas, Agita, Tissametteyya, Punnaka, further Mettagû, Dhotaka and Upasîva, and Nanda, further Hemaka, the two Todeyya and Kappa, and the wise Gatukammî, Bhadrâvudha and Udaya, and also the Brâhmana Posâla, and the wise Mogharâgan, and the great Isi Pîngiya, (1006-1008)

34. All of them, having each their host (of pupils),

¹ Comp. Lalita-vistara (ed. Calc.), pp. 116, 118.

and being themselves widely renowned throughout the world, thinkers delighting in meditation, wise, scented with the perfume of former (good deeds)¹, (1009)

35. Having saluted Bâvarî and gone round him towards the right, all with matted hair and bearing hides, departed with their faces turned to the north. (1010)

36. To Patitthâna of Aḷaka first, then to Mâhisatti, and also to Uggenti, Gonaddha, Vedisâ, Vana-savhaya, (1011)

37. And also to Kosambî, Sâketa, and Sâvatthî, the most excellent of cities, to Setavya, Kapilavattu, and the city of Kusinâra, (1012)

38. And to Pâva, the city of wealth, to Vesâlî, the city of Magadha, to Pâsânaka Ketiya (the Rock Temple), the lovely, the charming. (1013)

39. As he who is athirst (longs for) the cold water, as the merchant (longs for) gain, as he who is plagued by heat (longs for) shade, so in haste they ascended the mountain. (1014)

40. And Bhagavat at that time attended by the assembly of the Bhikkhus taught the Dhamma to the Bhikkhus, and roared like a lion in the forest. (1015)

41. Agita beheld Sambuddha as the shining (sun) without (burning) rays, as the moon on the fifteenth, having reached her plenitude. (1016)

42. Then observing his limbs and all the marks in their fulness, standing apart, rejoiced, he asked the questions of his mind:— (1017)

43. 'Tell me about (my master's) birth, tell me about his family together with the marks, tell me about his perfection in the hymns, how many (hymns) does the Brâhmaṇa recite?' (1018)

¹ Pubbavâsanavâsitâ.

44. Bhagavat said: 'One hundred and twenty years (is his) age, and by family he is a Bâvart; three are his marks on the limbs, and in the three Vedas he is perfect. (1019)

45. 'In the marks and in the Itihâsa together with Nighandu and Ketubha—he recites five hundred—and in his own Dhamma he has reached perfection.' (1020)

46. Agita thought: 'Explain fully the marks of Bâvart, O thou best of men, who cuts off desire; let there be no doubt left for us.' (1021)

47. Bhagavat said: 'He covers his face with his tongue, he has a circle of hair between the eyebrows, (his) privy member (is) hidden in a sheath, know this, O young man¹.' (1022)

48. Not hearing him ask anything, but hearing the questions answered, the multitude reflected overjoyed and with joined hands:— (1023)

49. 'Who, be he a god, or Brahman, or Inda, the husband of Sugâ, asked in his mind those questions, and to whom did that (speech) reply?' (1024)

50. Agita said: 'The head and head-splitting Bâvart asked about; explain that, O Bhagavat, remove our doubt, O Isi.' (1025)

51. Bhagavat said: 'Ignorance is the head, know this; knowledge cleaves the head, together with belief, thoughtfulness, meditation, determination, and strength.' (1026)

52. Then with great joy having composed himself the young man put his hide on one shoulder,

¹ Mukham givhâya khâdeti,
Unn' assa bhamukantare,
Kosohitam vatthaguyham,
Evam gânâhi mânava.

fell at (Bhagavat's) feet (and saluted him) with his head, (saying): (1027)

53. 'Bāvarī, the Brāhmaṇa, together with his disciples, O thou venerable man, delighted and glad, does homage to thy feet, O thou clearly-seeing.' (1028)

54. Bhagavat said: 'Let Bāvarī, the Brāhmaṇa, be glad together with his disciples! Be thou also glad, live long, O young man!' (1029)

55. 'For Bāvarī and for thee, for all there are all (kinds of) doubt; having got an opportunity, ask ye whatever you wish.' (1030)

56. After getting permission from Sambuddha, Agita sitting there with folded hands asked Tathāgata the first question. (1031)

The Vatthugāthās are ended.

2. AGITAMĀNAVAPUKKHĀ.

1. 'By what is the world shrouded,'—so said the venerable Agita,—'by what does it not shine? What callest thou its pollution, what is its great danger?' (1032)

2. 'With ignorance is the world shrouded, O Agita,'—so said Bhagavat,—'by reason of avarice it does not shine; desire I call its pollution, pain is its great danger.' (1033)

3. 'The streams of desire flow in every direction,'—so said the venerable Agita;—'what dams the streams, say what restrains the streams, by what may the streams be shut off¹?' (1034)

¹ Comp. Dh. v. 340.

4. 'Whatever streams there are in the world,—O Agita,' so said Bhagavat,—'thoughtfulness is their dam, thoughtfulness I call the restraint of the streams, by understanding they are shut off.' (1035)

5. 'Both understanding and thoughtfulness,'—so said the venerable Agita,—'and name and shape¹, O venerable man,—asked about this by me, declare by what is this stopped?' (1036)

6. Buddha: 'This question which thou hast asked, O Agita, that I will explain to thee; (I will explain to thee) by what name and shape² are totally stopped; by the cessation of consciousness this is stopped here.' (1037)

7. Agita: 'Those who have examined (all) Dhammas (i.e. the saints), and those who are disciples, (and those who are) common men here,—when thou art asked about their mode of life, declare it unto me, thou who art wise, O venerable man.' (1038)

8. Buddha: 'Let the Bhikkhu not crave for sensual pleasures, let him be calm in mind, let him wander about skilful in all Dhammas, and thoughtful.' (1039)

Agitamânavapukkhâ is ended.

3. TISSAMETTEYYAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Who is contented in the world,'—so said the venerable Tissametteyya,—'who is without commotions? Who after knowing both ends does not stick in the middle, as far as his understanding is

¹ Nâmarûpañ ka.

² Nâmañ ka rūpañ ka.

concerned? Whom dost thou call a great man? Who has overcome desire in this world?' (1040)

2. 'The Bhikkhu who abstains from sensual pleasures,—O Metteyya,' so said Bhagavat,—'who is free from desire, always thoughtful, happy by reflection, he is without commotions, he after knowing both ends does not stick in the middle, as far as his understanding is concerned; him I call a great man; he has overcome desire in this world.' (1041)

Tissametteyyamânavapukkhâ is ended.

4. PUNNAKAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'To him who is without desire, who has seen the root (of sin),'—so said the venerable Punna, —'I have come supplicatingly with a question: on account of what did the Isis and men, Khattiyas and Brâhmanas, offer sacrifices to the gods abundantly in this world? (about this) I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1042)

2. 'All these Isis and men, Khattiyas and Brâhmanas,—O Punna,' so said Bhagavat,—'who offered sacrifices to the gods abundantly in this world, offered sacrifices, O Punna, after reaching old age, wishing for their present condition.' (1043)

3. 'All these Isis and men, Khattiyas and Brâhmanas,'—so said the venerable Punna,—'who offered sacrifices to the gods abundantly in this world, did they, O Bhagavat, indefatigable in the way of offering, cross over both birth and old age, O venerable man? I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1044)

4. 'They wished for, praised, desired, abandoned (sensual pleasures),—O *Punnaka*,' so said Bhagavat,—'they desired sensual pleasures on account of what they reached by them; they, devoted to offering, dyed with the passions of existence, did not cross over birth and old age, so I say.' (1045)

5. 'If they, devoted to offering,'—so said the venerable *Punnaka*,—'did not by offering cross over birth and old age, O venerable man, who then in the world of gods and men crossed over birth and old age, O venerable man, I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this?' (1046)

6. 'Having considered everything¹ in the world,—O *Punnaka*,' so said Bhagavat,—'he who is not defeated anywhere in the world, who is calm without the smoke of passions, free from woe, free from desire, he crossed over birth and old age, so I say.' (1047)

Punnakamānavapukkhā is ended.

5. METTAGŪMĀNAVAPUKKHĀ.

1. 'I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this,'—so said the venerable Mettagū,—'I consider thee accomplished and of a cultivated mind, why are these (creatures), whatsoever they are of many kinds in the world, always subject to pain?' (1048)

2. 'Thou mayest well ask me concerning the origin of pain,—O Mettagū,' so said Bhagavat,—

¹ Parovarānīti parāni ka orāni ka parattabhāvasakattabhāvādīni parāni ka orāni kā ti vuttam hoti. Commentator,

'I will explain that to thee in the way I myself know it: originating in the upadhis pains arise, whatsoever they are, of many kinds in the world. (1049)

3. 'He who being ignorant creates upadhi, that fool again undergoes pain; therefore let not the wise man create upadhi, considering (that this is) the birth and origin of pain.' (1050)

4. Mettagû: 'What we have asked thee thou hast explained to us; another (question) I ask thee, answer that, pray: How do the wise cross the stream, birth and old age, and sorrow and lamentation? Explain that thoroughly to me, O Muni, for this thing (dhamma) is well known to thee.' (1051)

5. 'I will explain the Dhamma to thee,—O Mettagû,' so said Bhagavat;—'if a man in the visible world, without any traditional instruction, has understood it, and wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world¹.' (1052)

6. Mettagû: 'And I take a delight in that, in the most excellent Dhamma, O great Isi, which if a man has understood, and he wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world.' (1053)

7. 'Whatsoever thou knowest,—O Mettagû,' so said Bhagavat,—'(of what is) above, below, across, and in the middle, taking no delight and no rest in these things, let thy mind not dwell on existence. (1054)

8. 'Living so, thoughtful, strenuous, let the Bhikkhu, wandering about, after abandoning selfishness, birth,

¹ Kittayissâmi te dhammam—Mettagû ti Bhagavâ—
Diŧthe dhamme anŧtiham
Yam viditvâ sato karam
Tare loke visattikam.

and old age, and sorrow, and lamentation, being a wise man, leave pain in this world.' (1055)

9. Mettagū: 'I delight in these words of the great Isi; well expounded, O Gotama, is (by thee) freedom from upadhi (i. e. Nibbāna). Bhagavat in truth has left pain, for this Dhamma is well known to thee¹. (1056)

10. 'And those also will certainly leave pain whom thou, O Muni, constantly mayest admonish; therefore I bow down to thee, having come hither, O chief (nāga), may Bhagavat also admonish me constantly.' (1057)

11. Buddha: 'The Brāhmaṇa whom I may acknowledge as accomplished, possessing nothing, not cleaving to the world of lust, he surely has crossed this stream, and he has crossed over to the other shore, free from harshness (akhila), (and) free from doubt. (1058)

12. 'And he is a wise and accomplished man in this world; having abandoned this cleaving to reiterated existence he is without desire, free from woe, free from longing, he has crossed over birth and old age, so I say.' (1059)

Mettagūmānavapukkā is ended.

¹ Et' ābhinandāmi vaḷo mahesino
Sukittitaṃ Gotama nūpadhīkaṃ,
Addhā hi Bhagavā pahāsi dukkhaṃ,
Tathā hi te vidito esa dhammo.

Sukittitaṃ Gotama nūpadhīkaṃ ti ettha anupadhikaṃ ti nibbānaṃ, taṃ sandhāya vā Bhagavantam ālapanto āha sukittitaṃ, &c. Commentator.

6. DHOTAKAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this,'—so said the venerable Dhotaka,—'I long for thy word, O great Isi; let one, having listened to thy utterance, learn his own extinction.' (1060)

2. 'Exert thyself then,—O Dhotaka,' so said Bhagavat,—'being wise and thoughtful in this world, let one, having listened to my utterance, learn his own extinction.' (1061)

3. Dhotaka: 'I see in the world of gods and men a Brâhmana wandering about, possessing nothing; therefore I bow down to thee, O thou all-seeing one, free me, O Sakka, from doubts.' (1062)

4. Buddha: 'I shall not go to free any one in the world who is doubtful, O Dhotaka; when thou hast learned the best Dhamma, then thou shalt cross this stream¹.' (1063)

5. Dhotaka: 'Teach (me), O Brâhmana, having compassion (on me), the Dhamma of seclusion (i.e. Nibbâna), that I may understand (it and) that I, without falling into many shapes like the air, may wander calm and independent in this world².' (?) (1064)

¹ Nâham gamissâmi pamokanâya
Kathamkathim Dhotaka kaññi loke,
Dhammañ ka settam âgânamânô
Evam tuvam ogham imam taresi.

² Anusâsa brahme karunâyamânô
Vivekadhammam yam aham vigaññam
Yathâham âkâso va avyâpaggamânô *
Idh' eva santo asito kareyyam.

* Nânappakâratam anâpaggamânô. Commentator.

6. 'I will explain to thee peace¹,—O Dhotaka,' so said Bhagavat;—'if a man in the visible world, without any traditional instruction, has understood it, and wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world.' (1065)

7. Dhotaka: 'And I take delight in that, the highest peace², O great Isi, which if a man has understood, and he wanders about thoughtful, he may overcome desire in the world.' (1066)

8. 'Whatsoever thou knowest,—O Dhotaka,' so said Bhagavat,—'(of what is) above, below, across, and in the middle, knowing this to be a tie in the world, thou must not thirst for reiterated existence.' (1067)

Dhotakamânavapukkhâ is ended.

7. UPASÎVAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Alone, O Sakka, and without assistance I shall not be able to cross the great stream,'—so said the venerable Upasîva;—'tell me an object, O thou all-seeing one, by means of which one may cross this stream.' (1068)

2. 'Having in view nothingness, being thoughtful,—O Upasîva,' so said Bhagavat,—'by the reflection of nothing existing shalt thou cross the stream; having abandoned sensual pleasures, being loath of doubts, thou shalt regard the extinction of desire (i. e. Nibbâna), both day and night³.' (1069)

¹ Santim.

² Santim uttamam.

³ Âkîñkaññam pekkhamâno satîmâ—Upasîvâ ti Bhagavâ—
N' atthîti nissâya tarassu ogham,
Kâme pahâya virato kathâhi
Tazhakkhayam rattamahâbhi passa.

3. Upasva : 'He whose passion for all sensual pleasures has departed, having resorted to nothingness, after leaving everything else, and being delivered in the highest deliverance by knowledge, will he remain there without proceeding further¹?' (1070)

4. 'He whose passion for all sensual pleasures has departed,—O Upasva,' so said Bhagavat,— 'having resorted to nothingness after leaving everything else, and being delivered in the highest deliverance by knowledge, he will remain there without proceeding further.' (1071)

5. Upasva : 'If he remains there without proceeding further for a multitude of years, O thou all-seeing one, (and if) he becomes there tranquil and delivered, will there be consciousness for such a one²?' (1072)

6. 'As a flame blown about by the violence of the wind,—O Upasva,' so said Bhagavat,— 'goes out, cannot be reckoned (as existing), even so a Muni, delivered from name and body, disappears, and cannot be reckoned (as existing)³.' (1073)

7. Upasva : 'Has he (only) disappeared, or does he not exist (any longer), or is he for ever free

¹ Sabbesu kâmesu yo vîtarâgo
Âkiññakâññam nissito hitva-m-aññam
Saññâvimokhe parame vimutto
Titthe nu so tattha anânuyâyî.

² Titthe ke so tattha anânuyâyî
Pûgam pi vassânam samantaakkhu
Tatth' eva so sîti siyâ vimutto
Bhavetha viññânam tathâvidhassa ?

³ Akkî yathâ vâtavegena khitto
Attham paleti na upeti samkham
Evam munî nâmakâyâ vimutto
Attham paleti na upeti samkham.

from sickness? Explain that thoroughly to me, O Muni, for this Dhamma is well known to thee¹. (1074)

8. 'For him who has disappeared there is no form, O Upasîva,'—so said Bhagavat,—'that by which they say he is, exists for him no longer, when all things (dhamma) have been cut off, all (kinds of) dispute are also cut off².' (1075)

Upasîvamânavapukkhâ is ended.

8. NANDAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'There are Munis in the world,'—so said the venerable Nanda,—'so people say. How is this (understood) by thee? Do they call him a Muni who is possessed of knowledge or him who is possessed of life³?' (1076)

2. Buddha: 'Not because of (any philosophical) view, nor of tradition, nor of knowledge, O Nanda, do the expert call (any one) a Muni; (but) such as wander free from woe, free from desire, after having secluded themselves, those I call Munis⁴.' (1077)

¹ Atthaṅgato so uda va so n' atthi
Udâhu ve sassatiyâ arogo,
Tam me munî sâdhu viyâkarohi,
Tathâ hi te vidito esa dhammo.

² Atthaṅgatassa na pamânam atthi,
Yena nam vaggu tam tassa n' atthi,
Sabbesu dhammesu samûhatesu
Samûhatâ vâdapathâpi sabbe.

³ Ñânûpapannam no munim vadanti
Udâhu ve gîviten' ûpapannam?

⁴ Na ditthiyâ na sutiyâ na ñânena
Muniñ ka Nanda kusalâ vadanti,

3. 'All these Samanas and Brâhmanas,'—so said the venerable Nanda,—'say that purity comes from (philosophical) views, and from tradition, and from virtue and (holy) works, and in many (other) ways. Did they, in the way in which they lived in the world, cross over birth and old age, O venerable man? I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1078)

4. 'All these Samanas and Brâhmanas, O Nanda,'—so said Bhagavat,—'say that purity comes from (philosophical) views, and from tradition, and from virtue and (holy) works, and in many (other) ways; still they did not, in the way in which they lived in the world, cross over birth and old age, so I say.' (1079)

5. 'All these Samanas and Brâhmanas,'—so said the venerable Nanda,—'say that purity comes from (philosophical) views, and from tradition, and from virtue and (holy) works, and in many (other) ways; if thou, O Muni, sayest that such have not crossed the stream, who then in the world of gods and men crossed over birth and old age, O venerable man? I ask thee, O Bhagavat, tell me this.' (1080)

6. 'I do not say that all Samanas and Brâhmanas,—O Nanda,' so said Bhagavat,—'are shrouded by birth and old age; those who, after leaving in this world what has been seen or heard or thought, and all virtue and (holy) works, after leaving everything of various kinds, after penetrating desire, are free from passion, such indeed I call men that have crossed the stream¹.' (1081)

Visenikatvâ anighâ nirâsâ

Karanti ye te munayo ti brûmi.

¹ Nâham 'sabbe samanabrâhmanâse
Gâtigarâya nivutâ' ti brûmi,

7. Nanda : ' I delight in these words of the great Isi ; well expounded (by thee), O Gotama, is freedom from upadhi (i. e. Nibbâna) ; those who, after leaving in this world what has been seen or heard or thought, and all virtue and (holy) works, after leaving everything of various kinds, after penetrating desire, are free from passion, such I call men that have crossed the stream.' (1082)

Nandamânavapukkhâ is ended.

9. HEMAKAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. ' Those who before in another world,'—so said the venerable Hemaka,—' explained to me the doctrine of Gotama, saying, " So it was, so it will be," all that (was only) oral tradition, all that (was only) something that increased (my) doubts¹. (1083)

2. ' I took no pleasure in that, but tell thou me the Dhamma that destroys desire, O Muni, which if a man has understood, and he wanders about thoughtful, he may cross desire in the world.' (1084)

3. Buddha : ' In this world (much) has been seen,

Ye s' îdha dittham va sutam mutam vâ
Sîlabbatam vâpi pahâya sabbam
Anekarûpam pi pahâya sabbam
Tanham pariññâya anâsavâse
Te ve narâ oghatinnâ ti brûmi.

¹ Ye me pubbe viyâkamsu
Huram Gotamasâsanam
Ikkâsi iti bhavissati
Sabbam tam itihîtiham
Sabbam tam takkavaddhanam.

heard, and thought; the destruction of passion and of wish for the dear objects that have been perceived, O Hemaka, is the imperishable state of Nibbâna. (1085)

4. 'Those who, having understood this, are thoughtful, calm, because they have seen the Dhamma, tranquil and divine, such have crossed desire in this world¹.' (1086)

Hemakamânavapukkhâ is ended.

10. TODEYYAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'He in whom there live no lusts,'—so said the venerable Todeyya,—'to whom there is no desire, and who has overcome doubt, what sort of deliverance is there for him?' (1087)

2. 'He in whom there live no lusts,—O Todeyya,' so said Bhagavat,—'to whom there is no desire, and who has overcome doubt, for him there is no other deliverance.' (1088)

3. Todeyya: 'Is he without breathing or is he breathing, is he possessed of understanding or is he forming himself an understanding²? Explain this to me, O thou all-seeing one, that I may know a Muni, O Sakka.' (1089)

¹ Etad aññâya ye satâ
Ditthadhammâbhinibbutâ
Upasantâ ka tedsâ (?) *
Tinnâ loke visattikam.

² Nirâsaso so uda âsasâno
Paññânavâ so uda paññakappî.

* B reads ye satâ instead of tedsâ.

4. Buddha : ' He is without breathing, he is not breathing, he is possessed of understanding, and he is not forming himself an understanding ; know, O Todeyya, that such is the Muni, not possessing anything, not cleaving to lust and existence.' (1090)

Todeyyamânavapukkhâ is ended.

11. KAPPAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. ' For those who stand in the middle of the water,'—so said the venerable Kappa,—' in the formidable stream that has set in, for those who are overcome by decay and death, tell me of an island, O venerable man, and tell thou me of an island that this (pain) may not again come on ¹.' (1091)

2. ' For those who stand in the middle of the water,—O Kappa,' so said Bhagavat,—' in the formidable stream that has set in, for those overcome by decay and death, I will tell thee of an island, O Kappa. (1092)

3. ' This matchless island, possessing nothing (and) grasping after nothing, I call Nibbâna, the destruction of decay and death ². (1093)

¹ Tvañ ka me dîpam* akkhâhi
Yathâ yidam nâparam siyâ.

² Akiñkanam anâdânam
Etam dîpam anâparam
Nibbânam iti nam brûmi
Garâmakâkûparikkhayam.

Akiñkanan ti kiñkanapañipakkham, anâdânan ti âdânapañipakkham, kiñkanâdânavûpasaman ti vuttam hoti. Commentator.

* B reads disam.

4. 'Those who, having understood this, are thoughtful (and) calm, because they have seen the Dhamma, do not fall into the power of Mâra, and are not the companions of Mâra.' (1094)

Kappamânavapukkhâ is ended.

12. GATUKANNIMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Having heard of a hero free from lust,—so said the venerable *Gatukannin*,—'who has crossed the stream, I have come to ask him who is free from lust; tell me the seat of peace, O thou with the born eye (of wisdom), tell me this truly, O Bhagavat.' (1095)

2. 'For Bhagavat wanders about after having conquered lust as the hot sun (conquers) the earth by its heat; tell the Dhamma to me who has (only) little understanding, O thou of great understanding, that I may ascertain how to leave in this world birth and decay.' (1096)

3. 'Subdue thy greediness for sensual pleasures,—O *Gatukannin*,' so said Bhagavat,—'having considered the forsaking of the world as happiness, let there not be anything either grasped after or rejected by thee¹.' (1097)

4. 'What is before thee, lay that aside; let there be nothing behind thee; if thou wilt not grasp after what is in the middle, thou wilt wander calm².' (1098)

¹ Kâmesu vinaya gedham,
Nekkhammam datthu khemato
Uggahîtam nirattam vâ
Mâ te viggittha kiñkanam.

² Comp. supra, Attadandasutta, v. 15.

5. 'For him whose greediness for name and form is wholly gone, O Brâhmana, for him there are no passions by which he might fall into the power of death.' (1099)

Gatukannimânavapukkhâ is ended.

13. BHADRÂVUDHAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'I entreat the wise (Buddha), the houseless, who cuts off desire,'—so (said) the venerable Bhadrâvudha,—'who is free from commotion, forsakes joy, has crossed the stream, is liberated, and who leaves time behind; having heard the chief's (word), they will go away from here'¹. (1100)

2. 'Different people have come together from the provinces, longing (to hear) thy speech, O hero; do thou expound it thoroughly to them, for this Dhamma is well known to thee.' (1101)

3. 'Let one wholly subdue the desire of grasping (after everything),—O Bhadrâvudha,' so said Bhagavat,—'above, below, across, and in the middle; for whatever they grasp after in the world, just by that Mâra follows the man.' (1102)

4. 'Therefore, knowing this, let not the thoughtful Bhikkhu grasp after anything in all the world, considering as creatures of desire this generation, sticking fast in the realm of death.' (1103)

Bhadrâvudhamânavapukkhâ is ended.

¹ *Okamgaham tanhakkhidam anegam*
Nandimgaham oghatinnam vimuttam
Kappamgaham abhiyâke sumedham,
Sutvâna nâgassa apanamissanti ito.

14. UDAYAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'To Buddha who is sitting meditating, free from pollution,'—so said the venerable Udaya,—
'having performed his duty, who is without passion, accomplished in all things (dhamma), I have come with a question; tell me the deliverance by knowledge, the splitting up of ignorance.' (1104)

2. '(It consists in) leaving lust and desire,—O Udaya,' so said Bhagavat,—'and both (kinds of) grief, and driving away sloth, and warding off misbehaviour.' (1105)

3. 'The deliverance by knowledge which is purified by equanimity and thoughtfulness and preceded by reasoning on Dhamma I will tell thee, the splitting up of ignorance¹.' (1106)

4. Udaya: 'What is the bond of the world, what is its practice? By the leaving of what is Nibbâna said to be²?' (1107)

5. Buddha: 'The world is bound by pleasure, reasoning is its practice; by the leaving of desire Nibbâna is said to be.' (1108)

6. Udaya: 'How does consciousness cease in him that wanders thoughtful? Having come to ask thee, let us hear thy words.' (1109)

¹ Upekhâsatisamsuddham
Dhammatakkapuregavam
Aññâvimokham pabrûmi
Aviggâya pabhedanam.

² Kim su samyogano loko,
Kim su tassa vikâranâ
Kiss' assa vippahânena
Nibbânam iti vuḷḷati?

7. Buddha: 'For him who both inwardly and outwardly does not delight in sensation, for him who thus wanders thoughtful, consciousness ceases.' (1110)

Udayamânavapukkâ is ended.

15. POSÂLAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'He who shows the past (births, &c.),'—so said the venerable Posâla,—'who is without desire and has cut off doubt, to him who is accomplished in all things (dhamma), I have come supplicatingly with a question. (1111)

2. 'O Sakka, I ask about his knowledge who is aware of past shapes, who casts off every corporeal form, and who sees that there exists nothing either internally or externally; how can such a one be led (by anybody) ¹?' (1112)

3. 'Tathâgata, knowing all the faces of consciousness,—O Posâla,' so said Bhagavat,—'knows (also) him who stands delivered, devoted to that (object) ². (1113)

4. 'Having understood that the bonds of pleasure do not originate in nothingness (?), he sees clearly in

¹ Vibhûtarûpasaññissa
Sabbakâyapahâyino
Agghattañ ka bahiddhâ ka
Natthi kiñkîti passato
Ñânam Sakkânupukkâmi,
Katham neyyo tathâvidho.

² Viññânatthitîyo sabbâ—Posâlâ ti Bhagavâ—
Abhigânam Tathâgato
Tittantam enam gânatî
Vimuttam tapparâyanam.

this (matter), this (is) the knowledge of a perfect, accomplished Brâhmana ¹.' (1114)

Posâlamânavapukkhâ is ended.

16. MOGHARÂGAMÂNAVAPUKKHÂ.

1. 'Twice have I asked Sakka,'—so said the venerable Mogharâgan,—'but the clearly-seeing has not explained it to me; if the divine Isi is asked for the third time, he will explain it, so I have heard.' (1115)

2. 'There is this world, the other world, Brahman's world together with the world of the gods; I do not know thy view, the famous Gotama's (view).' (1116)

3. 'To this man who sees what is good I have come supplicatingly with a question: How is any one to look upon the world that the king of death may not see him?' (1117)

4. 'Look upon the world as void, O Mogharâgan, being always thoughtful; having destroyed the view of oneself (as really existing), so one may overcome death; the king of death will not see him who thus regards the world ².' (1118)

Mogharâgamânavapukkhâ is ended.

¹ Âkiñkaññâsambhavam
Nandîsamyoganam iti
Evam evam abhiññâya
Tato tattha vipassati,
Etam ñânam tathamtassa
Brâhmanassa vusîmato.

² Comp. Dhp. v. 170.

17. PĪṄGIYAMĀNAVAPUKKHĀ.

1. 'I am old, feeble, colourless,'—so said the venerable Piṅgiya,—'my eyes are not clear, my hearing is not good; lest I should perish a fool on the way, tell me the Dhamma, that I may know how to leave birth and decay in this world.' (1119)

2. 'Seeing others afflicted by the body,—O Piṅgiya,' so said Bhagavat,—'(seeing) heedless people suffer in their bodies;—therefore, O Piṅgiya, shalt thou be heedful, and leave the body behind, that thou mayest never come to exist again.' (1120)

3. Piṅgiya: 'Four regions, four intermediate regions, above and below, these are the ten regions; there is nothing which has not been seen, heard, or thought by thee, and (is there) anything in the world not understood (by thee)? Tell (me) the Dhamma, that I may know how to leave birth and decay in this world.' (1121)

4. 'Seeing men seized with desire,—O Piṅgiya,' so said Bhagavat,—'tormented and overcome by decay,—therefore thou, O Piṅgiya, shalt be heedful, and leave desire behind, that thou mayest never come to exist again.' (1122)

Piṅgiyamānavapukkhā is ended.

This said Bhagavat, living in Magadha at Pāsāṇaka Ketiya (the Rock Temple). Sought by sixteen Brāhmaṇas, the followers (of Bāvarī, and) questioned by each of them in turn, he responded to the questions. If a man, having understood the meaning and tenor of each question, lives according to the Dhamma, then he will go to the further shore of decay and death, for these Dhammas lead to the

further shore, and therefore this order of Dhamma was called 'the way to the other shore.'

1, 2. Agita, Tissametteyya, Punṇaka and Mettagû, Dhotaka and Upasîva, Nanda and Hemaka, the two Todeyya and Kappa, and the wise Gatuḥkannin, Bhadrâvudha and Udaya, and also the Brâhmana Posâla, and the wise Mogharâgan, and Piṅgiya the great Isi, (1123, 1124)

3. These went up to Buddha, the Isi of exemplary conduct; asking subtle questions they went up to the supreme Buddha. (1125)

4. Buddha, being asked, responded to their questions truly, and in responding to the questions the Muni delighted the Brâhmanas. (1126)

5. They, having been delighted by the clearly-seeing Buddha, the kinsman of the Âdikâkas, devoted themselves to a religious life near the man of excellent understanding. (1127)

6. He who lived according to what had been taught by Buddha (in answer) to each single question, went from this shore to the other shore. (1128)

7. From this shore he went to the other shore entering upon the most excellent way; this way is to lead to the other shore, therefore it is called 'the way to the other shore.' (1129)

8. 'I will proclaim accordingly the way to the further shore,'—so said the venerable Piṅgiya;—'as he saw it, so he told it; the spotless, the very wise, the passionless, the desireless lord, for what reason should he speak falsely? (1130)

9. 'Well! I will praise the beautiful voice of (Buddha), who is without stain and folly, and who has left behind arrogance and hypocrisy. (1131)

10. 'The darkness-dispelling Buddha, the all-

seeing, who thoroughly understands the world¹, has overcome all existences, is free from passion, has left behind all pain, is rightly called (Buddha), he, O Brāhmaṇa, has come to me. (1132)

11. 'As the bird, having left the bush, takes up his abode in the fruitful forest, even so I, having left men of narrow views, have reached the great sea, like the *hamsa*². (1133)

12. 'Those who before in another world explained the doctrine of Gotama, saying, "So it was, so it will be," all that was only oral tradition, all that was only something that increased my doubts³. (1134)

13. 'There is only one abiding dispelling darkness, that is the high-born, the luminous, Gotama of great understanding, Gotama of great wisdom, (1135)

14. 'Who taught me the Dhamma, the instantaneous, the immediate, the destruction of desire, freedom from distress, whose likeness is nowhere⁴. (1136)

15. Bāvari: 'Canst thou stay away from him even for a moment, O Piṅgiya, from Gotama of great understanding, from Gotama of great wisdom, (1137)

¹ Lokantagū.

² Digo yathā kubbanakam pahāya
Bahupphalam kânanam âvaseyya
Evam p' aham appadasse pahāya
Mahodadhim hamsa-r-iv' agghapatto.

³ Ye 'me pubbe viyākamsu
huram Gotamasâsanam
ikk-âsi iti bhavissati
sabban tam itihîtiham
sabban tam takkavaddhanam.

⁴ Yo me dhammam adesesi
Sandittikam akâlikam
Tanhakkhayam anîtikam
Yassa n' atthi upamâ kvaîi.

16. 'Who taught thee the Dhamma, the instantaneous, the immediate, the destruction of desire, freedom from distress, whose likeness is nowhere?' (1138)

17. Pīṅgiya: 'I do not stay away from him even for a moment, O Brāhmaṇa, from Gotama of great understanding, from Gotama of great wisdom, (1139)

18. 'Who taught me the Dhamma, the instantaneous, the immediate, the destruction of desire, freedom from distress, whose likeness is nowhere. (1140)

19. 'I see him in my mind and with my eye, vigilant, O Brāhmaṇa, night and day; worshipping I spend the night, therefore I think I do not stay away from him. (1141)

20. 'Belief and joy, mind and thought incline me towards the doctrine of Gotama; whichever way the very wise man goes, the very same I am inclined to¹. (?) (1142)

21. 'Therefore, as I am worn out and feeble, my body does not go there, but in my thoughts I always go there, for my mind, O Brāhmaṇa, is joined to him. (1143)

22. 'Lying in the mud (of lusts) wriggling, I jumped from island to island; then I saw the perfectly Enlightened, who has crossed the stream, and is free from passion.' (1144)

23. Bhagavat²: 'As Vakkali was delivered by

¹ Saddhā ka pīti ka mano sati ka
Nāmenti me Gotamasāsanamhā (?),
Yam yam disam vagati bhūripaṇṇo
Sa tena ten' eva nato 'ham asmi.

² At the conclusion of this (i. e. the preceding) gāthā, Bhagavat, who stayed at Sāvattthī, when seeing the maturity of the minds of

faith, (as well as) Bhadrâvudha and Â/avi-Gotama, so thou shalt let faith deliver thee, and thou shalt go, O Piṅgiya, to the further shore of the realm of death¹. (1145)

24. Piṅgiya: 'I am highly pleased at hearing the Muni's words; Sambuddha has removed the veil, he is free from harshness, and wise. (1146)

25. 'Having penetrated (all things) concerning the gods, he knows everything of every description; the Master will put an end to all questions of the doubtful that (will) admit (him). (1147)

26. 'To the insuperable, the unchangeable (Nibbâna), whose likeness is nowhere, I shall certainly go; in this (Nibbâna) there will be no doubt (left) for me, so know (me to be) of a dispossessed mind². (1148)

Pârâyanavagga is ended.

Suttanipâta is ended.

Piṅgiya and Bâvarî, shed a golden light. Piṅgiya, who sat picturing Buddha's virtues to Bâvarî, having seen the light, looked round, saying, 'What is this?' And when he saw Bhagavat standing, as it were, before him, he said to the Brâhmana Bâvarî: 'Buddha has come.' The Brâhmana rose from his seat and stood with folded hands. Bhagavat, shedding a light, showed himself to the Brâhmana, and knowing what was beneficial for both, he said this stanza while addressing Piṅgiya. Commentator.

¹ Yathâ ahû Vakkali muttasaddho
Bhadrâvudho Â/avi-Gotamo ka
Evam eva tvam pi pamuññayassu saddham,
Gamissasi tvam Piṅgiya maññudheyyapâram.

² Asamhîram asamkuppam
Yassa n' atthi upamâ kvañi
Addhâ gamissâmi, na me 'ttha kamkhâ,
Evam padhârehi avittakittam.

INDEX.

The figures of this Index refer to the pages of the Translation, and
the numerals to the Introduction.

- Ababu hell, 121.
 Abbuda hell, 121, 122.
 Ādikka family, 8, 69, 93, 174, 210.
 Aggāḷava temple, 57.
 Aggika-Bhāradvāga brāhmaṇa, 20.
 Āgāṇiya, high-bred, 92.
 Agita-Kesakambali tiṭṭhakara, xii, 86.
 Agita mānava, xii, 188, 190.
 Āgīvika brāhmaṇa, xiii, 63.
 Ahaha hell, 121.
 Āhāra, food? 139.
 Akhila, free from harshness, 78.
 Akiṇṇa, possessionless, xii.
 Alwis, 20, 108.
 Aḷaka city, 184, 188.
 Āḷavaka yakkha, 29.
 Āḷavī city, 29, 31, 57.
 Āḷavi-Gotama, 213.
 Āmagandha brāhmaṇa, 40.
 Anāgāmin, who does not return, 132, 133.
 Anāthapindika, 17, 20, 43, 48, 62, 118.
 Aṅguttarāpa country, 96, 99.
 Anupādisesa, not having the upādis remaining, 167.
 Anuvidita, well-informed, 91.
 Aññatitthiyapubba, 95.
 Āpāna city, 96, 99.
 Appamāda, 55.
 Arahat, saint, 15, 80.
 Ārambha, exertion, 139.
 Arati, daughter of Māra, 159.
 Ariya, noble, 92, 122.
 Ariyamagga, the noble way, 150.
 Ascetic, xv.
 Ascetic life, xv, 67.
 Asipattavana hell, 124.
 Asita isi, 125.
 Asoka, inscriptions of, xii.
 Assaka kingdom, 184.
 Assamedha, horse-sacrifice, 50.
 Assembly of Bhikkhus, 52, 66, 80, 85, 94, 117, 132.
 Asuddhadhamma, impure, 170.
 Asura demon, 51, 125.
 Āthabbana-veda, 176.
 Attadāṇdasutta, 177.
 Azata hell, 121.
 Aviggā, ignorance, xv, 134.
 Bamboo tree, 6.
 Bāvari brāhmaṇa, xii, 184.
 Belief, religious, 3.
 Bhadrāvudha mānava, xiii, 205, 213.
 Bhāradvāga mānava, xiii, 108.
 Bhovādi, 113.
 Bimbisāra, king, 67, 99.
 Bodhisatta, 125.
 Body, xvi.
 Bracelets, 7.
 Brahmandhu, 40.
 Brahman, 14, 23, 30, 45, 78, 117, 142, 189.
 Brāhmaṇadhammikasutta, 47.
 Brahman Sahampati, 119.
 Brahma world, 23, 84, 90, 96, 208.
 Buddha, his relation to philosophy, xii; sprung from the Samanas, xiv; his titles, xv.
 Buddhistic formula, xiii.
 Cows are slain, xiii.
 Dakkhinagiri, 11.
 Dakkhināpatha, 184.
 Dasaratha-Gāṭaka, 106.
 Davids, T. W. Rhys, 66, 75, 131.
 Deity, 17, 43, 86, 186.
 Desire, xv.
 Deva, god, 45, 51, 52, 75, 94, 125, 126, 142, 189.
 Dhammaṭṭariyasutta, 46.

- Dhammapada, xii, 6, 7, 10, 11, 16, 34, 42, 54, 56, 77, 82, 113, 122, 129, 164, 179, 181, 190, 208.
 Dhammarāgan, a religious king, 102.
 Dhammika upāsaka, 62.
 Dhammavinaya, 95.
 Dhaniya herdsman, 3.
 Dhira, firm, 91.
 Dhotaka mānava, xii, 196.
 Disputants, xiii, 157, 167, 169.
 Ditthasutamuta, xiii.
 Ditthi, philosophy, xii, xiii.
 Ditthigata, philosopher, xiii.
 Ditthigatika, philosopher, 158.
 Ditthinivesa, xiii.
 Duttibakkasutta, 148.
 Dvayatānupassanāsutta, 131.
 Ekanañā, a brāhmaṇa village, 11.
 Ekodi, intent on one object, 181.
 Elambuga lotus, 162.
 Erāvana, king of elephants, 63.
 Etymology, 98.
 Extinction, xvi.
 Feer, Léon, 17, 24, 43.
 Fire, offerings to, xiii, 74.
 Forefathers, 51.
 Gahattā, householder, 7, 22.
 Galukḍhi creeper, 5.
 Gaṅgā, 30, 45.
 Gaviphala, 40.
 Gayā, 45.
 Giggabakkūta mountain, 80.
 Gihin, householder, 7, 10.
 Giribbaga city, 67.
 Godhāvarī river, 184.
 Gogerly, 17, 24, 43.
 Gonaddha city, 188.
 Gospel of S. John, 11, 102; S. Luke, 3; S. Matthew, 40, 69.
 Gotama, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 38, 48, 52, 63, 72, 76, 79, 80, 81, 85, 88, 94, 97, 100, 102, 109, 110, 117, 128, 162, 177, 201, 208, 211; cf. Samana Gotama.
 Grammarian, 98.
 Grimblot, xii, 17, 24, 43.
 Guhattākasutta, 147.
 Gānussoni brāhmaṇa, xiii, 109.
 Gappa, recitation, xiii, 110.
 Garāsutta, 154.
 Gāta, 8, 16, 32.
 Gatukannin mānava, xiii, 204.
 Getavana, 17, 20, 43, 48, 62, 72, 118.
 Gina, conqueror, 63, 127, 186.
 Hamsa, 211.
 Hardy, Spence, 11, 20, 48.
 Hell, 23, 41, 55, 121, 122, 123, 124.
 Hemaka mānava, xiii, 201.
 Hemavata yakkha, 26.
 Himavanta mountain, 68.
 Hirisutta, 42.
 Householder, 62, 81.
 Hymns, xiii, 23, 42, 50, 98, 126, 176, 184, 186, 188.
 Ikkhānamkala, 108.
 Inda god, 51, 52, 125, 189.
 Iṅgita, commotion, 140.
 Isi, sage, 28, 34, 48, 59, 75, 116, 125, 174, 192, 196, 197, 201, 208, 210.
 Itihāsa, xiii, 98, 189.
 Kalahavivādasutta, 164.
 Kalandakanivāpa, 85, 87.
 Kāmabhava, 116.
 Kāmasutta, 146.
 Kanha = Māra, 59, 71, 182.
 Kanhābhigātika, of black origin, 103.
 Kanhasiri isi, 124, 126.
 Kapilasutta, 46.
 Kapilavatthu city, 186, 188.
 Kappa, time, xvi, 89, 90, 92.
 Kappa mānava, xiii, 203.
 Kappa = Nigrodhakappa, 58.
 Kappātita, who has overcome time, 62.
 Kappāyana or Kappiya brāhmaṇa = Nigrodhakappa, 59.
 Kasibhāradvāga brāhmaṇa, 11.
 Kassapa buddha, 40.
 Keniya garila, 96.
 Kerubha, xiii, 98, 189.
 Khaggavisāna, rhinoceros, 6.
 Khara yakkha, 45.
 Khāri measure, 121.
 Khattiya, 19, 23, 52, 68, 75, 102, 192.
 Khema = Nibbāna, 171.
 Khettagina, who has conquered the regions, 90.
 Kimsilasutta, 54.
 Kokāliya bhikkhu, 118.
 Kolattbi, 119.
 Kosala country, 48, 68, 74, 121, 184, 186.
 Kosambī city, 188.
 Kosi number, 124.
 Kovilāra tree, 7.

- Kumuda hell, 121.
 Kuppaparikkāsanti, 149.
 Kusala, happy, 90.
 Kusināra city, 188.
 Kuvera king, 63.

 Kaṅkin brāhmaṇa, xiii, 109.
 Kaṇḍāla, 23.
 Karaṇavat, endowed with the observances, 92.
 Kīṇaka, 40.
 Kiṇḍūlaka, 40.
 Kūlavīyūhasutta, 167.
 Kunda smith, 15.

 Lalita Vistara, xii.
 Lamp, go out like a, xvi.
 Lokadhamma, the things of the world, 44.
 Lumbinī country, 125.

 Magadha country, 11, 67, 209.
 Māgandiyasutta, 159.
 Maggadesaka or Maggadesin, teaching the way, xiii, 15, 16.
 Maggadūsin, defiling the way, xiii, 15, 16.
 Maggaḅbāyin = Maggadesaka, xiii, 15.
 Maggagīna, victorious by the way, xiii, 15, 16.
 Maggaḅvin, living in the way, xiii, 15, 16.
 Māgha mānava, 80.
 Maggbīmanikāya, 108.
 Mahāmaṅgalasutta, 43.
 Mahāparinibbānasutta, xii.
 Mahāvīyūhasutta, 171.
 Mahī river, 3.
 Māhissatī city, 188.
 Makkhali-Gosāla tiṭṭhakara, xii, 86.
 Māmaka, follower, 176.
 Māra yakkha, the king of death, the evil spirit, xv, 5, 14, 30, 45, 69, 70, 71, 94, 96, 103, 106, 135, 142, 143, 145, 159, 182, 204, 205.
 Mātāṅga kaṇḍāla, 20, 23.
 Matter, xvi.
 Megasthenes, xii.
 Meru mountain, 125.
 Metre, versed in, xiii, 98, 110.
 Mettā, friendliness, 24.
 Mettagū mānava, xii, 193.
 Migāramātar, 131.
 Milindapañha, xii.
 Moggallāna therā, 118.

 Mogharāgan mānava, xiii, 208.
 Mona, wisdom, 131.
 Moneyya, state of wisdom, 128.
 Muir, 125.
 Mūlaphala, 40.
 Muni, ascetic, xv, xvi, 5, 15, 16, 27, 33, 42, 60, 68, 76, 79, 84, 90, 93, 94, 106, 128, 129, 131, 148, 155, 157, 162, 163, 164, 167, 174, 177, 178, 180, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 210, 213.
 Muṅga grass, 5.
 Muta, xiii.

 Nāga, chief; sinless (na + āgas?), 68, 90, 94, 106, 162, 195.
 Nahātaka, cleansed, 90.
 Nahuta number, 124.
 Nālaka, sister's son of Asita, 125, 127.
 Namuḷi = Māra, 69, 71.
 Nanda mānava, xii, 199.
 Nārada isi, 94.
 Natthikadiṭṭhi, sceptic, 41.
 Nāvāsutta, 52.
 Neraṅgarā river, 69.
 Nibbāna, xv, xvi, 4, 10, 13, 16, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 44, 58, 61, 62, 69, 77, 78, 127, 143, 145, 155, 157, 171, 178, 179, 195, 196, 197, 202, 203, 206, 213.
 Nibbuta, happy, 108.
 Nigantva brāhmaṇa, xiii, 63.
 Nigantva-Nātaputta tiṭṭhakara, xii, 86.
 Nighandu, vocabulary, xiii, 189.
 Nigrodhakappa brāhmaṇa, 57, 58.
 Nirabbuda hell, 121, 122.
 Nirupadhi, free from the elements of existence, 115.
 Nissita, dependent, 141.
 Nivesana, resting-place, dogma, xiii.
 Nivissavādin, dogmatist, xiii, 173, 174.

 Obstacles, five, 3.
 Okkāka king, 50, 51, 186.
 Oldenberg, xii.

 Pabbaggā, leaving the world, 14, 67, 80.
 Pabbagita, ascetic, 64.
 Pabbata isi, 94.
 Padaka, versed in metre, xiii, 98, 110.
 Padhānasutta, 69.
 Paduma hell, 120, 121, 124.
 Pakudha-Kakkāyana tiṭṭhakara, xii, 86.

Kumuda hell, 121.
Kuppapattikkasanti, 149.
Kusala, happy, 90.
Kusinâra city, 188.
Kuvera king, 63.

Kaṅkin brāhmaṇa, xiii, 109.
Kaṇḍâla, 23.
Karanavat, endowed with the observances, 92.
Kinaka, 40.
Kingûlaka, 40.
Kûlaviyûhasutta, 167.
Kunda smith, 15.

Lalita Vistara, xii.
Lamp, go out like a, xvi.
Lokadhamma, the things of the world, 44.
Lumbinî country, 125.

Magadha country, 11, 17, 209.
Māgandiyasutta, 139.
Maggadesaka or Maggadesin, teaching the way, xii, 15, 16.
Maggadûsin, desiring the way, xii, 15, 16.
Maggaggâyin = Maggadesaka, xii, 15.
Maggagina, victorious by the way, xii, 15, 16.
Maggagivin, living in the way, xii, 15, 16.
Māgha mātava, 80.
Maggbimanikâya, 108.
Mahāmahaḡasutta, 43.
Mahāparinibbānasutta, xii.
Mahāvīyûhasutta, 171.
Mahî river, 3.
Māhissatî city, 188.
Makkhali-Gosāla tittakara, xii, 86.
Māmaka, follower, 176.
Māra yakkha, the king of death, the evil spirit, xv, 5, 14, 30, 45, 69, 70, 71, 106, 108, 135, 142, 143, 182, 204, 205.

Mātaṅga, 12.
Matter, 12.
Megasthenes, 122.
Mā, 122.

Mogharāgaṇa mātava, xiii, 208.
Mona, wisdom, 131.
Moneyya, state of wisdom, 128.
Muir, 125.

Mûlaphala, 40.
Muni, ascetic, xv, xvi, 5, 15, 16, 27, 33, 42, 60, 68, 76, 79, 84, 90, 93, 94, 106, 128, 129, 131, 148, 155, 157, 162, 163, 164, 167, 174, 177, 178, 180, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 210, 213.
Muṇḡa grass, 5.
Muta, xiii.

Nāga, chief; sinless (na + āgas?), 68, 90, 94, 106, 162, 195.

Nahātaka, cleansed, 90.
Nahuta number, 124.
Nālaka, sister's son of Asita, 125, 127.
Nammâ = Māra, 69, 71.
Nanda mātava, xii, 199.

Nārada ñi, 94.
Nattikadittî, sceptic, 41.
Nāvasutta, 52.

Naradgarâ river, 69.
Nibbāna, xv, xvi, 4, 10, 13, 16, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 44, 58, 61, 62, 69, 77, 78, 127, 143, 145, 155, 157, 171, 178, 179, 195, 196, 197, 202, 203, 206, 213.

Nibbata, happy, 108.
Nigantha brāhmaṇa, xiii, 63.
Nigantha-Nātaputta tittakara, xii, 86.

Nighandu, vocabulary, xiii, 189.
Nigrodhakappa brāhmaṇa, 57, 58.
Nirabbuda hell, 121, 122.
Nirupadhi, free from the elements of existence, 115.

Nissita, dependent, 141.
Nivesana, resting-place, dogma, xiii.
Nivissavādin, dogmatist, xiii, 173, 174.

Obstacle, 186.
Okkâl, 186.
Olde, 186.

Paṇḍita, 186.
Paṇḍita, the world, 14, 67, 64.

Paṇḍita, 186.
Paṇḍita, 186.
Paṇḍita, 186.
Paṇḍita, 186.

- Pamāda, indolence, 55.
 Pamatta, indolent, 55.
 Pandava mountain, 68.
 Pandita, wise, 91.
 Paññavaggiya, 59.
 Papañka, delusion, 175.
 Parābhavasutta, 17.
 Paramattabakasutta, 152.
 Pārāyana, the way to the further shore, 184.
 Paribbāga, Paribbāgaka, wandering mendicant, 22, 92.
 Pārikhatta tree, 10.
 Parinibbuta, happy, blessed, 60, 61, 76, 136.
 Pariyanta-kārin, wandering on the borders, 181.
 Pāsānaka ketiya, rock temple, 188, 209.
 Pasūrasutta, 157.
 Patitthāna city, 188.
 Pattaphala, 40.
 Pārihārakapakkha, 66.
 Pāva city, 188.
 Phassa, touch, 136.
 Philosophers, two sorts of, xii, 159.
 Philosophy, no one saved by, xiv.
 Piṅgiya mānava, xiii, 209.
 Pleasures of sense, 28.
 Pokkharasāti brāhmaṇa, xiii, 109.
 Posāla mānava, xiii, 207.
 Pubbārāma, 131.
 Pundarika hell, 121.
 Punnaka mānava, xii, 192.
 Purābhedasutta, 162.
 Pūrana-Kassapa tittthakara, xii, 86.
 Purisamedha, sacrifice of a man, 50.
 Ragā, daughter of Māra, 159.
 Rāgagaha city, 67, 80, 85, 87.
 Rāhu, demon, 76, 83.
 Rāhula, Buddha's son, 55.
 Rakkhasa, demon, 51.
 Ratanasutta, 37.
 Revelation, 123.
 Rhinoceros, 6.
 Rūpa, Ruppa, form-possessing, 141.
 Sabhiya paribbāgaka, 85.
 Sāketa city, 188.
 Sākiya = Sakya, Sakka, tribe, 69.
 Sakka = Indra, 58, 117.
 Sakka = Buddha, 58, 196, 197, 202, 207, 208.
 Sakya muni = Buddha, 37.
 Sakya son = Buddha, 96, 109.
 Sakya tribe, 96, 109, 125, 126, 186.
 Sallasutta, 106.
 Sama, equable, same, 179.
 Sāmaka grass, 40.
 Samana, ascetic, xii, xiii, xiv, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 29, 30, 31, 44, 45, 47, 71, 88, 89, 93, 96, 102, 130, 131, 142, 164, 168, 170, 177, 200.
 Samana Gotama, xiv, 86, 98, 100, 101, 109, 165.
 Samanaka, wretched Samana, 20, 45.
 Sambuddha, perfectly enlightened, 28, 31, 102, 186, 187, 188, 190, 213.
 Sammāparibbāganiyasutta, 60.
 Sammāpāsa sacrifice, 50.
 Samkhāra, matter, 62, 134, 180.
 Samsāra, revolution, transmigration, existence, xv, xvi, 89, 115, 133, 141.
 Sanctification, xiv.
 Saṅgha, assembly, 37, 38, 105.
 Saṅghāri, under-garment, 75.
 Saṅgaya-Belaṭṭhiputta tittthakara, xii, 86.
 Sāriputta therā, 103, 118, 180.
 Sātāgira yakkha, 26.
 Sāvaka, disciple, 63, 65.
 Sāvattthī city, 17, 20, 43, 48, 62, 72, 118, 131, 184, 186, 188.
 Sāvitti hymn, xiii, 75.
 Sayampabha gods, 66.
 Schwanbeck, xii.
 Security, worldly, 3.
 Seeds of existence, xvi.
 Sekha, pupil, 182.
 Sela brāhmaṇa, xiii, 96.
 Setavya city, 188.
 Shaveling, 20, 74.
 Signs of a great man, 98, 101, 102, 126.
 Silavata, xiii.
 Sin according to Buddha, xv.
 Snake, 1.
 Sogandhika hell, 121.
 Sopāka caste, 23.
 Sottiya, learned in the revelation, 92.
 Spiegel, 1.
 Subhāsitasutta, 72.
 Sudda, man of the servile caste, 52.
 Suddhantabakasutta, 150.
 Suddhodana king, 126.
 Sugata = Buddha, 5, 38, 65, 73, 115, 121, 122, 132.
 Suñiloma yakkha, 45.
 Sundarikā river, 74.
 Sundarikabhāradvāga brāhmaṇa, 74.

- Suta, xiii.
 Systems, philosophical, sixty-three, xiii.
 Tanhâ, desire, 137, 159.
 Tanhâbhava, 116.
 Târukkha brâhmana, xiii, 109.
 Tathâgata, perfect, Buddha, 14, 37, 39, 42, 58, 77, 78, 103, 190, 207.
 Teachers, famous, xii, 86.
 Tevigga, perfect in the three Vedas, xiii, 98, 110, 189.
 Tidasâ gods, 125.
 Timbaru fruit, 19.
 Tissametteyya mânava, xii, 156, 191.
 Titthiya brâhmana, xiii, 63, 170.
 Todeyya brâhmana, xiii, 109, 202.
 Trenckner, xii.
 Tusita heaven, 126, 180.
 Tuvâtakasutta, 174.
 Udaya mânava, xiii, 206.
 Uggenî city, 188.
 Upâdâna, seizure, 138.
 Upadhi, substance, elements of existence, xvi, 5, 60, 62, 106, 133, 150, 186, 194, 195, 201.
 Upâsaka, follower, adherent, 24, 52, 62, 64, 85.
 Upasampadâ, priest's orders, 14, 80, 95.
 Upasîva mânava, xii, 197.
 Upekhaka, equable, 163.
 Uposatha, fasting, abstinence, 66, 131.
 Uppalaka hell, 121.
 Uruga, snake, 1.
 Ussada, desire, 89, 163.
 Uttâna, exertion, 55.
 Vâda, doctrine, 168, 172.
 Vâdasîla, disputatious, xiii, 63, 109.
 Vakkali, 212.
 Vâkâpeyya sacrifice, 50.
 Vanasavhaya city, 188.
 Vaṅgîsa thera, 57, 73.
 Vasala, Vasalaka, outcast, 20.
 Vâsava = Inda, 64.
 Vâsettha mânava, xiii, 108.
 Vatthugâthâ, 56, 128.
 Veda, 23, 98, 110, 189.
 Vedagô, having passed sensation, 91.
 Vedanâ, sensation, 136.
 Vedisâ city, 188.
 Veḥuvana, 85, 87.
 Vesalî city, 188.
 Vessavana Kuvera king, 63.
 Vessika, man of the third caste, 52.
 Vetaranî river in hell, 124.
 Veyyâkarana, grammarian, xiii, 110.
 Views, philosophical, 8, 25, 150, 152, 153, 159, 160, 162, 163, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 199, 200.
 Vigayasutta, 32.
 Viggâ, knowledge, xv.
 Viggâkarana, science and works, 96, 99.
 Vinikkaya, resolutions, placita, xiii.
 Viññâna, consciousness, 135.
 Viriyavat, firm, 91.
 Visionary, xiv.
 Viveka, seclusion, 174.
 Vocabulary, 98.
 Wheel of the Dhamma, 127.
 Work, 116.
 Works, virtuous, xiv.
 World is void, xvi.
 Yakkha, 25, 29, 45, 72, 78, 167.
 Yoga, attachment, 115.
 Yogakkhema = Nibbâna, 69.
 Yuga, distance of a plough, 67.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	. . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .	ङ	𐬙	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	. . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . .	. . .	ञ	{ 𐬚 (ng) } 𐬛 (N)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	ह	𐬞	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	. . .	. . .	𐬟	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	𐬠	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	𐬡	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 " asper fricatus	. . .	'h	. . .	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 " lenis fricatus	. . .	'h	. . .	𐬣	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. . .	k	. . .	𐬤	𐬞	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	k
14 " aspirata	. . .	kh	. . .	𐬥	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	kh
15 Media	. . .	g	. . .	𐬦	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
16 " aspirata	. . .	gh	. . .	𐬧	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
17 " Nasalis	. . .	ñ	. . .	𐬨	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨 𐬨𐬰 𐬨𐬰	𐬨	ی	ی	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨𐬰𐬭	𐬨𐬰𐬭	ش	ش	ש	
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬢	𐬢	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬢𐬰	𐬢𐬰	تھ	تھ	תה	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬢𐬰𐬭	𐬢𐬰𐬭	د	د	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬢𐬰𐬭	𐬢𐬰𐬭	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬢𐬰𐬭	𐬢𐬰𐬭	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬢𐬰𐬭	𐬢𐬰𐬭	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2			s (ʃ)							
35 " lenis	z									z
36 " asperimus 1			z (ʃ)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (ʃ)							

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

38 Tenuis	...	t	...	३	...	...	...
39 " aspirata	...	th	...	३	...	...	...
40 Media	...	d	...	३	...	...	...
41 " aspirata	...	dh	...	३	...	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	n	...	३	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	r	...	...	३	...	...	...
44 " fricata	...	r	...	३	...	...	...
45 " diacritica	...	R	...	३	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	sh	...	...	३	...	...	...
47 " lenis	zh	...	...	३	...	...	...

Labiales.

48 Tenuis	p	...	...	३	...	...	...
49 " aspirata	ph	...	...	३	...	...	...
50 Media	b	...	...	३	...	...	...
51 " aspirata	bh	...	...	३	...	...	...
52 Tenuissima	...	p	...	३	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	m	...	...	३	...	...	...
54 Semivocalis	w	...	...	३	...	...	...
55 " aspirata	hw	...	...	३	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	f	...	...	३	...	...	...
57 " lenis	v	...	...	३	...	...	...
58 Anusvāra	...	m	...	३	...	...	...
59 Visarga	h	...	...	३	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.								
		II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			ॐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ě			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ö			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	h			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	h̄			ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			र	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	r̄			ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			ओ	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ô (au)	(o)		औ	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			औ	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
BERKELEY

Return to desk from which borrowed.
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

11Feb'49GR

Jul1549GR
29Jan'53WM

MAY 17 1953 LU

100...B

JAN 28 1954 LU

29Jan'55MG

JAN 24 1955 LU

5Oct'55BC

DEC 9 1955 PL
5Jul'56PL

REC'D LD

DEC 17 1956

30Jan'57DP

REC'D LD

FEB 6 1957

21Nov59AR

REC'D LD

NOV 11 1959

13Jul'61MX

REC'D LD

JUL 13 1961

24Feb'62DP

IN STACKS

FEB 10 1962

REC'D LD

MAY 27 1962

4 Aug'62V

REC'D LD

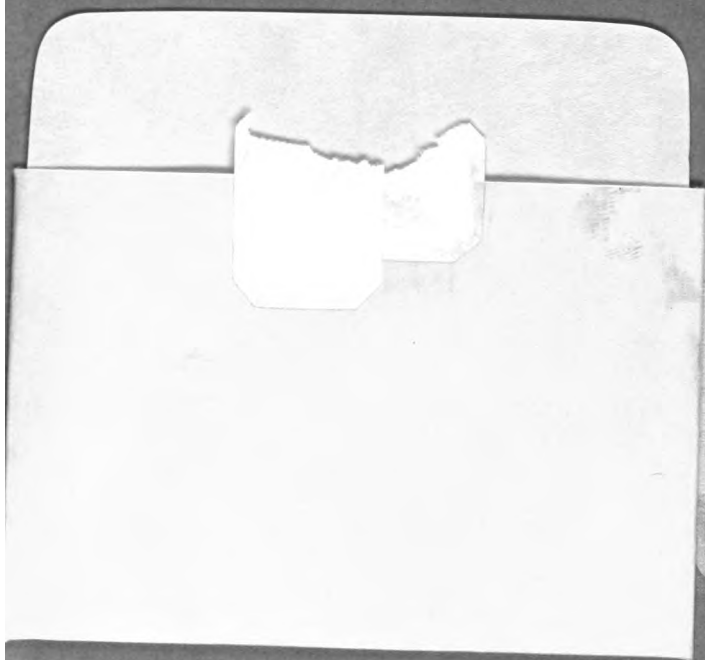
AUG 4 1962
14NOV'64TC

LD 21-100m-9,'48 (B399s16)476

LD 21A-40m-11,'63
(E1602s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

YC 54595





This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UC-NRLF



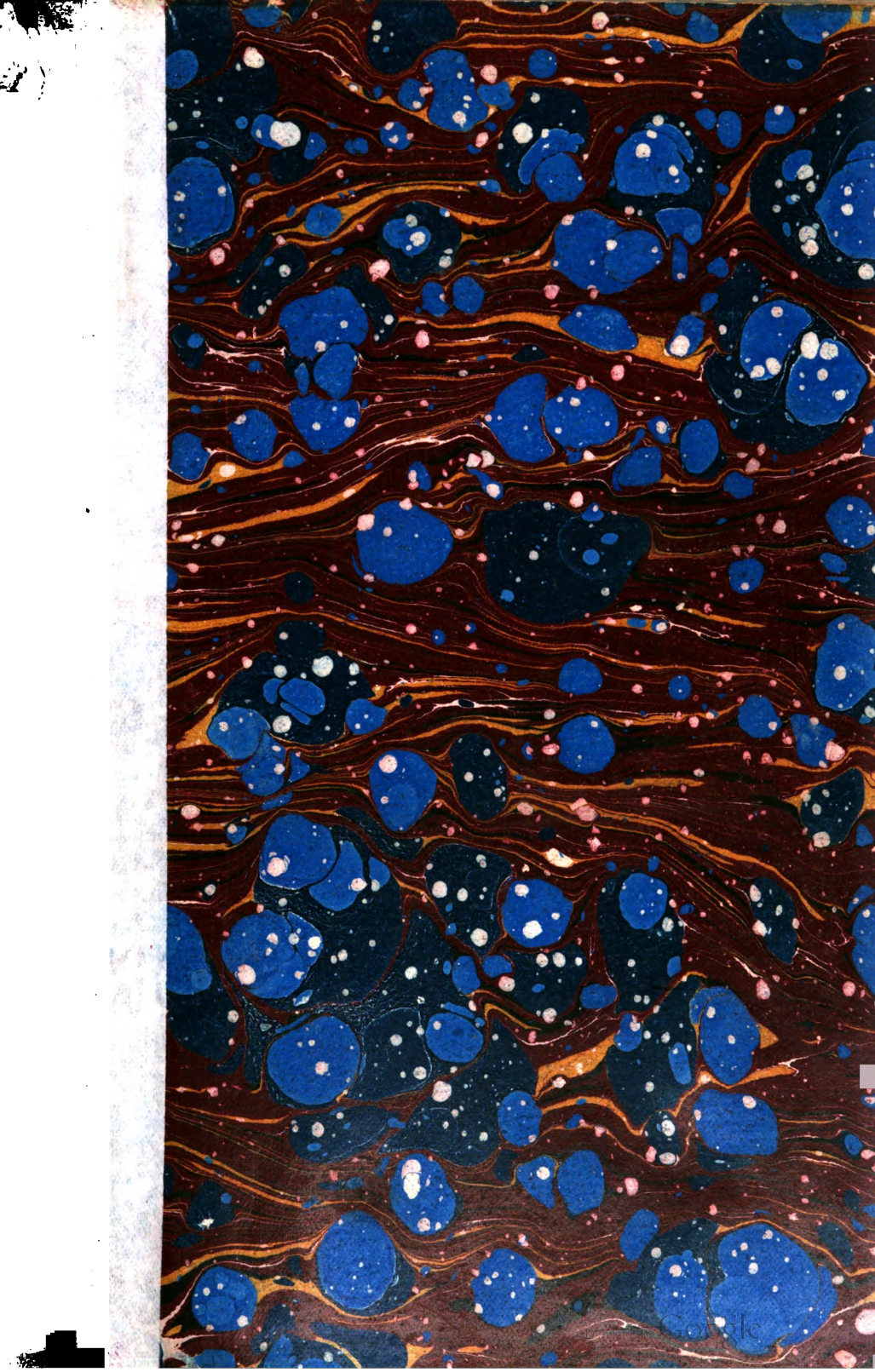
B 3 021 311

REESE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Received *August* 1882

Accessions No. *20476*

Shelf No. *685*
M94



THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

London

HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

7 PATERNOSTER ROW

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XI

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

[*All rights reserved*]

29476

BUDDHIST SUTTAS

TRANSLATED FROM PÂLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

1. THE MAHÂ-PARINIBBÂNA SUTTANTA
2. THE DHAMMA-KAKKA-PPAVATTANA SUTTA
3. THE TEVIGGA SUTTANTA
4. THE ÂKANKHEYA SUTTA
5. THE KETOKHILA SUTTA
6. THE MAHÂ-SUDASSANA SUTTANTA
7. THE SABBÂSAVA SUTTA



AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1881

[All rights reserved]

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE BUDDHIST SUTTAS . . .	ix
1. THE BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE (MAHÂ-PARINIBBÂNA SUTTANTA).	xxix
Introduction	xxxix
Translation	I
2. THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS (DHAMMA-KAKKA-PPAVATTANA SUTTA)	137
Introduction	139
Translation	146
3. ON KNOWLEDGE OF THE VEDAS (TEVIGGA SUTTANTA)	157
Introduction	159
Translation	167
(The Sîlas, pp. 189-200.)	
4. IF HE SHOULD DESIRE (ÂKAÑKHEYYA SUTTA)	205
Introduction	207
Translation	210
5. BARRENNESS AND BONDAGE (KETOKHILA SUTTA)	219
Introduction	221
Translation	223
6. LEGEND OF THE GREAT KING OF GLORY (MAHÂ-SUDASSANA SUTTANTA)	235
Introduction	237
(Mahâ-Sudassana Gâtaka, pp. 238-241.)	
Translation	247
7. ALL THE ÂSAVAS (SABBÂSAVA SUTTA)	291
Introduction	293
Translation	296
Index	309

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the
 Translations of the Sacred Books of the East . . . 317



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

BUDDHIST SUTTAS.

ON being asked to contribute a volume of translations from the Pāli Suttas to the important series of which this work forms a part, the contributor has to face the difficulty of choosing from the stores of a nearly unknown literature—a difficulty arising from the embarrassment, not of poverty, but of wealth. I have endeavoured to make such a choice as would enable me to bring together into one volume a collection of texts which should be as complete a sample as one volume could afford of what the Buddhist scriptures, on the whole, contain. With this object in view I have refrained from confining myself to the most interesting books—those, namely, which deal with the Noble Eightfold Path, the most essential, the most original, and the most attractive part of Gotama's teaching; and I have chosen accordingly, besides the Sutta of the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness (the Dhamma-*kakka*-ppavattana-Sutta), which treats of the Noble Path, six others which treat of other sides of the Buddhist system; less interesting perhaps in their subject matter, but of no less historical value.

These are—

1. The Book of the Great Decease (the Mahā-parinibbāna-Suttanta), which is the Buddhist representative of what, among the Christians, is called a Gospel.

2. The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness (the Dhamma-*kakka*-ppavattana-Sutta), containing the Four Noble Truths, and the Noble Eightfold Path which ends in Arahatsip.

3. The Discussion on Knowledge of the Three Vedas (the *Tevigga-Suttanta*), which is a controversial dialogue on the right method of attaining to a state of union with Brahmā.

4. The Sutta entitled 'If he should desire—' (*Ākañkheyya-Sutta*), which shows in the course of a very beautiful argument some curious sides of early Buddhist mysticism and of curiously unjustified belief.

5. The Treatise on Barrenness and Bondage (the *Ketokhila-Sutta*), which treats of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants, from the moral, as distinguished from the disciplinary, point of view.

6. The Legend of the Great King of Glory (the *Mahā-sudassana-Suttanta*), which is an example of the way in which previously existing legends were dealt with by the early Buddhists.

7. The Sutta entitled 'All the Āsavas' (the *Sabbā-sava-Sutta*), which explains the signification of a constantly recurring technical term, and lays down the essential principles of Buddhist Agnosticism.

The Discipline of the Buddhist Mendicants, the Rules of their Order—probably the most influential, as it is the oldest, in the world—will be fully described, down to its minutest details, in the translation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, which will appropriately form a subsequent part of this Series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East. There was therefore no need to include any Sutta on this subject in the present volume: but of the rest of the matters discussed in the Buddhist Sacred Books—of Buddhist legend, gospel, controversial theology, and ethics—the works selected will I trust give a correct and adequate, if necessarily a somewhat fragmentary, idea.

The age of these writings can be fixed, without much uncertainty, at about the latter end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century before the commencement of the Christian era. This is the only hypothesis which seems, at present, to account for the facts known about them. It should not however be looked upon as anything

more than a good working hypothesis to be accepted until all the texts of the Buddhist Pāli Suttas shall have been properly edited. For it depends only on the fact that one of the texts now translated contains several statements, and one very significant silence, which afford ground for chronological argument. That argument amounts only to probability, not to certainty; and it might scarcely be worth while to put it forward were it not that the course of the enquiry will be found to raise several questions of very considerable interest.

The significant silence to which I refer occurs in the account of the death of Gotama at the end of the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta*¹; and I cannot do better than quote Dr. Oldenberg's remarks upon it at p. xxvi of the able Introduction to his edition of the text of the *Mahā-vagga*.

'The Tradition regarding the Councils takes up the thread of the story where the accounts of the life and work of Buddha, given in the *Sutta Piṭaka*, end. After the death of the Master—so it is related in the *Kulla-vagga*—*Subhadda*, the last disciple converted by Buddha shortly before his death², proclaimed views which threatened the dissolution of the community.

"Do not grieve, do not lament," he is said to have said to the believers. "It is well that we have been relieved of the Great Master's presence. We were oppressed by him when he said, 'This is permitted to you, this is not permitted.' In future we can do as we like, and not do as we do not like."

'In opposition to *Subhadda*,—the tradition goes on to relate,—there came forward one of the most distinguished and oldest of Buddha's disciples, the great *Kassapa*, who proposed that five hundred of the most eminent members of the community should assemble at *Rāgagaha*, the royal residence of the ruler of *Magadha*, in order to collect the Master's precepts in an authentic form. It has already been said above, how, during the seven months' sitting of

¹ Translated below, pp. 112–135.

² This is a mistake. The *Subhadda* referred to is quite a different person from the last convert. See my note below, p. 127.

the assembly, Kassapa as president fixed the Vinaya with the assistance of Upāli, and the Dhamma with the assistance of Ānanda.

‘This is the story as it has come down to us. What we have here before us is not history, but pure invention ; and, moreover, an invention of no very recent date. Apart from internal reasons that might be adduced to support this, we are able to prove it by comparing another text which is older than this story, and the author of which cannot yet have known it. I allude to the highly important Sutta, which gives an account of the death of Buddha, and the Pāli text of which has recently been printed by Professor Childers. This Sutta gives¹ the story—in long passages word for word the same as in the *Kulla-vagga*—of the irreverent conduct of Subhadda, which Kassapa opposes by briefly pointing to the true consolation that should support the disciples in their separation from the Master. Then follows the account of the burning of Buddha’s corpse, of the distribution of his relics among the various princes and cities, and of the festivals which were instituted in honour of these relics. Everything that the legend of the First Council alleges as a motive for, and as the background to, the story about Kassapa’s proposal for holding the Council, is found here altogether, except that there is no allusion to the proposal itself, or to the Council. We hear of those speeches of Subhadda, which, according to the later tradition, led Kassapa to make his proposal, but we do not hear anything of the proposal itself. We hear of the great assembly that meets for the distribution of Buddha’s relics, in which—according to the later tradition—Kassapa’s proposal was agreed to, but we do not hear anything of these transactions. It may be added that we hear in this same Sutta² of the precepts which Buddha delivered to his followers shortly before his death, concerning doubts and differences of opinion that might arise, among the members of the community, with regard to the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and with regard to

¹ Pages 67, 68 in the edition of Childers.

² Pages 39, 60, 61, *ibid*.

the treatment of such cases when he should no longer be with them. If anywhere, we should certainly have expected to find here some allusion to the great authentic depositions of Dhamma and Vinaya after Buddha's death, which, according to the general belief of Buddhists, established a firm standard according to which differences could be judged and have been judged through many centuries. There is not the slightest trace of any such allusion to the Council. This silence is as valuable as the most direct testimony. It shows that the author of the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta did not know anything of the First Council.'

The only objection which it seems to me possible to raise against this argument is that the conclusion is worded somewhat too absolutely; and that it is rather a begging of the question to state, in the very first words referring to the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta, that it is older than the story in the *Kulla-vagga*, and that its author could not have known that work. But no one will venture to dispute the accuracy of Dr. Oldenberg's representation of the facts on which he bases his conclusion; and the conclusion that he draws is, at least, the easiest and readiest way of explaining the very real discrepancy that he has pointed out. We shall be quite safe if we only say that we have certain facts which lend strong probability to the hypothesis that the author of the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta did not know that account of the First Council which we find in the *Kulla-vagga*.

We do not know for certain the time at which that part of the *Kulla-vagga*, in which that account occurs, was composed. I think it quite possible that it was as late as the Council of Patna (B.C. 250), though Dr. Oldenberg places it somewhat earlier¹. But even if we put the conclusion of the *Kulla-vagga* as late as the year I have mentioned, it is still in the highest degree improbable that the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta, supposing it to be an older work, can have been composed very much later than the fourth century B.C.—a provisional date sufficient at present for practical purposes.

¹ Mahâ-vagga, p. xxxviii.

This conclusion, however, is only almost, and not quite certain. It is just possible that the author of the Book of the Great Decease omitted all mention of the First Council at Rāgagaha, not because he did not know of it, but because he considered it unnecessary to mention an event which had no bearing on the subject of his work. He was describing the death of the Buddha, and not the history of the Canon or of the Order.

I must confess however that I only mention this as a possibility from a desire rather to understate than to overstate my case. For, firstly, it should be remembered that the writer does not merely omit to mention an occurrence subsequent to and unconnected with the Great Decease. He does more: he gives an account of the Subhadda incident which is inconsistent and irreconcilable with the legend or narrative of the Rāgagaha Council as related in the *Kulla-vagga*. Had that narrative, as we now have it, been received in his time among the Brethren, he would scarcely have done this.

And, secondly, he does not, after all, close his book, as he might well have done, with the Great Decease itself. It will be seen from the translation below¹ that there was a point in his narrative, the exclamations of sorrow at the death of the Buddha, which would have formed, had he desired to omit all unnecessary details, a very fitting conclusion to his narrative. The Book of the Great King of Glory, the *Mahā-sudassana-Sutta*, closes with the very exclamation our author puts, at this point, into the mouth of Sakka. The *Mahā-parinibbāna* was then over, and the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta* might have then been closed. But he goes on and describes in detail the cremation, the distribution of the relics, and the feasts celebrated in their honour. It is not necessary for my point to show that it was in the least degree unnatural to do so. It is sufficient to be able to point out that the author having done so,—having gone on to the arrival of Kassapa, who was afterwards (in the *Kulla-vagga*) said to have held the Council; having mentioned the very incident which, according to the

¹ See below, Chap. VI, § 21.

other narrative, gave rise to the holding of the Council ; and having referred to events which took place after the Council,—it is scarcely a tenable argument to say that he, knowing of it, did not refer, even incidentally and in half a sentence, to so important an event, simply because it did not come, necessarily, within the subject of his work. And when we find that in other works on the death of the Buddha, referred to below¹, the account of the Council of Rāgagaha has, in fact, been included in the story, it is difficult to withhold our assent to the very great probability of the hypothesis, that it would have been included also in the Pāli Book of the Great Decease had the belief in the tradition of the Council been commonly held at the time when that book was put into its present shape. At the same time we must hold ourselves quite prepared to learn that some other explanation may turn out to be possible. The argument, if it applied to writers of the nineteenth century, would be conclusive. But we know too little about the mode in which the Pāli Piṭakas were composed to presume at present to be quite certain.

The Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta was then probably composed before the account of the First Council of Rāgagaha in the concluding part of the *Kulla-vagga*. It was also almost certainly composed after Pāṭaliputta, the modern Patna, had become the capital city of the kingdom of Magadha ; after the worship of relics had become common in the Buddhist church ; and after the rise of a general belief in the *Kakkavatti* theory, in the ideal of a sacred king, a supreme overlord in India.

The first of these last three arguments depends on the prophecy placed in Gotama's mouth as to the future greatness of Pāṭaliputta—a prophecy found in the *Mahā-vagga* as well as in the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta*. It is true that the guess may actually have been made, and that it required no great boldness to hazard a conjecture so vaguely expressed. The words simply are—

‘And among famous places of residence and haunts of

¹ See p. xxxviii.

busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pâtaliputta, a centre for interchange of all kinds of wares. But there will happen three disasters to Pâtaliputta, one of fire, and one of water, and one of dissension¹.

But it is, to say the least, improbable that the conjecture would have been recorded until after the event had proved it to be accurate: and it would scarcely be too hazardous to maintain that the tradition of the guess having been made would not have arisen at all until after the event had occurred.

What was the event referred to may also be questioned, as the words quoted do not, in terms, declare that the city would become the actual capital. But we know, not only from Buddhist, but from Greek historians, that it did, and this is most probably the origin of the prophecy.

Now the Mâlâlaṅkāravatthu, a Pâli work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, has been translated, through the Burmese, by Bishop Bigandet; and it says,

‘That monarch [Susunâga], not unmindful of his mother’s origin, re-established the city of Vesâlî, and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Râgagaha lost her rank of royal city, which she never afterwards recovered. He died in 81’ [that is, of the Buddhist era reckoned from the Great Decease]². . . .

Relying on similar authority Bishop Bigandet afterwards himself says:

‘King Kâśoka left Râgagaha, and removed the seat of his empire to Palibothra [the Greek name for Pâtaliputta], near the place where the modern city of Patna stands².’

¹ See below, Chap. I, § 28. I have translated *Putabhēdanam*, ‘a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares,’ in accordance with the commentary, which is clearly based on a derivation from *puta*, ‘a bag or bundle.’ But I see that Trenckner in his Pâli Miscellany renders *nânâputabhēdanam* by ‘surrounded by a number of dependent towns.’

At the end the text has ‘from fire or from water or from dissension;’ on which Buddhaghosa says that or stands here for and; and the comment is correct enough, not of course philologically, but exegetically. But in either case the last clause is of very little importance for the present argument.

² Bigandet’s ‘Legend of the Burmese Budha,’ third edition, vol. ii. pp. 115, 183. I have altered the spelling only of the proper names.

It would seem therefore that, according to the tradition followed by this writer, Susunâga first removed the capital to Vesâli, and his successor Kâ/âsoka, who died, in the opinion of the writer in question, in 118 after the Great Decease, finally fixed it at Pâ/âliputta.

If we therefore apply this date to the prophecy we must come to the conclusion that the Book of the Great Decease was put into its present form at least 100 years after the Buddha's death, and probably a little more. But the authority followed by Bishop Bigandet is very late; and no mention of these occurrences is found either in the *Dîpavamsa* or in the *Mahāvamsa*. I think indeed that the whole account of these two kings, as at present accepted in Ceylon and Birma, is open to grave doubt¹ (in which connection it should be noticed that the oldest account of the Council of Vesâli, in the *Kulla-vagga*, Book XII, makes no mention of Kâ/âsoka).

We have next to consider the reference to the relics in the concluding sections of Chapter VI as a possible basis for chronological argument. These sections are almost certainly older than the time when especial sanctity was claimed for Buddhist dâgabas on the ground that they contained particular relics of the Blessed One (such as a tooth, or the bowl, or the neck bone); for if such special relics were accepted as objects of worship when the Book of the Great Decease was put together, they would naturally have been mentioned in the course of Chapter VI.

It is even almost certain that when the sections were put into their present form no Buddhist dâgaba was in existence except at the eight places mentioned in them; and the words are quite consistent with the belief that those eight had themselves then ceased to have any very widespread and acknowledged sanctity. So in Chapter V, § 13, where four places are spoken of 'which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and of awe,' there is no mention of dâgabas at all; and in Chapter V, § 16, it is

¹ See my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' p. 50.

clearly implied that only one dāgaba, or memorial burial mound, should be erected in honour of a Tathāgata, just as one memorial mound should be erected in honour of a king of kings.

When we recollect that in the first and second, and perhaps in the third century before Christ, dāgabas had already been erected in honour of the Buddha in distant parts of the continent of India, and had rapidly become famous as places of pilgrimage, the reasonable conclusion to be drawn from these passages is that the Book of the Great Decease is older than them all; or, at the least, that it was written before any of them had become famous.

On the other hand, there is evidently an exaggerated belief as to the respect in which the Buddha was held by his contemporaries underlying the concluding and other sections of the book. It is probable enough that Gotama was held in deep respect by the simple people among whom he lived and moved about as a religious teacher and reformer. It may well be that the inhabitants of the village where he died gave him a sort of public funeral. But that the neighbouring clans should have vied one with the other for the possession of his remains is quite inconsistent with the position that he can reasonably be supposed to have held among them. It must have taken some time for this belief to spring up, and be received without question.

In a similar way a considerable interval must have elapsed before the beautiful parable in the last section of Chapter I could have given rise to the belief in the miracle (the solitary miracle ascribed to the Buddha, so far as I know, in the Sutta Piṭaka) recorded in the previous section.

So also the comparison drawn between the Buddha and a Kakkavatti Rāga or King of Kings in Chapter V, § 37, and Chapter VI, § 33, can scarcely have arisen till the rise of a lord paramount in the valley of the Ganges had familiarised the people with the idea of a Universal Monarch. Now it was either just before or just after the well-known Councils at Vesāli, of which mention has been made above, that that important revolution took place which raised a

low-caste adventurer to be the first *Kakkavatti Rāga*¹. To the people of that time *Kandragupta* seemed to be lord of the world, for to them India was the world — just as European writers even now talk complacently of ‘the world’ while ignoring three-fourths of the human race.

‘Is it surprising,’ as I have asked elsewhere, ‘that this unity of power in one man made a deep impression upon them? Is it surprising that, like Romans worshipping Augustus, or like Greeks adding the glow of the sun-myth to the glory of Alexander, the Indians should have formed an ideal of their *Kakkavatti*, and have transferred to this new ideal many of the dimly sacred and half-understood traits of the Vedic heroes? Is it surprising that the Buddhists should have found it edifying to recognise in their hero “the *Kakkavatti* of Righteousness;” and that the story of the Buddha should have become tinged with the colouring of these *Kakkavatti* myths?’

In point of fact we know that in later works the attraction of this poetic ideal led to the almost complete disregard of the simpler narrative which seemed so poor and meagre in comparison; and M. Senart has shown how large a proportion of the later poem called the *Lalita Vistara* is inspired by it. When, in isolated passages of the Book of the Great Decease, we find the earliest germs of this fruitful train of thought, we are I think safe in concluding that it assumed its present form after the notorious career of *Kandragupta* had made him supreme in the valley of the Ganges.

All the above arguments tend in one direction; namely, that the final redaction of the Book of the Great Decease must be assigned to the latter part of the fourth century before Christ, or to the earlier part of the following century. And so much alike are it and all the other Suttas translated in this volume in their form, in their views of life, and in

¹ I have ventured in my ‘Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,’ p. 51, to point out that the Councils of Vesāli were very possibly held just at the time when Nanda was defeated by *Kandragupta*. Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, while placing the Councils, like all the later authorities, under an Asoka (probably *Kandragupta*), says (p. 41 of Wassilief’s German translation) that the assembled brethren were fed by Nanda.

the religious doctrines they lay down, that, though it may be possible hereafter to show that some are a little older or a little younger than the others, every one will I think admit that they must all be assigned to about the same period of time. There is not the least reason to believe that either of them is older than the Book of the Great Decease; and the argument has only been confined to it because it alone deals with the kind of subject which can give foundation to chronological conclusions. When the whole of the literature of the Pāli Piṭakas has been fully explored, we may perhaps be able to reach a more definite conclusion.

We are in absolute ignorance as to the actual author of any of the texts I have translated. It is quite evident that they are not the work of Gotama himself; and it is difficult to believe that even his immediate disciples could have spoken of him in the exaggerated terms in which occasionally he is here described. On the other hand, the history of similar religious movements teaches us how quickly such notions spring up concerning the omniscience and sinlessness of the founder of the movement; and it would be better to reserve our judgment as to the impossibility, on this account alone, of those Suttas having been composed even by the very earliest disciples.

It would be of less importance who composed the Suttas if we could be sure that they gave an accurate account of the teachings of the great thinker and reformer whose words they purport to preserve. But though, like all other writings of a similar character, they are doubtless based upon traditions older than the time of their authors or final redactors, they cannot unfortunately be depended upon as entirely authentic. And it will be always difficult, even when the whole of the Suttas have been published, to attempt to discriminate between the original doctrine of Gotama, and the later accretions to, or modifications of it.

But we can already make some steps towards such a discrimination, without much fear of being contradicted.

There can be little doubt but that the doctrines of the Four Noble Truths and of the Noble Eightfold Path, the 'Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness,' were not only the teaching of Gotama himself, but were the central and most essential part of it. I am aware that no method can be more misleading, or more uncritical, than first to form a theory regarding the personal character of the author of a new religious movement—as some later critics of the Gospel History have done—and then to adopt those passages in the sacred books which fit in with that character, and to reject those which oppose it. We cannot begin by postulating that Gotama was a man of high moral earnestness, and of great intellectual acuteness; and then disregard all the passages in which erroneous, and even puerile, opinions or sayings are placed in his mouth. But it does not follow that we are obliged either altogether to reject the evidence of the Buddhist Scriptures as to what Gotama did actually teach, or altogether to accept it.

It will be acknowledged that the Suttas have preserved for us at least the belief of the earliest Buddhists—the Buddhists in India—as to what the original doctrines, taught by the Buddha himself, had been. We have in the Vinaya Piṭaka an invaluable and indisputable record of the mental characteristics and capabilities of these earliest followers of the Buddhist faith. Sanskrit scholars are engaged in elucidating the history of the beliefs in which Gotama was brought up, and which though often modified and frequently denied, still underlie, throughout, all that he is represented to have taught. We have therefore reliable evidence of the system out of which, and we know the system into which, Gotama's teaching was developed. This being so, it will be impossible to refrain, in despair, from the attempt to solve one of the most interesting problems which the history of the Âryan race presents to us. Scholars will never be unanimously agreed on all points; but they will agree in ascribing some parts of the early Buddhist Dharma or doctrine only to the early disciples; and after allowing for all reasonable doubts, they will agree in ascribing other parts to the great Teacher himself. I venture to think

that not only the Four Noble Truths, but the whole of the Seven Jewels of the Law, may already be placed, with certainty, in the latter category¹.

The form, in which these Suttas have been preserved, deserves careful attention. Every reader will be struck at once with the constant repetitions. These repetitions are not essential, and are merely designed to facilitate the learning of the Suttas by heart. Writing was unknown in the age of the Buddha, and probably for long after his time. In all probability indeed, just as the Indians learnt from the Greeks, not the art of coinage, but the custom of issuing a legally authorised coinage²; so it was from the Greeks that they acquired, if not their earliest alphabet, at least the knowledge of the utility of writing. But even for some time after writing was generally known, it was considered a desecration to make use of it for the preservation of the sacred books. This feeling naturally passed away much sooner among the adherents of the popular religious faith of Buddhism, than it did among their conservative opponents. With the latter it is by no means extinct even now, and the first record we have of the Buddhist Scriptures being reduced into writing is the well-known passage in the *Dīpavamsa*, which speaks of their being recorded in books in Ceylon towards the beginning of the first century before the commencement of our era. And as all our copies of the Buddhist *Piṭakas* are, at present, derived from those then in use in Ceylon, we are practically concerned only with those thus referred to in the *Dīpavamsa*³.

The date of the *Dīpavamsa* may be placed approximately in the fourth century of our era; but its author reproduces the continued tradition of the monasteries in

¹ They will be found enumerated, and shortly described, in a note below (pp. 62, 63). I am glad to learn that my friend Dr. Morris is preparing a full account of them, drawn from various parts of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, for his forthcoming work to be accordingly entitled 'The Seven Jewels of the Law.'

² See my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon' (Part VI of *Numismata Orientalia*), p. 13.

³ *Dīpavamsa* XX, vv. 20, 21, quoted in the *Mahāvamsa*, p. 207.

which he dwelt, and he is more probably correct, than not, in the assertion I have quoted. It would follow that the Buddhist Scriptures were, till then, handed down by word of mouth only; and no one who is acquainted with the wonderful powers of memory possessed by Indian priests, who can devote their whole lives to the task of acquiring and repeating their sacred books by heart, will doubt for a moment the possibility of this having been the case.

(Two methods were adopted in India to aid this power of memory. One, adopted chiefly by the grammarians, was to clothe the rules to be remembered in very short enigmatical phrases (called sūtras or threads), which taxed the memory but little, while they required elaborate commentaries to render them intelligible. The other, the method adopted in the Buddhist writings (both Sutta and Vinaya), was, firstly, the use of stock phrases, of which the commencement once given, the remainder followed as a matter of course; and secondly, the habit of repeating whole sentences, or even paragraphs, which in our modern books would be understood or inferred, instead of being expressed.)

The stock phrases, which must be distinguished from the repetitions, belong certainly to a very early period of Buddhism, and many of them recur in Sanskrit as well as in Pāli texts¹. One result of these numerous repetitions of phrases and paragraphs is that the preservation of the text, when once established, was rendered very easy; and that mistakes in the MSS. can now be easily rectified when they occur in such repeated passages. To edit the text of such portions of a Pāli Sutta is therefore a comparatively easy task; and it may be said of all the Suttas here translated, that they have thus acquired a valuable protection against that danger of corruption from various readings which often renders uncertain the text of important passages of works written on the very different and simpler system

¹ Several examples of such passages occur in the present volume in the Ākaṅkheyya- and Mahā-sudassana-Suttas, where they are pointed out in the notes.

to which we are accustomed. On the other hand, however, the catchwords may sometimes have given rise to serious interpolations.

It is open to much doubt whether, in the numerous passages where such stock phrases and repetitions occur, the best mode of translation is to follow word for word the expressions found in the original (but only inserted there to perform a service no longer necessary), or to make use of contractions, the fact of their being so being duly pointed out, either in notes, or by some typographical expedient. Where, for instance, a long paragraph is devoted to what an elder of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants should do, or be, under certain given circumstances, and the whole paragraph is then repeated word for word, of an ordinary member, and of a nun, and of a lay-disciple (*upāsaka*), or of a religious woman (*upāsikā*)¹, it would be possible to convey the whole sense intended, by translating that an elder of the Order, and an ordinary member, and a nun, and a lay-disciple of either sex, should do, or be, such and such things.

But every case of repetition is not so simple as this; such curtailing destroys at least the form and the emphasis of the originals; and it seemed more in accordance with the rules laid down in the prospectus to the Series of Translations from the Sacred Books of the East, of which this volume forms a part, to adhere in all cases strictly to the text. With the exception of the earlier chapters in the Book of the Great Decease, in which a few such contractions will be found mentioned in the notes, I have therefore reproduced almost all the repetitions. The result will not, I trust, be embarrassing to the reader who keeps constantly in mind the aim and origin of these stock phrases and repetitions, and does not allow the wearisome form in which they are presented to shut out from his view the logical sequence of the sometimes very striking ideas which these Suttas contain. I venture to go further and to maintain that it is not necessary or

¹ See below, Book of the Great Decease, Chap. III, §§ 7, 8.

even correct to read through the whole of passages which were never intended to be read. We shall do wisely when coming to a phrase which we already know, to make use of a little judicious skipping, and, noting the course of the argument, to pass on, with even mind, to the next paragraph.

I send forth the following translations with very great diffidence. It is not too much to say that the discovery of early Buddhism has placed all previous knowledge of the subject in an entirely new light; and has turned the flank, so to speak, of most of the existing literature on Buddhism. I use the term 'discovery' advisedly, for though the Pāli texts have existed for many years in our public libraries, they are only now beginning to be understood; and the Buddhism of the Pāli Piṭakas is not only a quite different thing from Buddhism as hitherto commonly received, but is antagonistic to it. I cannot hope that the renderings of the many technical terms, now for the first time submitted to the judgment of students of early Buddhism, will all stand the test of time. So perfectly dovetailed is the old Buddhist system, so utterly different from European Christianity are the ideas involved, so pregnant are the expressions used with deep and earnest religious feelings resting on a foundation completely apart from our own, that the translation of each term becomes a problem of great difficulty and delicacy. Where Gogerly or Burnouf has dealt with any word, the process has been easier: but there are many words they have not touched, and while Gogerly had no sympathy with these ancient beliefs, Burnouf has confined himself chiefly to later phases of Buddhism. There are several paragraphs—such as the one at Chapter I, § 12 of the Book of the Great Decease—which have cost me more time and trouble than the reader of the few words they contain will easily believe; and it would be impossible to add a note to every word justifying the rendering which was finally adopted to convey the Buddhist idea, without involving at the same time some misleading implication.

In order to call attention to the fact, when a word in the original Pāli is one of these technical terms of the Buddhist system of self-training, and when therefore the English expression must be taken in that technical sense, I have throughout written the technical terms with capital letters; and I would invite the special notice of the reader to the words thus distinguished ¹.

Apart, too, from the necessity of great care in the rendering of single words, I have felt bound to make some attempt, however inadequate, to reproduce the style and tone of the Buddhist author, or authors. A mere word-for-word translation, though much easier to make, and perhaps more useful to those engaged in the study of the language would not only fail to do justice to the original, but would even convey a wrong impression to those who are interested in these works from the point of view of the comparative history of religious belief. There is a very real, though peculiar, eloquence in a considerable number of the prose passages, and more especially in the closing sections of each chapter; not the mere rhetorical eloquence of a clever word-painter, but the unconscious eloquence which springs from deep religious emotion. So also in the verses scattered through the Book of the Great Decease, while there is occasional doggerel, there are also one or two passages (such as I, 34; IV, 56; VI, 15-18, and 63) where the rhythm of the Pāli verses is exceedingly beautiful, and the thoughts expressed not devoid of fancy. The translation of such passages has been beset with difficulty; and I am only too conscious how small has been the success attained. But I must ask the reader constantly to bear in mind that words, dull and bare to us, are full of meaning to the Buddhist. 'The Blessed Master came to the Mango-grove' is a very plain statement of supposed fact: but to the earnest Buddhist the mention of 'the Master' calls up to his mind

¹ I regret to say that the printer has very frequently omitted to reproduce these capitals; but they still remain in some places, and the paragraph which explains them is therefore retained.

his highest ideal of what is wise and great and kind; and the Mango-grove is surrounded to him with all the poetry, and is associated with all the tender memories which to the devout and earnest Christian are wrapped up in such names as Bethany or the Mount of Olives. While impressed therefore with the knowledge of having come far short of my ideal, I feel there is for these reasons some justification in asking a kindly consideration for this first volume of English translations from the prose portions of the Pāli Piṭakas.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

BRICK COURT, TEMPLE,

August, 1880.

MAHÂ-PARINIBBÂNA-
SUTTANTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.

IN translating this Sutta I have followed the text published by my friend the late Mr. Childers, first in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and afterwards separately. In the former the text appeared in two instalments, the first two sheets, with many various readings in the foot-notes, in the volume for 1874; and the remainder, with much fewer various readings, in the volume for 1876. The reprinted text omits most of the various readings in the first two sheets, and differs therefore slightly in the paging. The letters D, S, Y, and Z, mentioned in the notes, refer to MSS. sent to Mr. Childers from Ceylon by myself, Subhûti Unnânse, Yâtramulle Unnânse, and Mudliar de Zoysa respectively. The MS. mentioned as P (in the first two sheets quoted only in the separate édition) is, no doubt, the *Dîgha Nikâya* MS. of the Phayre collection in the India Office Library. The other four are now I believe in the British Museum.

The Hon. George Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service published an analysis of this work in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1839; but as he unfortunately skips, or only summarises, most of the difficult passages, his work, though a most valuable contribution for the time, now more than half a century ago, has not been of much service for the present purpose. Of much greater value was Buddhaghosa's commentary contained in the *Su-maṅgala Vilâsini*¹; but the great fifth-century commen-

¹ I have used the copy made for Turnour, and now in the India Office Collection.

tator wrote of course for Buddhists, and not for foreign scholars; and his edifying notes and long exegetical expansions of the text (quite in the style of Matthew Henry) often fail to throw light on the very points which are most interesting, and most doubtful, to European readers.

The *Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu*, a late Pāli work by a Burmese author of the eighteenth century¹, is based, in that part of it relating to the last days of the Buddha, almost exclusively on the Book of the Great Decease, and on Buddhaghosa's commentary upon it. Bishop Bigandet's translation into English of a Burmese translation of this work, well known under the title of 'The Life or Legend of Gaudama the Budha of the Burmese,' affords evidence therefore of the traditional explanations of the text. In the course either of the original author's recasting, or of the double translation, so many changes have taken place, that its evidence is frequently ambiguous and not always quite trustworthy: but with due caution, it may be used as a second commentary.

The exact meaning which was originally intended by the title of the book is open to doubt. 'Great-Decease-Book' may as well mean 'the Great Book of the Decease,' as 'the Book of the Great Decease.' This book is in fact longer than any other in the collection, and the epithet 'Great' is often opposed in titles to a 'Short' Sutta of (otherwise) the same name². But the epithet is also frequently intended, without doubt, to qualify the immediately succeeding word in the title³; and, though the phrase 'Great Decease,' as applied to the death of the Buddha, has not been found elsewhere, it is, I think, meant to do so here⁴.

¹ See 'The Life or Legend,' &c., third edition, vol. ii. p. 149. The date there given (1134 of the Burmese era = 1773 A.D.) is evidently the date of the original work, and not of the translation. Nothing is said in the book itself or in Bishop Bigandet's notes of the name of the author, or of the name or date of the Burmese translator.

² There are several such pairs in the *Magghimā Nikāya*; and the *Mahā-Satippaṭṭhāna-Sutta* in the *Dīgha* is the same as the *Satippaṭṭhāna-Sutta* in the *Magghima*.

³ E.g. in the *Mahā-padhāna-Sutta* and *Mahā-sudassana-Sutta*.

⁴ Childers seems to have been of the same opinion, vide *Dict.* I, 268.

The division of the Book into chapters, or rather Portions for Recitation, is found in the MSS.; the division of these chapters into sections has been made by myself. It will be noticed that a very large number of the sections have already been traced, chiefly by Dr. Morris and myself, in various other parts of the Pāli Piṭakas: whole paragraphs or episodes, quite independent of the repetitions and stock phrases above referred to, recurring in two or more places. The question then arises whether (1) the Book of the Great Decease is the borrower, whether (2) it is the original source, or whether (3) these passages were taken over, both into it, and into the other places where they recur, from earlier sources. It will readily be understood that, in the present state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the Pāli Piṭakas, this question cannot as yet be answered with any certainty. But a few observations may even now be made.

Generally speaking the third of the above possible explanations is not only more probable in itself, but is confirmed by parallel instances in literatures developed under similar conditions, both in the valley of the Ganges and in the basin of the Mediterranean.

It is quite possible that while some books—such as the Mahā-vagga, the Kulla-vagga, and the Dīgha Nikāya—usually owe their resemblances to older sources now lost or absorbed; others—such as the Saṃyutta and the Aṅguttara—are always in such cases simply borrowers from sources still existing.

At the time when our Book of the Great Decease was put into its present shape, and still more so when a Book of the Great Decease was first drawn up, there may well have been some reliable tradition as to the events that took place, and as to the subjects of his various discourses, on the Buddha's last journey. He had then been a public Teacher for forty-five years; and his system of doctrine, which is really, on the whole, a very simple one, had already been long ago elaborated, and applied in numerous discourses to almost every conceivable variety of circumstances. What he then said would most naturally be, as it is represented to have been, a final recapitulation of the most

important and characteristic tenets of his religion. But these are, of course, precisely those subjects which are most fully and most frequently dealt with in other parts of the Pāli Piṭakas. No record of his actual words could have been preserved. It is quite evident that the speeches placed in the Teacher's mouth, though formulated in the first person, in direct narrative, are only intended to be summaries, and very short summaries, of what was said on these occasions. Now if corresponding summaries of his previous teaching had been handed down in the Order, and were in constant use among them, at the time when the Book of the Great Decease was put together, it would be a safe and easy method to insert such previously existing summaries in the historical account as having been spoken at the places where the Teacher was traditionally believed to have spoken on the corresponding doctrines. In the historical book the simple summaries would sufficiently answer every purpose; but when each particular matter became the subject of a separate book or division of a book, the same summaries would be included, but would be amplified and elucidated. And this is in fact the relation in which several of the recurring passages, as found in the Book of the Great Decease, stand to the same passages when found elsewhere.

On the other hand, some of the recurring passages do not consist of such summaries, but are actual episodes in the history. As an instance of these we may take the long extract at the end of the first, and the beginning of the second chapter (I, 20-II, 3, and again II, 16-II, 24), which is found also in the Mahā-vagga. The words are (nearly¹) identical in both places, but in the Book of the Great Decease the account occurs in its proper place in the middle of a connected narrative, whereas in the Mahā-vagga, a treatise on the Rules and Regulations of the Order, it seems strangely out of place. So the passage, also a long one, with which the Book of the Great

¹ On the difference see the note at II, 16. It affects only a few localising phrases in a narrative occupying (in the translation) thirteen pages.

Decease commences (on the Seven Conditions of Welfare), seems to have been actually borrowed by the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* from our work.

The question of these summaries and parallel passages cannot be adequately treated by a discussion of the instances found in any one particular book. It must be considered as a whole, and quite apart from the allied question of the 'stock phrases' above alluded to, in a discussion of all the instances that can be found in the Pāli Piṭakas. For this purpose tabulated statements are essential, and as a mere beginning such a statement is here annexed (including the passages, marked with an asterisk, which have every appearance of belonging to the same category).

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.			OTHER BOOKS.	
Chap. I (34 sections)	§§ 1-10	..	Āṅguttara (Sutta-nipāta).	
"	" § 11	..	" (Kha-nipāta).	
"	" §§ 16, 17 ¹	..	Dīgha (Sampasādaniya) and Samyutta (Satippaṭṭhāna- vagga).	
"	" §§ 20-34	..	Mahā-vagga VI, 28.	
"	" §§ 1, 2, 3	..	Mahā-vagga VI, 29.	
Chap. II (35 sections)	§§ 13, 14, 15	..	Dīgha (Satippaṭṭhāna). Magg'hima "	
"	" §§ 16-24	..	Samyutta "	
"	" §§ 27-35	..	Vibhaṅga "	
Chap. III (66 sections)	§§ 1-10	..	Mahā-vagga VI, 30.	
"	" §§ 11-20	..	Samyutta (Satippaṭṭhāna- vagga).	
"	" §§ 21-23*	..	Samyutta (Iddhipāda-vagga).	
"	" §§ 24-32	1..	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
"	" §§ 33-42	1..	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
Chap. IV (58 sections)	§§ 2, 3	..	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
	§§ 7-11 *	..	Āṅguttara (Katuka-nipāta).	
		..	" "	

¹ Omitted in Po-fa-tsu. See below, p. xxxviii.

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.		OTHER BOOKS.	
Chap. V (69 sections)	§ 10 ..	Anguttara (Duka-nipāta).	
" "	§§ 16-22 } ₁ ..	" (Katuka-nipāta).	
" "	§§ 27-31* } ..	" "	
" "	§ 36 ..	Samyutta (Satippa//hāna-vagga).	
" "	§§ 41-44 ..	Dīgha (Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).	
" "	§ 60 ..	Kulla-vagga V, 8, 1.	
" "	§ 63 ..	Mahā-vagga I, 38, 1.	
" "	§ 68 ..	Kulla-vagga XI, 1, 15.	
Chap. VI (62 sections)	§ 16 ..	Dīgha (Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).	
" "	§§ 36-41 ..	Kulla-vagga XI, 1, 1.	

No Sanskrit work has yet been discovered giving an account of the last days of Gotama ; but there are several Chinese works which seem to be related to ours. Of one especially, named the Fo Pan-ni-pan King (apparently Buddha-Parinibbāna-Sutta, but such an expression is unknown in Pāli), Mr. Beal says²:

‘This appears to be the same as the Sūtra known in the South. . . . It was translated into Chinese by a Shaman called Fa-tsu, of the Western Tsin dynasty, circa 200 A.D.’

I do not understand this date. The Western Tsin dynasty is placed by Mr. Beal himself on the fly-leaf of the Catalogue at 265-313 A.D. And whether the book referred to is really the same work as the Book of the Great Decease seems to me to be very doubtful. At p. 160 of his ‘Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese’ Mr. Beal says, that another Chinese work ‘known as the Mahā Parinirvāṇa Sūtra’ ‘is evidently the same as the Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta of Ceylon,’ but it is quite evident from the extracts which he gives that it is an entirely different and much later work.

On this book there would seem further to be a translated commentary, Ta Pan-ni-pan King Lo, mentioned

¹ Omitted by Po-fa-tsu. See below, p. xxxviii.

² Catalogue of Buddhist Chinese Books in the India Office Library, p. 95.

At pp. 12-13 of the same Catalogue we find no less than seven other works, and an eighth on p. 77, not indeed identified with the Book of the Great Decease, but bearing titles which Mr. Beal represents in Sanskrit as Mahâparinirvâna Sûtra. They purport to be translated respectively—

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| | A. D. |
| 1. By Dharmaraksha of the Northern Liang dynasty . | 502-555 |
| 2. By Dharmaraksha " " | |
| 3. By Fa Hian and Buddhabhadra of the Eastern Tsin
dynasty | 317-419 |
| 4. By Gñānabhadra and others of the Eastern Tang
dynasty | 620-904 |
| 5. By Dharmagupta and others of the Western Tsin
dynasty | 265-313 |
| 6. By Fa Hian of the Eastern Tsin dynasty . | 317-419 |
| 7. Unknown. | |
| 8. By Dharmabodhi of the Former Wei dynasty . | circa 200 |
| Indian author, Vasubandhu. | |

‘The general outline,’ says Mr. Beal¹, ‘is this. Buddha, on a certain occasion, proceeded to Kinsinagara (sic), and entering a grove of Sâla trees, there reposed. He received a gift of food from Chanda, an artisan of the neighbouring town. After partaking of the food he was seized with illness. He discoursed through the night with his disciples, and disputed with certain heretical teachers. At early dawn he turned on his right side with his head to the north, and died. The Sâla trees bent down to form a canopy over his head. The account then proceeds to relate

¹ Indian Antiquary, vol. iv. p. 90.

the circumstances of his cremation, and the subsequent disputes, between the Mallas and others, for his ashes.'

There is a curious echo here of some of the sections translated below; though each particular item of the summary is really in contradiction with the corresponding part of the Pāli book. There is perhaps another Chinese work on the death of Buddha, of the existence of which I have been informed, through the kind intervention of Professor Max Müller, by Mr. Kasawara. It was translated by Po-fa-tsu between 290 and 306 A. D. It seems to be the same as the first mentioned above, but it contains a good deal of matter not found in the Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta (notably an account of the Rāgagaha Council, the mention of which is so conspicuously absent from the Pāli work); and it omits many of the sections found in the Pāli. Mr. Kasawara has been kind enough to send me the following details regarding those omissions, and they are of peculiar interest as compared with the table given above¹:

Chapters in the Pāli.	Sections wanting in Chinese.
1st Chapter . .	15-18.
3rd Chapter . .	21-42.
4th Chapter . .	53-56.
5th Chapter . .	4-6; 16-23; 27-31; 48-51.
6th Chapter . .	27; 48-50.

There is no evidence to show that any of the above works are translations of our Sutta, or in any sense the same work. No reliance, in fact, can be placed upon the mere similarity of title in order to show that a Chinese work and an Indian one are really the same: and I regret that attempts should have been made to fix the date of Indian works by the fact that Chinese translations bearing similar titles are said to have been made in a certain period. But the above-mentioned works on the Great Decease will, when published, throw valuable light on the traditions of different, though no doubt later, schools of Buddhist thought; and a detailed comparison would probably throw a very interesting light on the way in which

¹ On p. xxxvi.

religious legends of this kind vary and grow; and the existence of these Chinese translations affords ground for the hope that we may some day discover an earlier Sanskrit work on the same subject¹.

The cremation ceremonies described in the sixth chapter are not without interest. It would be natural enough that Gotama should have been buried without any of those ritualistic forms the usefulness of which he denied, and without any appeal to gods whose power over men he ignored. But the tone of the narrative makes it at least possible that there was not really anything unusual in the method of his cremation; and that the elaborate rites prescribed in the Brâhmanical books for use at a funeral² were not, in practice, observed in the case of the death of any person other than a wealthy Brâhman, or some layman of rank who was a devoted adherent of the Brâhmins.

In the same way we find that in those countries where the more ancient form of Buddhism still prevails, there are a few simple forms to be used in the case of the cremation of a distinguished Bhikkhu or Upâsaka; but in ordinary cases bodies are buried without any ceremony.

So in Ceylon, Robert Knox—whose rare and curious work, one of the most trustworthy books of travels extant, deserves more notice than it has received, and who was a captive there for many years before the natives were influenced by any contact with Europeans—says³,

‘It may not be unacceptable to relate how they burn their dead. As for persons of inferior quality, they are interred in some convenient places in the woods (there being no set places for burial), carried thither by two or three of their friends, and buried without any more ado. They lay them on their backs, with their heads to the West, and their feet to the East, as we do. Then these people go and wash: for they are unclean by handling the dead.

¹ I have not been able to trace any reference to either of these Chinese works in Mr. Edkins's ‘Chinese Buddhism.’

² See Max Müller in *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. ix.

³ Knox's ‘Historical Relation of Ceylon,’ Part III, Chap. xi.

‘But persons of greater quality are burned, and that with ceremony. When they are dead they lay them out, and put a cloth over their privy parts; and then wash the body, by taking half a dozen pitchers of water and pouring upon it. Then they cover him with a linen cloth, and so carry him forth to burning. This is when they burn the body speedily. But otherwise they cut down a tree that may be proper for their purpose, and hollow it like a hog-trough, and put the body, being disembowelled and embalmed, into it, filling up all about with pepper, and so let it lie in the house until it be the king’s command to carry it out to the burning. For that they dare not do without the king’s order if the person deceased be a courtier. Sometimes the king gives no order in a great while; it may be not at all: therefore, in such cases, that the body may not take up house-room or annoy them, they dig a hole in the floor of their house, and put hollowed tree and all in, and cover it. If afterwards the king commands to burn the body, they take it up again, in obedience to the king—otherwise there it lies.

‘Their order for burning is this: if the body be not thus put into a trough or hollow tree, it is laid upon one of his bedsteads, which is a great honour among them. This bedstead with the body on it, or hollowed tree with the body in it, is fastened with poles, and carried upon men’s shoulders unto the place of burning, which is some eminent place in the fields, or highways, or where else they please. There they lay it upon a pile of wood some two or three feet high;—then they pile up more wood upon the corpse, lying thus on the bedstead or in the trough. Over all they have a kind of canopy built (if he be a person of very high quality), covered at top, hung about with painted cloth, and bunches of cocoa-nuts, and green boughs; and so fire is put to it. After all is burnt to ashes, they sweep together the ashes into the manner of a sugar-loaf, and hedge the place round from wild beasts breaking in, and they will sow herbs there. Thus I saw the king’s uncle, the chief *tirinax*¹ (who was, as it were, the chief primate of all the

¹ Knox’s way of spelling *Terunnânsê*, that is, *Thera*.

nation), burned upon a high place, that the blaze might be seen a great way¹.

I myself saw an Unnânsê burned very much in this way near the Weyangoda Court-house; and there is a long account in the native newspaper, the *Lak-riwi-kirana* (Ceylon Sunbeam), of the 12th March, 1870, of the cremation of a Weda-râla, or native doctor. Bishop Bigandet relates in a note in his 'Life or Legend of Gautama' the corresponding ceremonies still in use in Burma, of which he has been a witness²; but cremation is apparently as seldom resorted to in Burma as it is in Ceylon.

The unceremonious mode of burying the dead referred to by Knox is not adopted in the more settled districts on the sea coast. When at Galle I enquired into the funeral customs there prevalent, with the following result³:

A few hours after a man has died, the relations wash the corpse, shave it; and, having clothed it with a strip of clean white cloth, place it on a bedstead covered with white cloth, and under a canopy (*wiyana*) also of white cloth. They then place two lamps, one to burn at the head, and the other at the foot of the corpse, and use perfumes.

A coffin is then prepared, covered with black cloth; and the body is placed on the coffin, and is then sprinkled over with lavender or rose-water. The women meanwhile bow backwards and forwards with their hands behind their heads, uttering loud wailings over the deceased.

Then the male relatives carry the coffin to the grave, which is dug in one of their own cocoa-nut topes near by, and over which is raised a more or less elaborate canopy or arch of cloths and evergreens (*gedi-ge*), adorned with the tender leaves and flowers of the cocoa-nut. Along the path also from the house to the grave young cocoa-nut leaves and flowers are sometimes hung, and the pathway itself is often spread with clean white cloths.

The tom-tom beaters go first; and the dull monotonous

¹ In the older editions of Knox there is a curious engraving of a body being thus burnt.

² Third edition, vol. ii. pp. 78, 79.

³ See the *Ceylon Friend* for 1870, pp. 109 and following.

sound of their instruments of music is appropriate enough. Then follow some Buddhist mendicants, in number according to the wealth or influence of the deceased, and walking under a portable canopy of white cloth. Then the coffin is carried by the nearest male relatives, and followed by other male relatives and relations—no females, even the widowed mother of an only son, taking part in this last sad procession.

Three times the coffin is carried round the grave: then it is placed on two sticks placed across the mouth of the pit; and one end of a roll of white cloth is placed on the coffin, the other end being held by all the Unnânsês (Bhikkhus) whilst the people repeat three times in Pâli the well-known formula of the Refuges (the simple Nicene Creed of the Buddhists):

‘I take my refuge in the Buddha,
I take my refuge in the Dhamma,
I take my refuge in the Order¹’

Then the priests respond, thrice repeating in Pâli the well-known verse discussed below²:

‘How transient are all component things!
Their nature’s to be born and die;
Coming, they go; and then is best,
When each has ceased, and all is rest!’

Then the Unnânsês let go the roll of white cloth, and whilst water is poured from a goblet into a cup placed on a plate until the cup is full to the brim³, they again chaunt three times in Pâli the following verses:—

‘As rivers, when they fill, must flow,
And reach, and fill the distant main;

¹ *Buddham saranam gakkhâmi*
 Dhammam saranam gakkhâmi
 Samgham saranam gakkhâmi.

² *Anikkâ vata samkhârâ uppâdavaya-dhammino*
 Uppaggitvâ nirugghanti tesam vûpasamo sukho.

See ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 16, and the ‘Legend of the Great King of Glory,’ II, 42.

³ This ceremony is called *Pæm wadanawâ*.

So surely what is given here
Will reach and bless the spirits there!

If you on earth will gladly give
Departed ghosts will gladly live!

As water poured on mountain tops
Must soon descend, and reach the plain;
So surely what is given here
Will reach and bless the spirits there!¹

The relations then place the coffin in the grave, and each throws in a handful of earth. The Unnânsês then go away, taking the roll or rolls of cloth, one end of which was placed upon the coffin. The grave is filled in. Two lights, one at the head of it, and one at the foot, are left burning. And then the friends and relations return to the house.

The funeral now being over, is followed by a feast; for though nothing may be cooked in a house or hut in which there is a corpse, yet plenty of food has been brought in from neighbouring tenements by the relations of the deceased.

There is, however, yet another very curious ceremony to be gone through. Three or seven days—whichever, according to the rules of astrology, is a lucky day—after the deceased person died, an Unnânsê is duly invited to the house in which the deceased died. He arrives in the evening; reads *bana* (that is, the Word, passages from the sacred books) throughout the night; and in the morning is presented with a roll of white cloth, and is asked to partake of food, chiefly of course curries, of those different kinds of which the deceased had been most particularly fond.

¹ Yathâ vârivahâ pûrâ paripûrenti sâgaram
Evam eva ito dinnam petânam upakappati.
Ito dinnena yâpenti petâ kâlakatâ tahim.
Unname udakam vattam yathâ ninnam pavattati
Evam eva ito dinnam petânam upakappati.

These verses occur in the *Tirokudda-Sutta* of the *Khuddaka-Pâṭha*, but in a different order.

This ceremony is called *Mataka Dānaya* (Gift for the Dead), and the previous feast is called *Mataka Bhatta* (Feast in honour of the Dead): the two combined taking the place of an ancient rite observed in pagan, pre-Buddhistic, times, and then also called *Mataka Bhatta*, in which offerings were made to the *Petas*; that is, to the manes, or departed ghosts, of ancestors and near relations. Such offerings are of course forbidden to Buddhists¹, and it is a very instructive instance of a survival in belief, of the effect of the natural reluctance to make much change in the mode of paying the customary funeral respect to deceased friends, that the kind of food supposed to be most appreciated by the dead should still be used in the Buddhist funeral rites.

Another part of the ceremony, that part where one end of a roll of cloth is placed on the coffin while the other end is held by all the assembled *Unnānsês*², is a fragment of ritualistic symbolism which deserves attention. The members of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants were enjoined to avoid all personal decoration of any kind; and to attire themselves in cloths of no value, such as might be gathered from a dust heap (*Pamsu-kûla*), or even from a cemetery. This was a principle to be followed, not a literal rule to be observed; and therefore from the first presents of strips of plain white cotton cloth, first torn in pieces to deprive them of any commercial value, then pieced together again and dyed a dull orange colour to call to mind the colour of old worn out linen, were the material from which the mendicants' clothing was actually made. But the duty of contempt for dress (called *Pamsu-kûlikaṅga*, from the dust heap) was never lost sight of, and advantage was taken of the gifts given by the faithful at funerals to impress this duty upon the minds of the assembled *Bhikkhus*.

Nothing is known of any religious ceremony having been performed by the early Buddhists in India, whether the person deceased was a layman, or even a member of the

¹ Compare the *Mataka-Bhatta-Gâtaka* (No. 18), translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. i. pp. 226 and following.

² See p. xlii.

Order. The Vinaya Piṭaka, which enters at so great length into all the details of the daily life of the recluses, has no rules regarding the mode of treating the body of a deceased Bhikkhu. It was probably burnt, and very much in the manner described in the last chapter of our Sutta—that is to say, it was reverently carried out to some convenient spot, and there simply cremated on a funeral pyre without any religious ritual, a small tope being more often than not erected over the ashes. Though funerals are, naturally, not unfrequently mentioned in the historical books, and in the Birth Stories, there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious ceremony¹.

The date of the Great Decease is not quite certain. The dwellers in the valley of the Ganges, for many generations after Gotama's death, were a happy people, who had no need of dates; and it was only long afterwards, and in Ceylon, that the great event became used as the starting-point for chronological calculations, as the Buddhist era.

The earliest use of the Buddha's Parinibbāna as such an era is in an Inscription of King Nissanka Malla's, of the twelfth century A.D., published by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1875. Both in the historical records of Ceylon, and in those passages of the *Purāṇas* which are the nearest approach to historical records in India, the chronology is usually based on the lists of kings, just as it is in the Old Testament. Only by adding together the lengths of the reigns of the intermediate kings is it possible to calculate the length of the time that is said to have elapsed between any two given events.

If these lists of kings had been accurately kept from

¹ Compare *Mahāvamsa*, pp. 4, 125, 129, 199, 223-225, and Chap. 39, verse 28; *Gāṭaka* I, 166, 181, 402; II, 6; *Dasaratha Gāṭaka*, pp. 1, 21, 22, 26, &c.; *Dhammapada Commentary*, pp. 94, 205, 206, 222, 359; *Hatthavana-galla-vihāra-vamsa*, Chap. IX; Hardy, 'Eastern Monachism,' pp. 322-324.

The words *Saddham*, *Uddhadehikam*, and *Nivāpo*, given in Childers, refer to pagan rites.

On funerals among Buddhists in Japan, see Miss Bird's 'Unbeaten Tracks,' vol. i.

possibly derived from a northern Buddhist Sanskrit work—the date of the Buddha's death is fixed at five hundred years before the time of Milinda¹, who certainly reigned about a century after Christ. I am, therefore, of opinion that the hitherto accepted date of the Buddha's death should be modified accordingly.

This would make the date of the Great Decease about 420–400 B.C. (very possibly a year or two later), and the date of Gotama's birth therefore eighty years earlier, or in round numbers about 500 B.C.

I have discussed the whole question at full length in my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' written in amplification of a paper read in 1874 before the Royal Asiatic Society; and to that work I must refer any reader, who may take interest in these chronological discussions, for ampler details. I have been able here to present only a summary of an argument which is in so far of little importance, inasmuch as the rectification which I have ventured to propose only differs by a little more than half a century from the earliest date which can in any case be suggested as approximately correct (that is about 485 B.C.). The date 543 B.C., still unfortunately accepted outside the circle of students of Buddhism², is now acknowledged to be too early by all scholars who have seriously considered the subject.

¹ Trenckner, p. 3. Mr. Trenckner says in his preface that Buddhaghosa quotes this work, but unfortunately he does not give any reference. See the note below on our Sutta, Chap. VI, § 3.

² See, for instance, Max Duncker, 'History of Antiquity,' vol. iv. p. 364. On the dated Edict, ascribed by some to Asoka, see my note loc. cit., and Oldenberg, 'Introd. to the Mahā-vagga,' p. xxxviii.

THE BOOK

OF THE

GREAT DECEASE.

MAHÂ-PARINIBBÂNA-SUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

1¹. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling in Râgagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Agâtasattu, the son of the queen-consort of Videha origin², the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vaggians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vag-

¹ Sections 1-10, inclusive, recur in the Vaggi Vagga of the Sutta Nipâta in the Ânguttara Nikâya; and there is a curiously incorrect version of § 3 in the Fa Kheu Pi Hu, translated from the Chinese by Mr. Beal, under the title of 'The Dhammapada from the Buddhist Canon,' pp. 165, 166.

² Agâtasattu Vedehiputto. The first word is not a personal name, but an official epithet, 'he against whom there has arisen no (worthy or equal) foe;' the second gives us the maiden family, or tribal (not personal) name of his mother. Persons of distinction are scarcely ever mentioned by name in Indian Buddhist books, a rule applying more especially to kings, but extended not unfrequently to private persons. Thus Upatissa, the earnest and thoughtful disciple whom the Buddha himself declared to be 'the second founder of the kingdom of righteousness,' is referred to either as Dhamma-senâpati or as Sâriputta; epithets of corresponding origin to those in the text. By the Gains Agâtasattu is called Kûzika or Konika, which again is probably not the name given to him at the rice-eating (the ceremony corresponding to infant baptism), but a nickname acquired in after life.

gians, mighty and powerful¹ though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!

2. So he spake to the Brâhman Vassakâra, the prime-minister of Magadha, and said :

‘Come now, O Brâhman, do you go to the Blessed One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and enquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort, and vigorous health. Then tell him that Agâtasattu, son of the Vedehi, the king of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vaggians, has resolved, “I will root out these Vaggians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!” And bear carefully in mind whatever the Blessed One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue!’

3. Then the Brâhman Vassakâra hearkened to the words of the king, saying, ‘Be it as you say.’ And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, he mounted one of them, left Râgagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture’s Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for car-

¹ Evammahiddhike evammahânubhâve. There is nothing supernatural about the iddhi here referred to. Etena tesañ samagga-bhâvan kathesi says the commentator simply: thus referring the former adjective to the power of union, as he does the second to the power derived from practice in military tactics (hatthisippâdhi). The epithets are, indeed, most commonly applied to the supernatural powers of Devatâs, Nâgas, and other fairy-like beings; but they are also used, sometimes in the simple sense of this passage, and sometimes in the other sense, of Buddhas and of other Arahats. See M. P. S. 12, 43; M. Sud. S. 49-53; Gât. I, 34, 35, 39, 41.

riages, and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, sat down respectfully by his side [and then delivered to him the message even as the king had commanded¹].

4. Now at that time the venerable Ânanda was standing behind the Blessed One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him: 'Have you heard, Ânanda, that the Vaggians hold full and frequent public assemblies?'

'Lord, so I have heard,' replied he.

'So long, Ânanda,' rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the Vaggians hold these full and frequent public assemblies; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

[And in like manner questioning Ânanda, and receiving a similar reply, the Blessed One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vaggian confederacy².]

'So long, Ânanda, as the Vaggians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vaggians as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls

¹ § 2 repeated.

² In the text there is a question, answer, and reply with each clause.

belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian shrines¹ in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that Arahats from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahats therein may live at ease—so long may the Vaggians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

5. Then the Blessed One addressed Vassakâra the Brâhman, and said :

‘When I was once staying, O Brâhman, at Vesâli at the Sârandada Temple², I taught the Vaggians these conditions of welfare ; and so long as those conditions shall continue to exist among the Vaggians, so long as the Vaggians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.’

‘We may expect then,’ answered the Brâhman, ‘the welfare and not the decline of the Vaggians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare, how much more so when they are possessed of all the seven. So, Gotama, the Vaggians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha ; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance³. And now, Gotama, we must go ; we are busy, and have much to do.’

¹ *Ketiyâni*, which Sum. Vil. explains as *Yakkha-ketiyâni*.

² The commentator adds that this was a *vihâra* erected on the site of a former temple of the *Yakkha Sârandada*.

³ ‘Overcome’ is literally ‘done’ (*akaraṇīyâ*), but the word evidently has a similar sense to that which ‘done’ occasionally has

‘Whatever you think most fitting, O Brāhman,’ was the reply. And the Brāhman Vassakāra, delighted and pleased with the words of the Blessed One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said : ‘Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the Brethren¹ as live in the neighbourhood of Rāgagaha.’

in colloquial English. The Sum. Vil. (fol. 41) says *akaraṇīyā, akatabbā agahetabbā : yadidaṇ, nipāta-mattaṇ : yuddhas-sāti, karaṇatthe sāmī-vaṭṭanaṇ, abhimukhena yuddhena gahetuṇ na sakkā ti attho*. Upalāpanā, which I have only met with here, must mean ‘humbug, cajolery, diplomacy;’ see the use of the verb *upa-lāpeti*, at Mahā Vagga V, 2, 21; Gāt. II, 266, 267; Pât. in the 70th Pât. Sum. Vil. explains it, at some length, as making an alliance, by gifts, with hostile intent, which comes to much the same thing. The root I think is *lî*.

¹ The word translated ‘brethren’ throughout is in the original *bhikkhû*, a word most difficult to render adequately by any word which would not, to Christians and in Europe, connote something different from the Buddhist idea. A *bhikkhu*, literally ‘beggar,’ was a disciple who had joined Gotama’s order; but the word refers to their renunciation of worldly things, rather than to their consequent mendicancy; and they did not really beg in our modern sense of the word. Hardy has ‘priests;’ I have elsewhere used ‘monks’ and sometimes ‘beggars’ and ‘members of the order.’ This last is, I think, the best rendering; but it is too long for constant repetition, as in this passage, and too complex to be a really good version of *bhikkhu*. The members of the order were not priests, for they had no priestly powers. They were not monks, for they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order (and constantly did so and do so still) whenever they chose. They were not beggars, for they had none of the mental and moral qualities associated with that word. ‘Brethren’ connotes very much the position in which they stood to one another; but I wish there were a better word to use in rendering *bhikkhu*.

And he did so; and returned to the Blessed One, and informed him, saying :

‘The company of the Brethren, Lord, is assembled, let the Blessed One do as seemeth to him fit.’

And the Blessed One arose, and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the Brethren, and said :

‘I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said the Brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he spake as follows :

‘So long, O mendicants, as the brethren meet together in full and frequent assemblies—so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the order—so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the order as now laid down—so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence¹—so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude—so long as the brethren so train their minds² that good and holy men shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease

¹ ‘Ponobhavikâ’ punabbhava-dâyikâ. (S. V. fol. 80.)

² ‘Paṅkattam yeva satim upaṭṭhāpessanti’ ti attano abhantare satim upaṭṭhāpessanti. (S. V. fol. 80.)

—so long may the brethren be expected, not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well-instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

7. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business—so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk—so long as the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness—so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society—so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, sinful desires—so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions, or intimates of sinners—so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way [to Nirvāna¹] because they

¹'Oramattakenā' ti avaramattakena appamattakena. 'Antarā' ti arahattam appatvā' va etth' antare. 'Vosānan' ti.... osakkanam idam vuttam hoti. Yāva sīla-pārisuddhi-mattena vā vipassanā-mattena vā sotāpanna-bhāva-mattena vā sakadāgāmi-bhāva-mattena vā anāgāmi-bhāva-mattena vā 'vosānam' na 'āpaggissanti' nāma 'vuddhi yeva bhikkhūnam pāṭikamkhā no parihāni.' S. V. (fol. 171). This is an interesting analogue to Philippians iii. 13: 'I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark,' &c. See also below, Chap. V, § 68.

have attained to any lesser thing—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

8. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

‘So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of sin¹, full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

9. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

¹ The exact distinction between *hiri* and *ottappa* is here explained by Buddhaghosa as follows :

‘*Hirimanâ*’ ti *pâpa-giguḷḷhana-lakkhanâya hiriyaṁ yutaṭṭhâ*. ‘*Ottâpî*’ ti *pâpato bhaya-lakkhanena ottappena samannâgatâ* : that is, loathing sin as contrasted with fear of sin. But this is rather a gloss than an exact and exclusive definition. *Ahirikâ* is shamelessness, *anotappaṁ* frowardness. At *Gât. I*, 207 we find *hiri* described as subjective, and *ottappa* as objective, modesty of heart as contrasted with decency in outward behaviour.

‘So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

10. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

‘So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold perception due to earnest thought, that is to say, the perception of impermanency, of non-individuality¹, of corruption, of the danger of sin, of sanctification, of purity of heart, of Nirvâna, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

11. ‘Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :

¹ For a further explanation of the meaning of anattam see Gotama's second discourse in the Mahâ Vagga I, 6: 38-47. Buddhaghosa makes no special comment here on either of the seven perceptions.

‘So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness of action, speech, and thought amongst the saints, both in public and in private—so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with the upright and the holy, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the order, down even to the mere contents of a begging bowl—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practice, both in public and in private, of those virtues which (unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished) are productive of freedom¹, and praised by the wise; which are untarnished by the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts²; and which are conducive to high and holy thoughts—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints, cherishing, both in public and in private, that noble and saving faith which leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these six conditions shall continue to

¹ Buddhaghosa takes this in a spiritual sense, ‘*tâni pan’ etâni (sîlâni) tanhâ-dâsavyato moketvâ bhugissa-bhâva-karâto bhugissâni*:’ that is, ‘These virtues are bhugissâni because they bring one to the state of a free man by delivering him from the slavery of craving.’

² *Tanhâ-di//hîhi aparâmat//hattâ, idam nâma tvam âpanapubbo ti kenâki paramat//hum asakkuneyyattâ ka, ‘aparâmat//hâni’* (S.V. fol. 170), that is, ‘These virtues are called *aparâmat//hâni* because they are untarnished by craving or delusion, and because no one can say of him who practices them, “you have been already guilty of such and such a sin.”’ Craving is here the hope of a future life in heaven, and delusion the belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (the two nissayas) which are condemned as unworthy inducements to virtue.

exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these six conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

12. And whilst the Blessed One stayed there at Râgagaha on the Vulture's Peak he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance¹.'

¹ This paragraph is spoken of as if it were a well-known summary, and it is constantly repeated below. The word I have rendered 'earnest contemplation' is samâdhi, which occupies in the Pâli Piṭakas very much the same position as faith does in the New Testament; and this section shows that the relative importance of samâdhi, paññâ, and sîla played a part in early Buddhism just as the distinction between faith, reason, and works did afterwards in Western theology. It would be difficult to find a passage in which the Buddhist view of the relation of these conflicting ideas is stated with greater beauty of thought, or equal succinctness of form.

The expression 'set round with' is in Pâli paribhâvita, which Dr. Morris holds to be etymologically exactly parallel to our phrase 'perfected by,' on the ground that facio is a causal of the Latin representative of the Sanskrit root bhû. In the *Ketokhila Sutta* of the *Magghima Nikâya* eggs are said to be paribhâvitâni by a brooding hen. Buddhaghosa says simply sîla-paribhâvito ti âdesu yamhi sîle /hatvâ magga-samâdhiṃ nibbattenti so tena sîlena paribhâvito. 'The samâdhi belonging to the (Noble Eightfold) Path is said to be paribhâvito by that virtue, in which they (that is, the converted) are steadfast whilst they practice the samâdhi.'

13. Now when the Blessed One had sojourned at Râgagaha as long as he pleased, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go to Ambalattikâ.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda in assent, and the Blessed One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambalattikâ.

14. There the Blessed One stayed in the king's house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

15. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Ambalattikâ, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Nâlandâ.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Nâlandâ; and there, at Nâlandâ, the Blessed One stayed in the Pâvârîka mango grove.

16. ¹Now the venerable Sâriputta came to the

¹ This conversation is given at length in the Sampasâdaniya Sutta of the Dîgha Nikâya, and also in the Satipattihâna Vagga of the Samyutta Nikâya. I have compressed mere repetitions at the places marked with [] where the preceding clauses are, in the text, repeated in full.

place where the Blessed One was, and having saluted him, took his seat respectfully at his side, and said: 'Lord! such faith have I in the Blessed One, that methinks there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether Samana or Brâhman, who is greater and wiser than the Blessed One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.'

'Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sâriputta: verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Arahât Buddhas, comprehending their minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their doctrine, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what salvation they attained to?'

'Not so, O Lord!'

'Of course then thou hast perceived all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be Arahât Buddhas comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours]?'

'Not so, O Lord!'

'But at least then, O Sâriputta, thou knowest me as the Arahât Buddha now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I have mentioned]!'

'Not even that, O Lord!'

'You see then, Sâriputta, that you know not the hearts of the Arahât Buddhas of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?'

17. 'O Lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the Arahât Buddhas that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage

of the faith. Just, Lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and toranas, and with one gate alone; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only friends. And he, on going over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. That might well be. Yet all living things of larger size that entered or left the city, would have to do so by that gate. Thus only is it, Lord, that I know the lineage of the faith. I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the past, putting away all lust, ill-will, sloth, pride, and doubt; knowing all those mental faults which make men weak; training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity; thoroughly exercising themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha of to-day, has [done so] now¹.

18. There in the Pavārika mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk

¹ The tertium quid of the comparison is the completeness of the knowledge. Sāriputta acknowledges that he was wrong in jumping to the wide conclusion that his own lord and master was the wisest of all the teachers of the different religious systems that were known to him. So far—after the cross-examination by the Buddha—he admits that his knowledge does not reach. But he maintains that he does know that which is, to him, after all the main thing, namely, that all the Buddhas must have passed through the process here laid down as leading up to Buddhahood. The Pāli of ‘the full fruition of Enlightenment’ is *anuttaram sammā-sambodhiṃ*, which might be rendered ‘Supreme Buddhahood.’

with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

19. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Nâlandâ, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Pâtaligâma.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pâtaligâma.

20. ¹ Now the disciples at Pâtaligâma heard of his arrival there, and they went to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest house. And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Then the Pâtaligâma disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest house, bowing to the Blessed One and keeping him on their right as they past him². On arriving there they made the rest

¹ From this sentence down to the end of the verses at Chap. II, § 3, is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahâ Vagga VI, 28, 1, to VI, 29, 2.

² It would be very rude to have left him otherwise. So in Europe a similar custom is carried still further, persons leaving the royal presence being expected to go out backwards.

house fit in every way for occupation¹, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they returned to the Blessed One, and bowing, stood beside him, and said: 'All things are ready, Lord! It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.'

22. And the Blessed One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Blessed One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pâtali-gâma disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Blessed One, against the eastern wall, and facing towards the west.

23. ²Then the Blessed One addressed the Pâtali-gâma disciples, and said: 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of Brâhmans, nobles, heads of houses, or Samanas—

¹ With reference to Oldenberg's note at Mahâ Vagga, p. 384, it may be mentioned that Buddhaghosa says here, 'sabba-santharin' ti yathâ sabbam santhatam yeva. (S. V. fol. 7e.)

² The following sentences contain a synopsis of what was merely the elementary righteousness, the Âdi-brahma-kariyam, quite distinct from, and not for a moment to be compared in glory with the Magga-brahma-kariyam, the system developed in the Noble Eightfold Path. It will have been seen above, § 11, that the latter, to be perfect, must be untarnished by the attraction of the hope of heaven or the fear of hell.

he enters shyly and confused; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe¹. This, O householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer!

24. 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, Brâhmins, heads of houses, or members of the order—he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer.'

25. When the Blessed One had thus taught the disciples, and incited them, and roused them, and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying, 'The night is far spent, O householders. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.' 'Even so, Lord!' answered the disciples of Pâtaligâma, and they rose from their seats, and bowing to the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Blessed One, not long after the disciples

¹ Four such states are mentioned, apâya, duggati, vinipâto, and nirayo, all of which are temporary states. The first three seem to be synonyms. The last is one of the four divisions into which the first is usually divided, and is often translated hell; but not being an eternal state, and not being dependent or consequent upon any judgment, it cannot accurately be so rendered.

of Pâtaligâma had departed thence, entered into his private chamber.

26. At that time Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pâtaligâma to repel the Vaggians, and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers.

27. And the Blessed One, with his great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pâtaligâma. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ânanda: 'Who is it then, Ânanda, who is building a fortress at Pâtaligâma?'

'Sunîdha and Vassakâra, Lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vaggians.'

28. They act, Ânanda, as if they had consulted with the Tâvatimsa angels. [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]: 'And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pâtali-putta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares. But three dangers will hang over Pâtali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension¹.'

¹ This paragraph is of importance to the orthodox Buddhist as proving the Buddha's power of prophecy and the authority of the

29. Now Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Blessed One :

‘May the venerable Gotama do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house to-day.’ And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. Then when Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes; and informed the Blessed One, saying :

Buddhist scriptures. To those who conclude that such a passage must have been written after the event that is prophesied, it is valuable evidence of the age both of the Mahâ Vagga and of the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta;—evidence, however, that cannot as yet be applied to its full extent, as the time at which Pâṭali-gâma had grown into the great and important city of Pâṭali-putta is not as yet known with sufficient certainty. The late Burmese tradition on this point given in Bigandet's *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, vol. ii, p. 183, can scarcely be depended upon, though it doubtless rests on older documents, and is mentioned also by Hiouen Thsang.

The curious popular belief as to good and bad fairies haunting the sites of houses gave rise to a quack science, akin to astrology, called *vatthu-viggâ*, which Buddhaghosa explains here at some length, and which is frequently condemned elsewhere in the Pâli Piṭakas. See, for instance, § 1 of the Mahâ-sîlam, translated below in the *Tevigga Sutta*. The belief is turned to ridicule in the edifying legend, No. 40, in my ‘*Buddhist Birth Stories*,’ pp. 326–334.

‘The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready.’

And the Blessed One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Sunidha and Vassakâra, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Blessed One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One gave thanks in these verses:—

‘Wheresoe’er the prudent man shall take up his
abode

Let him support there good and upright men of
self-control.

Let him give gifts to all such deities as may
be there.

Revered, they will revere him: honoured, they
honour him again;

Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her
only son.

And the man who has the grace of the gods, good
fortune he beholds¹.

¹ This passage gives Buddhaghosa a good deal of difficulty, as it apparently inculcates offerings to the gods, which is contrary not only to both the letter and spirit of Buddhism, but also to the practice of Buddhists. He explains away the gifts to the deities by saying they are gifts of merit only (patti)—the giver giving the four necessities to Bhikkhus, and then expressing a wish that the Devatâs should share in his puñña. I am inclined to think, on the authority of the Deva-dhamma Gâtaka (No. 9 in ‘Buddhist

32. And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they followed him as he went, saying, 'The gate the Samana Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate he went out at was called Gotama's gate.

33. But the Blessed One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing¹; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, while some made rafts of basket-work². Then the Blessed One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, vanished from this side of the river, and stood on the further bank with the company of the brethren.

34. And the Blessed One beheld the people looking for boats and rafts, and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song:—

'They who cross the ocean dream
Making a solid path across the pools—

Birth Stories'), that by the deities are here meant the 'good and upright men of self-control,' mentioned in the previous clause. The verses were perhaps originally non-Buddhistic.

¹ Samatittikā kākapeyyā. See the note on Tevigga Sutta I, 19, translated below, where the same expression occurs.

² Ulumpam ti pāram gamanattāya āniyo kottetvā katam; kullam ti valli-ādāhi bandhitvā katabbam, says Buddhaghosa. The spelling u/lumpam would correspond better to the Sanskrit form uḍupa, and has been chosen by Childers in his dictionary, and by Oldenberg in his transliteration of this passage (Mahā Vagga VI, 28 : 11, 12).

Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed!¹

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ That is, those who cross the 'ocean drear' of *tanhâ*, or craving; avoiding, by means of the 'dyke' or causeway of the Noble Path, the 'pools' or shallows of lust, and ignorance, and delusion (comp. Dh. v. 91), whilst the vain world looks for salvation from rites, and ceremonies, and gods,—'these are the wise, these are the saved indeed!'

How the metre of the verses in the text fell into the confusion in which it at present stands is not easy to see. One would expect—

Ye *visagga pallalâni taranti annavam saram*

Kullam hi gano bandhati tinnâ medhâvino ganâ.

That a gloss can creep into the text, even in verses, is clear from the indisputable instance at *Gâtaka* II, 35; and the words *setum katvâna* would have been a very natural gloss had the passage once stood as above. Then supposing that a copyist or reciter had found the words *ye visagga pallalâni setum katvâna taranti annavam saram*, he might have corrected, as he thought, the order of the words so as to avoid any possibility of the words being taken to mean that the *setu*, the solid causeway, was made over the *annavam saram*, the vastly deep, which would be palpably absurd. Buddhaghosa found *setum katvâna* in the text, but it is not possible to tell in what order he found the words. The Turnour MS. of the *Sumangala Vilâsini* has *pabandhati*, but a Ceylon copy of the *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* confirms the Burmese reading *bandhati* at *Mahâ Vagga* VI, 28, 13. I need scarcely say that the translation follows the printed text. We know too little about the history of the Pâli Suttas to be able to do more than make a passing note of such curiosities.

On vanishing away from a place, comp. below, III, 22.

CHAPTER II.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Koṭigâma.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

The Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Koṭigâma; and there he stayed in the village itself¹.

2. And at that place the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It is through not understanding and grasping four Noble Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I!'

'And what are these four?'

'The noble truth about sorrow; the noble truth about the cause of sorrow; the noble truth about the cessation of sorrow; and the noble truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these noble truths are grasped and known the craving for existence is rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and then there is no more birth!'

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said:

¹ As will be observed from the similar passages that follow, there is a regular sequence of clauses in the set descriptions of the Buddha's movements. The last clause should specify the particular grove or house where the Blessed One stayed; but it is also (in this and one or two other cases) inserted with due regularity even when it adds nothing positive to the sense.

‘By not seeing the four Noble Truths as they really are,
Long is the path that is traversed through many a birth;
When these are grasped, the cause of birth is then removed,
The root of sorrow rooted out, and there is no more birth.’

4. There too, while staying at Koṭigâma, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. ‘Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils,—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.’

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as was convenient at Koṭigâma, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: ‘Come, Ânanda, let us go on to the villages of Nâdika.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed proceeded to the villages of Nâdika with a great company of the brethren; and there, at Nâdika, the Blessed One stayed at the Brick Hall¹.

¹ At first Nâdika is (twice) spoken of in the plural number; but then, thirdly, in the last clause, in the singular. Buddhaghosa

6. And the venerable Ânanda went to the Blessed One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'The brother named Sâḷha has died at Nâdika, Lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nandâ has died, Lord, at Nâdika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny?' And in the same terms he enquired concerning the devout Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugâtâ, the devout Kakudha, and Kâlinga, and Nikata, and Kaṭissabha, and Tuttha, and Santuttha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.

7. 'The brother named Sâḷha, Ânanda, by the destruction of the great evils has by himself, and in this world, known and realised and attained to Arahatship, and to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nandâ, Ânanda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to this world, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ânanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, hatred, and delusion has become a Sakadâgâmin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout woman Sugâtâ, Ânanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salva-

explains this by saying that there were two villages of the same name on the shore of the same piece of water. On the public resting-place for travellers, which in this instance bore the proud title of Brick Hall, see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 280-285.

tion¹. The devout Kakudha, Ânanda, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. So also is the case with Kâlinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty devout men of Nâdika. More than ninety devout men of Nâdika, who have died, Ânanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, hatred, and delusion, become Sakadâgâmins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nâdika who have died, Ânanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of final salvation.

8. 'Now there is nothing strange in this, Ânanda, that a human being should die, but that as each one does so you should come to the Buddha, and enquire about them in this manner, that is wearisome to the Buddha. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself, "Hell is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."

9. 'What then, Ânanda, is this mirror of truth? It is the consciousness that the elect disciple is in this world possessed of faith in the Buddha—

¹ See 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-110, and below, VI, 9.

believing the Blessed One to be the Holy One, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Blessed Buddha. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Truth—believing the truth to have been proclaimed by the Blessed One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Order—believing the multitude of the disciples of the Blessed One who are walking in the four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding — believing this church of the Buddha to be worthy of honour, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to high and holy thought¹.

10. 'This, Ânanda, is the way, the mirror of truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself: "Hell is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."'

11. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nâdika the

¹ See above, § I, 11.

Blessed One addressed to the brethren that comprehensive religious discourse on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

‘Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.’

12. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Nâdika, he addressed Ānanda, and said: ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Vesâli.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesâli; and there at Vesâli the Blessed One stayed at Ambapâli’s grove.

13. Now there the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you.’

14. ‘And how does a brother become mindful?’

‘Herein, O mendicants, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving—while subject to sensations, let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief arising from the craving which follows our sensation—and so also

as he thinks or reasons or feels let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or reasoning, or feeling.'

15. 'And how does a brother become thoughtful?'

'He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in going out and coming in, in looking and watching, in bending in his arm or stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or carrying his bowl, in eating and drinking, in consuming or tasting, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

'Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you¹.'

¹ This doctrine of being 'mindful and thoughtful'—*sato sampagāno*—is one of the lessons most frequently inculcated in the Pāli Piṭakas, and is one of the 'Seven Jewels of the Law.' It is fully treated of in each of the Nikāyas, forming the subject of the Mahā Satippaṭṭhāna Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya, and the Satippaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Maggħima Nikāya, and the Satippaṭṭhāna Vaggo of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, as well as of various passages in the Aṅguttara Nikāya and of the work called Vibhaṅga in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. I am glad to learn that Dr. Morris intends to collect and compare all these passages in his forthcoming work on the 'Seven Jewels of the Law.' These sections of the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta and the treatment in the Vibhaṅga have preserved, in Dr. Morris's opinion, the oldest form of the doctrine. Compare Chap. II, § 34.

Buddhaghosa has no comment here on the subject itself, reserving what he has to say for the comment on the Suttas devoted entirely to it; but he observes in passing that the reason why the Blessed One laid stress, at this particular time and place, on the necessity of being 'mindful and thoughtful,' was because of the imminent approach of the beautiful courtesan in whose grove they were staying. The use of the phrase *sati upaṭṭhāpetabbā* below, Chap. V, § 13. (text, p. 51), in reference to the way in which women should be treated, is quite in accordance with this explanation. But see the next note.

16. ¹ Now the courtesan Ambapâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesâli, and was staying at her mango grove. And ordering a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and proceeded with her train towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

17. Then she—instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words—addressed the Blessed One, and said:

‘May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.’

And the Blessed One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapâli the courtesan saw that the Blessed One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she past him, she departed thence.

¹ From this point down to the words ‘he rose from his seat,’ in § II, 24, is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahâ Vagga VI, 30, 1, to VI, 30, 6. But the passage there follows immediately after the verses translated above, § I, 34, so that the events here (in §§ 16–22) localised at Vesâli, are there localised at Kosîgâma. Our section II, 5 is then inserted between our sections II, 22 and II, 23; and our section II, 12 does not occur at all, the Blessed One only reaching Ambapâli’s grove when he goes there (as in our section II, 23) to partake of the meal to which he had been invited. Buddhaghosa passes over this discrepancy in silence.

18. Now the *Likkhavis* of Vesâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesâli, and was staying at Ambapâli's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vesâli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments: some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

19. And Ambapâli drove up against the young *Likkhavis*, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the *Likkhavis* said to Ambapâli the courtesan, 'How is it, Ambapâli, that thou drivest up against us thus?'

'My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal,' said she.

'Ambapâli! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,' said they.

'My Lords, were you to offer all Vesâli with its subject territory¹, I would not give up so honourable a feast!'

Then the *Likkhavis* cast up their hands², exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl³!' and they went on to Ambapâli's grove.

20. When the Blessed One saw the *Likkhavis*

¹ Sâhâran ti sa-ganapadan. (S. V. /au.)

² *Āṅgulī pothesum*. Childers translates this phrase 'to snap the fingers as a token of pleasure;' but Buddhaghosa says, *āṅgulī pothesun ti āṅgulī kâlesum*. (S. V. /au.)

³ Ambapâli means mango grower, one who looks after mangoes.

approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said :

‘O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the *Tâvatimsa* gods, gaze upon this company of the *Likkhavis*, behold this company of the *Likkhavis*, compare this company of the *Likkhavis*—even as a company of *Tâvatimsa* gods¹.’

21. And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the *Likkhavis* alighted there, and then went on on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse².

22. Then they instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words, addressed the Blessed One, and said, ‘May the Blessed One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow?’

‘O *Likkhavis*, I have promised to dine to-morrow with *Ambapâli* the courtesan,’ was the reply.

¹ The *Tâvatimsa*-devâ are the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon. Buddhaghosa says, ‘*Imam Likkhavi-parisam tumhâkam kîtena Tâvatimsa-parisam upasamharatha upanetha allyâpetha : Yath’ eva hi Tâvatimsâ abhirûpa pâsâdikâ nîlâdi-nâna-vannâ eva ñi k’ ime Likkhavi-râgâno pîti. Tâvatimshehi samake katvâ passathâ ti attho.*’

² The *Mâlâlankâra*-vatthu gives the substance of the discourse on this occasion. ‘The princes had come in their finest and richest dress ; in their appearance they vied in beauty with the nats (or angels). But foreseeing the ruin and misery that was soon to come upon them all, the Buddha exhorted his disciples to entertain a thorough contempt for things that are dazzling to the eyes, but essentially perishable and unreal in their nature.’—Bigandet, 2nd ed. p. 260.

Then the *Likkhavis* cast up their hands, exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl!' And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Blessed One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they past him, they departed thence.

23. And at the end of the night Ambapāli the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready!'

And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and took his bowl, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapāli's dwelling-house was: and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapāli the courtesan set the sweet rice and cakes before the order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

24. And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief.' And the Blessed One accepted the gift; and after instructing, and rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence¹.

¹ Bishop Bigandet says: 'In recording the conversion of a courtesan named Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Budha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanely speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions—one is almost reminded of

25. While at Ambapâli's mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the disciples on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

26. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Ambapâli's grove, he addressed Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Beluva¹.'

'So be it, Lord,' said Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

27. Now the Blessed One there addressed the brethren, and said: 'O mendicants, do you take up your abode round about Vesâli, each according to the place where his friends, intimates, and close companions may live, for the rainy season of vassa. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva.'

the conversion of "a woman that was a sinner," mentioned in the Gospels' (Legend of the Burmese Budha, 2nd ed. p. 258).

¹ Beluva-gâmakoti Vesâli-samîpe pâda-gâmakoti, 'a village on a slope at the foot of a hill near Vesâli,' says Buddhaghosa. (S. V. 1au.)

‘So be it, Lord!’ said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesâli, each according to the place where his friends or intimates or close companions lived: whilst the Blessed One stayed even there at Beluva.

28. Now when the Blessed One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore them without complaint.

29. Then this thought occurred to the Blessed One, ‘It would not be right for me to pass away from existence without addressing the disciples, without taking leave of the order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come¹.’

30. And the Blessed One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

31. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover; when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he went out from the monastery, and sat down behind the monastery on a seat spread out there. And the venerable Ânanda went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and addressed the

¹ The commentary on *gîvita-saṅkhâram adhitthâya vihareyyan* is not quite clear, but the general meaning of the words cannot be very different from the version given in the text.

Blessed One, and said : ' I have beheld, Lord, how the Blessed One was in health, and I have beheld how the Blessed One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Blessed One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties were no longer clear¹, yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought that the Blessed One would not pass away from existence until at least he had left instructions as touching the order.'

32. 'What, then, Ânanda? Does the order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine: for in respect of the truths, Ânanda, the Tathâgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back². Surely, Ânanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, "It is I who will lead the brotherhood," or, "The order is dependent upon me," it is he who

¹ Madhuraka-gâto viyâ ti sañgâta-garubhâvo sañgâta-ttābhâvo (sic) sūle uttâsita-sadiso: na pakkhāyanti ti na pakāśenti nānākāraṇā na upa-ttāhanti: Dhammā pi maṃ na ppa-ttibhanti ti sati-ppa-ttāhāna dhammā mayham pākāṭā na honti. (S. V. fol. 14m.) As the first clause is corrupt, I have translated madhuraka-gâto independently of it. Childers's reading nam na ppa-ttibhanti is clearly incorrect. My own MS. of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Turnour MS. of the Samyutta Nikāya agree with Buddhaghosa.

² Na tatth' Ânanda Tathâgatassa dhammesu âkariya-mu-ttāhi; on which Buddhaghosa says, Âkariya-mu-ttāhi (MS. vu-ttāhi) ti yathā bāhirakāṇaṃ âkariya-mu-ttāhi nāma hoti: daharā-kāle kassaki akathetvā pakkhima-kāle maraṇa-māṇke nipannā piya-manāpassa antevāsikassa kathenti: evaṃ Tathâgatassa idam mahallaka-kāle pakkhima-ttāhāne kathes-sāmi ti mu-ttāhim (MS. vu-ttāhim) katvā pariharitvā tthapitam kiñci n' atthi ti. (S. V. 14m.) Comp. Gâtaka II, 221, 250.

should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the order. Now the Tathâgata, Ānanda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the order? I too, O Ānanda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can only with much additional care be made to move along, so, methinks, the body of the Tathâgata can only be kept going with much additional care¹. It is only, Ānanda, when

¹ Vegha-missakena, the meaning of which is not clear. The Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu, as rendered by Bigandet, has 'repairs.' The Sumangala Vilāsinī says, Veghamissakenā ti bâha-bandhana-*ṭakka*-bandhanādinā paṭisaṅkharanena veghamissakena; thus giving the same meaning, but in such a way as to throw no light on the derivation of the word. The whole episode from §II, 27 to the end of the chapter occurs also word for word in the Satipaṭṭhāna Vagga of the Samyutta Nikāya, and the Burmese Phayre MS. there reads vekhamissakena, as the Burmese MS. does here. My Dīgha Nikāya confirms Childers's reading, which no doubt correctly represents the uniform tradition of the Ceylon MSS. The Sumangala Vilāsinī goes on, *maññe ti gara-sakataṃ viya meghamissakena maññe yāpeti arahatta-phala-veghanena katu-iriyāpatha-kappanam Tathâgatassa hoti nidasseti*. Here the reading *megha* of the Turnour MS. must be a copyist's slip of the pen for *veggha*, and *veghanena* is no clearer than *veghamissakena*. On the use of the word *missaka* at the end of a compound see *Gâtaka* II, 8, 420, 433. I have translated on what seems to me the only solution at present possible, namely, that an initial *a* has been dropt, and that *vegghâ* or *vekhâ* = *avekshâ*, 'attention, foresight, care.' In the same way though *avalaṅgeti* does occur (*Gâtaka* I, 111), the more usual form in Pāli, and the only one given by Childers, is *valaṅgeti*.

the Tathâgata, ceasing to attend to any outward thing, or to experience any sensation, becomes plunged in that devout meditation of heart which is concerned with no material object—it is only then that the body of the Tathâgata is at ease.

33. 'Therefore, O Ânanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ânanda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

34. 'Herein, O Ânanda, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving—while subject to sensations let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from the sensations—and so, also, as he thinks, or reasons, or feels, let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or to reasoning, or to feeling.

35. 'And whosoever, Ânanda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the truth as their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves—it is they, Ânanda, among my

bhikkhus, who shall reach the very topmost Height!—but they must be anxious to learn¹.

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

¹ Tamatagge me te Ânanda bhikkhû bhavissanti ye keki sikkhâkâmâ. The Burmese MSS. for me te read p'ete, which is a little easier. Buddhaghosa says, Tamatagge ti tamagge. Magghe takâro padasandhivasena vutto. Idam vuttam hoti ime aggatamâ ime aggamâ ti: evam sabbam tamayogam kkhinditvâ ativiya agge uttama-bhâve te Ânanda mamam bhikkhû bhavissanti. Kesam ati-agge bhavissanti? Ye keki sikkhâkâmâ sabbesam te katu-sati-ppatthâna-gôkarâ ka bhikkhû agge bhavissantî ti. Arahatta-tikûfena desanam ganhati, 'Tamatagge is for tamagge. The t in the middle is used for euphony. This word means, "these are the most pre-eminent, the very chief." Having, as above stated, broken every bond of darkness (tama) those bhikkhus of mine, Ânanda, will be at the very top, in the highest condition. They will be at the very top of whom? Those bhikkhus who are willing to learn, and those who exercise themselves in the four ways of being mindful and thoughtful, they shall be at the top of all (the rest). Thus does he make Arahatsip the three-peaked height of his discourse' (compare on this last phrase Nibbâna desanâkû/am ganhati, Gâtaka I, 275, 393, 401; and see also I, 114). Uttama, the highest (scil. bhâva, condition), is used absolutely of Arahatsip or Nirvâna at Gâtaka I, 96; Aggaphala occurs in the same sense at Gâtaka I, 114; and even Phalagga at Mah. 102. The last words, 'but they must be anxious to learn,' seem to me to be an after thought. It is only those who are thoroughly determined to work out their own salvation, without looking for safety to any one else, even to the Buddha himself, who will, whilst in the world, enter into and experience Nirvâna. But, of course, let there be no mistake, merely to reject the vain baubles of the current superstitious beliefs is not enough. There is plenty to learn and to acquire, of which enough discourse is elsewhere. For aggamâ in the comment we must read aggatamâ. If one could read amatagge in the text, all difficulty would vanish; but this would be too bold, and neither do I see how the use of anamatagge can help us.

CHAPTER III.

1¹. Now the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesâli for alms, and when he returned he sat down on the seat prepared for him, and after he had finished eating the rice he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Take up the mat, Ânanda; I will go to spend the day at the *Kâpâla Ketiya*.'

'So be it, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Blessed One.

2. So the Blessed One proceeded to the *Kâpâla Ketiya*, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ânanda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'How delightful a spot, Ânanda, is Vesâli, and the Udena *Ketiya*, and the Gotamaka *Ketiya*, and the Sattambaka *Ketiya*, and the Bahuputta *Ketiya*, and the Sârândada *Ketiya*, and the *Kâpâla Ketiya*.'

3. 'Ânanda! whosoever has thought out, developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi², and so

¹ The whole of this passage down to the end of § 10 recurs in the Iddhipâda Vagga of the *Samyutta Nikâya*.

² Iddhi. The four paths are, 1. will, 2. effort, 3. thought, and 4. investigation, each united to earnest thought and the struggle against sin. The Iddhi reached by them is supposed in works on Buddhism to be a bodily condition (power of flying, &c.), by which the body rose superior to all the ordinary limitations of

mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which had yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thought them out, and thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which has yet to run.'

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Blessed One, the venerable Ânanda was incapable of comprehending them; and he besought not the Blessed One, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! Live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!' So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One¹.

matter—a bodily condition corresponding to the mental condition of exaltation and power by which it was reached. On this curiously perverted exaggeration of the real influence of the mind over the body see, further, the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-177. Two of the string of participles—*yânikatâ*, which may possibly mean 'made use of as a vehicle,' and *susamâradhâ*, 'most thoroughly ascended up to'—might seem to allude to *Iddhi* as a power of flying bodily through the air. But the whole set of participles is used elsewhere of conditions of mind highly esteemed among the Buddhists, and incapable of giving support to any such allusion. So, for instance, of universal love (*mettâ*) at *Gâtaka* II, 61.

¹ *Yathâ tam Mârena pariyu//hitakitto*. Here *tam* is the indeclinable particle, *yathâ tam* introducing an explanation. My MS. of the *Dîgha Nikâya* and the Turnour MS. of the *Sumangala Vilasini* read *parivu//hita*, and either spelling is correct. The

5. A second and a third time did the Blessed One [say the same thing, and a second and a third time was Ânanda's heart thus hardened].

6. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : ' You may leave me, Ânanda, awhile, and do whatever seemeth to thee fit.'

' So be it, Lord !' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed, and rising from his seat he saluted the Blessed One, and passing him on the right, sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ânanda had been gone, Mâra, the Evil One, approached the Blessed One, and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Blessed One in these words :

' Pass away now, Lord, from existence ; let the Blessed One now die. Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away—even according to the

fact is that the *y* or *v* in such cases is even less than euphonic ; it is an assistance not to the speaker, but merely to the writer. Thus in the Siñhalese *duwanawâ*, 'to run,' the spoken word is *du-anawâ*, and the *w* is written only to avoid the awkward use in the middle of a word of the initial sign for the sound *a*. That the speakers of Pâli found no difficulty in pronouncing two vowels together is abundantly proved by numerous instances. The writers of Pâli, in those cases in which the second vowel begins a word, use without hesitation the initial sign ; but in the middle of the word this would be so ungainly that they naturally prefer to insert a consonantal sign to carry the vowel sign. The varying readings I have pointed out are a strong confirmation of the correctness of the pronunciation of modern native scholars ; and we may the more readily adopt it as the question is not really one concerning the pronunciation of Pâli, but concerning the use which modern native copyists make of their own alphabet. I would pronounce therefore *pari-u//hita-kiito*.

word which the Blessed One spoke when he said¹: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until the brethren and sisters of the order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex² shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!"

8. 'And now, Lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to do [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away—even according to the word which he spake when he said, "I shall not die, O Evil One! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, widespread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed to men." And now, Lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from

¹ The words here quoted were spoken by the Buddha, after he had been enjoying the first bliss of *Nirvâna*, under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree (see my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 109-111). The Evil One then also tempted him to die (see below, paragraph III, 43), and this was his reply.

² The whole paragraph is repeated, here and below, for each of these classes of persons.

existence ; let the Blessed One now die ! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away !'

9. And when he had thus spoken, the Blessed One addressed Mâra, the Evil One, and said : ' O Evil One ! make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathâgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die !'

10. Thus the Blessed One while at the *Kâpâla Ketiya* deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his allotted sum of life. And on his so rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. And when the Blessed One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation :

' His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small ;
With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause !'

11. Now the following thought occurred to the venerable Ânanda : ' Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?'

12. Then the venerable Ânanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Blessed One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said : ' Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of

heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?’

13. ‘Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ānanda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight? This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ānanda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

14. ‘Again, Ānanda, a Samāṇa or a Brāhman of great (intellectual) power, and who has the feelings of his heart well under his control; or a god or fairy (devatā¹) of great might and power,—when such a

¹ Devatā is a fairy, god, genius, or angel. I am at a loss how to render this word without conveying an erroneous impression to those not familiar with ancient ideas, and specially with ancient Buddhist ideas, of the spirit world. It includes gods of all sorts; tree and river nymphs; the kindly fairies or ghosts who haunt houses (see my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ Tale No. 40); spirits in the ground (see above, § I, 26); the angels who minister at the great renunciation, the temptation, and the death of the Buddha; the guardian angels who watch over men, and towns, and countries; and many other similar beings. ‘Celestial being’ would be wholly inapplicable, for instance, to the creatures referred to in the curious passage above (§ I, 26). ‘Superhuman being’ would be an inaccurate rendering; for all these light and airy shapes come below, and after, man in the Buddhist order of precedence. ‘Spirit’ being used of the soul inside the human body, and of the human soul after it has left the body, and figuratively of mental faculties—none of which are included under devatā—would suggest ideas inconsistent with that of the Pāli word. As there is therefore no appropriate general word I have chosen, for each passage where the expression occurs, the word used in English of the special class

one by intense meditation of the finite idea of earth or the infinite idea of water (has succeeded in realising the comparative value of things¹) he can make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violently. These are the second causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

15. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Bodhisatta consciously and deliberately leaves his temporary form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake².

more particularly referred to in the passage of the text. Here all kinds of devatās being referred to, and there being no word in English for them all, I have ventured to put the word devatā into my version, and to trouble the reader with this note.

¹ Yassa parittā paṭṭhavi-saṇṇā bhāvitā hoti appamāṇā āposāṇṇā, on which Buddhaghosa says simply, Parittā ti dubbalā: appamāṇā ti balavā, and then goes on, as a note to kampeti, to tell a long story how Sangharakkhita Sāmaṇera, the nephew of Nāga Thera, attained Arahatsip on the day of his admission to the order; and at once proceeded to heaven, and standing on the pinnacle of the palace of the king of the gods, shook the whole place with his big toe; to the great consternation and annoyance of the exalted dwellers therein! There is no doubt a real truth in the idea that deep thought can shake the universe, and make the palaces of the gods to tremble, just as faith is said in Matthew xxi. 21 to be able to remove mountains, and cause them to be cast into the sea. But these figurative expressions have, in Buddhism, become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings; and the train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated. There is much about it in the Mahā Padhāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, where Chap. III, §§ 11-20 recur.

² The Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation is looked upon by the Buddhists as a great act of renunciation, and curious legends have

16. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently.

gathered about it. One is that on the night when she conceived his mother dreamt that a white elephant entered her side. The account will be found at length in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' (pp. 62-64), and the earthquake is there mentioned in terms identical with those in the text. The sacred event is also one of those represented on the ancient bas-reliefs round the Bharhut Thûpa, a full description of which will be found in General Cunningham's most interesting work, 'The Stupa of Bharhut.' General Cunningham says of the description placed above this sculpture : 'Above it in large characters is inscribed Bhagavato rûkdanta, which may perhaps be translated, "Buddha as the sounding elephant," from ru, to sound, to make a particular sort of sound.' Now the first word of the inscription is in the genitive case, so that if the second word could mean an elephant, the whole would signify, 'The Buddha's elephant.' But the characters which General Cunningham reads rûkdanta are, I venture to suggest, okkanti (? ûkkanti); and the inscription simply says, 'The descent of the blessed One.' As I have pointed out in 'Buddhism' (p. 184), the white elephant legend is one of those hallowed sun stories by which half-converted Hindus have striven to embellish the life story of the Teacher whose followers they had become. In the *Lalita Vistara* (Calc. ed. p. 63) the entrance of the elephant into Mâyâ precedes the dream; but though the ignorant may have therefore accepted it as a fact, it is of course only a figure of speech—and I venture to think from the Hindu standpoint, a beautiful figure of speech—to express the incarnation of divine mildness and majesty in a human form. The use of such a figure is not confined to India. In the earliest of the Apocryphal Gospels, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the incarnation of the divine gentleness and love is expressed by saying that a dove from heaven 'entered into' the human form.

This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the seventh cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata passes entirely away with that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

21. 'Now of eight kinds, Ânanda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight¹? Assemblies of nobles, Brâhmaṇas, householders, and Samanas, and the angel hosts of the Guardian Angels, the Great Thirty-Three, Mâra, and Brahma.

22. 'Now I call to mind, Ânanda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse

¹ The connection, or rather want of connection, between this and the last paragraph seems to me to be very suggestive as to the way in which the Sutta was composed. The narrative is resumed at paragraph III, 43. On vanishing away, comp. I, 33.

I used to instruct, incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say, "Who may this be who thus speaks? a man or a god?" Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not, even when I vanished away; and would say, "Who may this be who has thus vanished away? a man or a god?"'

23. [And in the same words the Blessed One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] 'Now these, Ânanda, are the eight assemblies.'

24. 'Now these, Ânanda, are the eight positions of mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things¹]. What are the eight?'

¹ Abhibhâyatani ti abhibhavanakâraṇāni. Kim abhibhavanti? Pakkaṇika-dhamme pi ârammaṇāni pi: tāni hi paṭipakkha-bhâvena pakkaṇika-dhamme abhibhavanti puggalassa ñânuttaritâya ârammaṇāni, says Buddhaghosa. (Sum. Vil. *iti*.)

This and the next paragraph are based upon the Buddhist belief as to the long-vexed question between the Indian schools who represented more or less closely the European Idealists and Realists. When cleared of the many repetitions inserted for the benefit of the repeaters or reciters, the fundamental idea seems to be that the great necessity is to get rid of the delusion that what one sees and feels is real and permanent. Nothing is real and permanent but character.

The so-called eight Positions of Mastery are merely an expansion of the first two of the following eight Stages of Deliverance, and the whole argument is also expressed in another form in the

25. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the first position of mastery.

26. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the second position of mastery.

27. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the third position of mastery.

28. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms that are blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—just, for

passage on the nine successive 'Cessations,' of which an abstract will be found in Childers, sub voce *nirodha*.

The two lists have been translated and commented upon by Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 543, 824–832), who took the texts from the *Mahânidâna Sutta* and the *Sangîti Sutta* respectively. The former has been reprinted in Grimblot's *Sept Suttas Pâlis*, where the passage will be found at pp. 261, 262. I regret that in my interpretation I have been compelled to differ so greatly from Burnouf. Though I have devoted much care and time to the subject, I do not suppose that I have understood it better than he did. We cannot hope to get to the bottom of what these old Buddhists thought about matter and mind from such curt lists as these.

instance, as the Ummâ flower is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue; or, again, as that fine muslin of Benares which, on whichever side you look at it, is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—that is the fifth position of mastery.’

30–32. [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue; and the *Kanikâra* flower, the *Bandhu-gîvaka* flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the Ummâ flower, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33. ‘Now these stages of deliverance, Ânanda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms¹], are eight in number. Which are the eight?’

34. ‘A man possessed with the idea of form sees forms—this is the first stage of deliverance.

35. ‘Without the subjective idea of form, he sees forms externally—this is the second stage of deliverance.

¹ These are the *Attha Vimokkhâ*. Buddhaghosa has no comment upon them; merely saying, ‘The passage on the Vimokkhas is easy to understand’—which is tantalizing. The last five Vimokkhas occur again below, in Chap. VI, §§ 11–13, where it is clear that they are used to express the progress through deep meditation, into absent-mindedness, abstraction, and being sunk in thought, until finally the thinker falls into actual trance.

36. 'With the thought "it is well," he becomes intent (upon what he sees)—this is the third stage of deliverance.

37. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of resistance, by paying no attention to the idea of distinction, he, thinking "it is all infinite space," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present—this is the fourth stage of deliverance.

38. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking "it is all infinite reason," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present—this is the fifth stage of deliverance.

39. 'By passing quite beyond the mere consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking "nothing at all exists," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present—this is the sixth stage of deliverance.

40. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present—this is the seventh stage of deliverance.

41. 'By passing quite beyond the state of "neither ideas nor the absence of ideas" he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be—this is the eighth stage of deliverance.

42. 'Now these, Ânanda, are the eight stages of deliverance.

43. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was resting under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree on the bank of the

river Nerañgarâ immediately after having reached the great enlightenment. Then Mâra, the Evil One, came, Ânanda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words: "Pass away now, Lord, from existence! Let the Blessed One now die! Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away!"

44. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ânanda, I addressed Mâra, the Evil One, and said: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until not only the brethren and sisters of the order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!"

45. "I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men!"

46. 'And now again to-day, Ânanda, at the *Kâpâla Ketiya*, Mâra, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me addressed me [in the same words].

47. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ânanda, I answered him and said: "Make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathâgata shall take place

before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die !”

48. ‘Thus, Ânanda, the Tathâgata has now to-day at the *Kâpâla Ketiya* consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life.’

49. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ânanda addressed the Blessed One, and said : ‘Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa ! live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One ! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !’

50. ‘Enough now, Ânanda, beseech not the Tathâgata !’ was the reply. ‘The time for making such request is past.’

51. And again, the second time, the venerable Ânanda besought the Blessed One [in the same words. And he received from the Blessed One the same reply].

52. And again, the third time, the venerable Ânanda besought the Blessed One [in the same words].

53. ‘Hast thou faith, Ânanda, in the wisdom of the Tathâgata ?’

‘Even so, Lord !’

‘Now why, then, Ânanda, dost thou trouble the Tathâgata even until the third time ?’

54. ‘From his own mouth have I heard from the Blessed One, from his own mouth have I received this saying, “Whosoever has thought out, Ânanda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as

a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.” Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.’

55. ‘Hast thou faith, Ânanda?’

‘Even so, Lord!’

‘Then, O Ânanda, thine is the fault, thine is the offence—in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying, “Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.” If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!’

56. ‘On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling at Râgagaha, on the hill called the Vulture’s Peak. Now there, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: “How pleasant a spot, Ânanda, is Râgagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture’s Peak. Whosoever has thought out, Ânanda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he

desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.' If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!"

57. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling at that same Râgagaha in the Banyan Grove—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha at the Robbers' Cliff—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Sîtavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasondika—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Tapoda Grove—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Bambu Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in Gîvaka's Mango Grove—on one occasion at that same Râgagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhî.'

58. 'Now there too, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Râgagaha; how pleasant the Vulture's Peak; how pleasant the

Banyan tree of Gotama ; how pleasant the Robbers' Cliff ; how pleasant the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra ; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili ; how pleasant the mountain cave Sappasonḍika in the Sītavana Grove ; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove ; how pleasant the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bambu Grove ; how pleasant Givaka's Mango Grove ; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhī !

59. "Whosoever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

60. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was residing here at Vesâli at the Udena Ketiya. And there too, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Vesâli ; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathâgata has thought out and thoroughly practised

them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

61. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling here at Vesâli at the Gotamaka *Ketiya*—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Sattamba *Ketiya*—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Bahuputta *Ketiya*—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Sârandada *Ketiya* [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ânanda, in the same words].

62. 'And now to-day, Ânanda, at the *Kâpâla Ketiya*, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ânanda, is Vesâli; how pleasant the Udena *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Gotamaka *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Sattamba *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Bahuputta *Ketiya*; how pleasant the Sârandada *Ketiya*. Who-soever, Ânanda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thought and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run."

63. 'But now, Ânanda, have I not formerly¹ de-

¹ That *paṭigaṭṭh'eva* means 'formerly, already' is clear from Mahâ Vagga I, 7, 1; X, 2, 3, though its derivation would seem to render the meaning 'frequently, recurringly' more natural. The

clared to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, Ânanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! And this mortal being, Ânanda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathâgata. The remaining sum of life has been surrendered by him. Verily, the word has gone forth from the Tathâgata, saying, “The final extinction of the Tathâgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die!” That the Tathâgata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying—this can no wise be!’

64. ‘Come, Ânanda, let us go to the Kûâgâra Hall, to the Mahâvana.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with Ânanda

phrase occurs pretty often. Trenckner (*milinda-paṇḥam*, p. 422) proposes a correction into *paṭikaḥḥ’eva*. *Paluggâti* just below is noteworthy as an unusual contraction of *palugge iti*.

¹ I do not understand the connection of ideas between this paragraph and the idea repeated with such tedious iteration in the preceding paragraphs. The two seem to be in marked contrast, if not in absolute contradiction. Perhaps we have here the older tradition; and certainly the latter utterance of the two is more in accordance with the general impression of the character, and with the other sayings, of Gotama as handed down in the Pâli Piṭakas.

with him, to the Mahâvana to the Kû/âgâra Hall : and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said :

‘Go now, Ânanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighbourhood of Vesâli.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighbourhood of Vesâli, he went to the Blessed One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Blessed One, and said :

‘Lord ! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Blessed One do even as seemeth to him fit.’

65. Then the Blessed One proceeded to the Service Hall, and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said :

‘Therefore, O brethren—ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad ; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !

‘Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order

that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men ?'

They are these :

The four earnest meditations.

The fourfold great struggle against sin.

The four roads to saintship.

The five moral powers.

The five organs of spiritual sense.

The seven kinds of wisdom, and

The noble eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !

66. And the Blessed One exhorted the brethren, and said :

'Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying, "All component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathâgata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die !"

'My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close :

I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone !

Be earnest then, O brethren ! holy, full of thought !

Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your
own hearts!

Who wearies not, but holds fast to this truth
and law¹,

Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of
grief.'

End of the Third Portion for Recitation ².

¹ Dhamma and vinaya. The Buddhist religion, as just summarised, and the regulations of the order.

² It is of great interest to notice what are the points upon which Gotama, in this last address to his disciples, and at the solemn time when death was so near at hand, is reported to have laid such emphatic stress. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the address, and, as it would seem from its commencement, only the closing fragment. This, however, is in the form of a summary, consisting of an enumeration of certain aggregates, the details of which must have been as familiar to the early Buddhists as the details of similar numerical terms—such as the ten commandments, the twelve tribes, the seven deadly sins, the four gospels, and so on—afterwards were to the Christians. This summary of the Buddha's last address may fairly be taken as a summary of Buddhism, which thus appears to be simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control.

The following are the details of the aggregate technical terms used in the above summary, but it will be understood that the English equivalents used give rather a general than an exact representation of the ideas expressed by the Pāli ones. To attempt more would demand a treatise rather than a note, and it has given me peculiar pleasure to learn, as these sheets are passing through the press, that my friend Dr. Morris intends to devote a book to the treatment of these seven 'Jewels of the Law,' as the *Kulla Vagga* calls them (IX, 1, 4), which form, when united, the bright diadem of *Nirvāṇa*.

The four Earnest Meditations (*kattāro Satipaṭṭhānā*) are—

1. Meditation on the body.
2. Meditation on the sensations.
3. Meditation on the ideas.
4. Meditation on reason and character.

The fourfold Great Struggle against sin is divided into *kattāro Samappadhānā*, which are—

1. The struggle to prevent sinfulness arising.
2. The struggle to put away sinful states which have arisen.
3. The struggle to produce goodness not previously existing.
4. The struggle to increase goodness when it does exist.

The four Roads to Saintship are four means by which *Iddhi* (see above, § 3, note) is to be acquired. They are the *Kattāro Iddhipādā*:

1. The will to acquire it united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
2. The necessary exertion united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
3. The necessary preparation of the heart united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.
4. Investigation united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.

The five moral powers (*pañña Balāni*) are said to be the same as the next class, called organs (*Indriyāni*). It is no doubt most remarkable that, in a summary like this, two classes out of seven should be absolutely identical except in name. The difference of name is altogether too unimportant to account, by itself, for the distinction made. Either the currently accepted explanation of one of the two aggregate terms must be incorrect, or we must look for some explanation of the repetition other than the mere desire to record the double title. Is it impossible that the one class was split into two to bring the number of the classes up to the sacred number seven, corresponding to the seven Ratanas of a *Kakkavatti*?

The details of both classes are—

1. Faith. 2. Energy. 3. Thought. 4. Contemplation.
5. Wisdom.

The seven kinds of Wisdom (*satta Bogghangā*) are—

1. Energy. 2. Thought. 3. Contemplation. 4. Investigation (of scripture).
5. Joy. 6. Repose. 7. Serenity.

The Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo*) forms the subject of the *Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana-sutta*, translated in this volume, and consists of—

1. Right views. 2. High aims. 3. Right speech. 4. Upright conduct.
5. A harmless livelihood. 6. Perseverance in well-doing.
7. Intellectual activity. 8. Earnest thought.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Now the Blessed One early in the morning robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesâli for alms: and when he had passed through Vesâli, and had eaten his meal and was returning from his alms-seeking he gazed at Vesâli with an elephant look¹ and addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'This will be the last time, Ânanda, that the Tathâgata will behold Vesâli. Come, Ânanda, let us go on to *Bhanda-gâma*.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to *Bhanda-gâma*; and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

2. There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It is through not understanding and grasping four truths², O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration—both you and I.'

'And what are these four? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. But when noble conduct is realised and known, when noble meditation is realised and known, when noble wisdom is realised and known, when noble

¹ *Nâgapalokitam Vesâliyam apaloketvâ*. The Buddhas were accustomed, says Buddhaghosa, on looking backwards to turn the whole body round as an elephant does; because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed, more so than those of ordinary men!

² Or Conditions (*Dhammâ*). They must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the better known Four Noble Truths (*Sakkâni*) above, Chap. II, § 2.

freedom is realised and known—then is the craving for existence rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth.'

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the teacher said¹:

'Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime—

These are the truths realised by Gotama, far-renowned.

Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.

The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, must die!'

4. There too, while staying at *Bhanda-gâma*, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation.

¹ This is merely a stock phrase for introducing verses which repeat the idea of the preceding phrase (see above, paragraph 32). It is an instructive sign of the state of mind in which such records are put together, that these verses could be ascribed to Gotama himself without any feeling of the incongruity involved. The last word means, completely gone out; and here refers to the extinction of *kilesa* and *taṇhâ*, which will bring about, inevitably, the extinction of being. Compare the passage quoted by Burnouf in *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 376. Probably the whole stanza formerly stood in some other connection, where the word *parinibbuto* had its more usual sense. See Buddhaghosa's note on IV, 23.

The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.’

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhandā-gāma as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said : ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Hatthi-gāma.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Hatthi-gāma.

6. [And in similar words it is then related how the Blessed One went on to Amba-gāma, to Gambu-gāma, and to Bhoga-nagara.]

7. Now there at Bhoga-nagara the Blessed One stayed at the Ānanda Ketiya.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said : ‘I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great References¹. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the brethren, in assent², to

¹ The meaning of mahāpadesa is not quite clear. Perhaps it should be rendered true authorities. I have followed Buddhaghosa in taking apadesa as the last part of the compound. He says, mahāpadesā ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitvā vuttāni mahā-kāraṇāni ti attho, ‘the causes (authorities) alleged when referring to Buddha and other great men.’

² I ought perhaps to have explained why I have ventured to differ from Childers in the rendering of the common word paṭi-sunāti. The root sru seems to have meant ‘to sound’ before it meant ‘to hear;’ and, whether this be so or not, paṭi-sunāti means not simply ‘to consent,’ but ‘to answer (assentingly).’ It

the Blessed One, and the Blessed One spoke as follows :

8. 'In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus: "From the mouth of the Blessed One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order¹. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother?" Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Reference.

9. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard,

has been pointed out to me that answer was formerly 'and-swerian,' where swerian is probably not unrelated to the root svar, 'to sound.'

¹ Sutte otâretabbâni vinaye sandassetabbâni, where one would expect to find the word *Piṭaka* if it had been in use when this passage was first written or composed.

face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren." This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Reference.

10. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders of the order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and

compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by those elders." This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Reference.

11. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say, "In such and such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture

and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the fourth Great Reference.'

'These, brethren, are the Four Great References.'

12. There, too, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

13. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gâma, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Pâvâ.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pâvâ.

And there at Pâvâ the Blessed One stayed at the Mango Grove of Kunda, who was by family a smith.

14. Now Kunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Blessed One had come to Pâvâ, and was staying there in his Mango Grove.

And *Kunda*, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.'

And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Then seeing that the Blessed One had consented, *Kunda*, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he past him, departed thence.

17. Now at the end of the night, *Kunda*, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a quantity of dried boar's flesh. And he announced the hour to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready.'

18. And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of *Kunda*, the worker in metals. When he had come thither he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed *Kunda*, the worker in metals, and said: 'As to the dried boar's flesh you have made ready, serve me with it, *Kunda*; and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it.'

‘Even so, Lord!’ said *Kunda*, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the dried boar’s flesh he had made ready he served to the Blessed One; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the order.

19. Now the Blessed One addressed *Kunda*, the worker in metals, and said: ‘Whatever dried boar’s flesh, *Kunda*, is left over to thee, that bury in a hole. I see no one, *Kunda*, on earth nor in *Māra*’s heaven, nor in *Brahma*’s heaven, no one among *Samanas* and *Brāhmaṇas*, among gods and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the *Tathāgata*.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said *Kunda*, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And whatever dried boar’s flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.

20. And he went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened *Kunda*, the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Blessed One then rose from his seat and departed thence.

21. Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by *Kunda*, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint.

22. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said: ‘Come, *Ānanda*, let us go on to *Kusinâra*.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

-
23. When he had eaten *Kunda’s* food,
The copper-smith’s—thus have I heard—
He bore with fortitude the pain,
The sharp pain even unto death!

And from the dried flesh of the boar, as soon as
he had eaten it,

There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,
Then after nature was relieved the Blessed One
announced and said :

‘I now am going on to *Kusinârâ*¹.’

24. Now the Blessed One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: ‘Fold, I pray you, Ânanda, the robe; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ânanda, and must rest awhile!’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold.

25. And the Blessed One seated himself on the seat prepared for him; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: ‘Fetch me, I pray you, Ânanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ânanda, and would drink.’

26. When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One: ‘But just now,

¹ ‘It should be understood,’ says Buddhaghosa, ‘that these are verses by the Theras who held the council.’ And he repeats this at §§ 52, 56.

Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakutthâ, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs¹.

27. Again the second time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ânanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ânanda, and would drink.'

28. And again the second time the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One: 'But just now, Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakutthâ, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

29. Again the third time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ânanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ânanda, and would drink.'

30. 'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ânanda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

¹ *Akkhodikâ ti pasannodikâ: sâtodikâ ti madhurodhikâ: sîtodikâ ti tanu-sîṭala-salilâ: setakâ ti nikkaddamâ: supatitthâ ti sundara-titthâ.* (S.V. *thri*.) Comp. IV, 56.

31. Then Ânanda thought: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathâgata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity.'

32. And taking water in the bowl he returned towards the Blessed One; and when he had come where the Blessed One was he said to him: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathâgata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Blessed One drink the water! Let the Happy One drink the water!'

Then the Blessed One drank of the water.

33. Now at that time a man named Pukkusa¹, a young Mallian, a disciple of Ââra Kâlâma's, was passing along the high road from Kusinârâ to Pâvâ.

34. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Blessed One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And when he was seated

¹ The Pukkusa caste was one of the lower castes of Sûtras. Compare Assâlâyana Sutta (Pischel), pp. 13, 35; Burnouf's 'Introduction,' &c., pp. 144, 208; Lalita Vistara XXI, 17. But Buddhaghosa says Pukkusa must here be simply a name, as the Mallas were of the Khattiya caste. He adds that this Pukkusa was the owner of the five hundred carts that had just passed by; and that Ââra Kâlâma was called Ââra because he was Dîgha-pîngalo, Kâlâma being his family name.

Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord! and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!'

35. 'Formerly, Lord, Â/âra Kâlâma was once walking along the high road; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, Lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Â/âra Kâlâma. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Â/âra Kâlâma was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Â/âra Kâlâma:

"But, Lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by?"

"No, indeed, sir, I saw them not."

"But, Lord, did you hear the sound of them?"

"No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound."

"But, Lord, were you then asleep?"

"No, sir, I was not asleep."

"But, Lord, were you then conscious?"

"Yes, I was conscious, sir."

"So that you, Lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, Lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them!"

"It is even so, sir."

36. 'Then thought that man: "How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm! So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake,

neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him."

'And after giving utterance to his deep faith in Âlâra Kâlâma, he departed thence.'

37. 'Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with—that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,—or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing?'

38. 'What in comparison, Lord, can these five hundred carts do, or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts. That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.'

39. 'Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling at Âtumâ, and was at the Threshing-floor¹. And at that time the falling rain begun to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from Âtumâ, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.

¹ Bhusâgâre ti khaḷu-sâlâyam. (S. V. *thri*.)

40. 'Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side.

41. 'And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man :

"Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together?"

"But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, Lord, were you?"

"I, sir, have been here all the while."

"But, Lord, did you see it?"

"I, sir, saw nothing."

"But, Lord, did you hear it?"

"I, sir, heard nothing."

"Were you then, Lord, asleep?"

"I, sir, was not asleep."

"Were you then conscious, Lord?"

"Even so, sir."

"So that you, Lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing."

"That is so, sir."

42. 'Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man :

“How wonderful a thing is it, and marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!—so that a man being conscious and awake neither sees nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.” And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me with the customary demonstrations of respect.’

43. And when he had thus spoken Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words: ‘Now I, Lord, as to the faith that I had in Ârâ Kâlâma, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures ¹!’

¹ This is a stock phrase constituting the final answer of a hitherto unconverted man at the end of one of those argumentative dialogues by which Gotama overcame opposition or expounded the truth. After a discussion of exalted themes it fits in very appropriately; here and elsewhere it is incongruous and strained. See below, V, 50.

44. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain man, and said : ' Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.'

' So be it, sir !' said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian ; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

45. And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Blessed One, saying, ' Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Blessed One show me favour and accept it at my hands !'

' In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ānanda in one.'

' Even so, Lord !' said Pukkusa, in assent, to the Blessed One ; and in one he robed the Blessed One, and in one, Ānanda.

46. Then the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened by the Blessed One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Blessed One ; and keeping him on his right hand as he past him, departed thence.

47. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had gone, the venerable Ānanda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Blessed One, and when it was so

placed on the body of the Blessed One it appeared to have lost its splendour¹!

48. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous, that the colour of the skin of the Blessed One should be so clear, so exceeding bright! For when I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body of the Blessed One, lo! it seemed as if it had lost its splendour!'

49. 'It is even so, Ānanda. Ānanda, there are two occasions on which the colour of the skin of a Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two?'

50. 'On the night, Ānanda, on which a Tathāgata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain—on these two occasions the colour of the skin of the Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

51. 'And now this day, Ānanda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinārā, in the Sāla Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sāla

¹ The commentator says, *Bhagavato kāyam upanāmitan ti nivāsana-pârûpana-vasena alliyâpitam: Bhagavâ pi tato ekam nivāsesi ekam pârûpi. Vîtakkikam* (MS. *kkh*) *viyâ ti yathâ* (MS. *tathâ*) *vîtakkiko aṅgāro antanten'eva gotîti bahi pan'assa pabbhâ n'atthi, evam bahi pakkhinna-* (MS. *pakkhinna-*) *pabbhâ hutvâ khâyatî ti*. My MS. of the text reads *vitâsikam* (as did Yâtrâmulle's MS. here, and one MS. of Fausböll's at *Gâtaka* I, 153, 154). There the word is used of embers in which food is cooked, 'without flame,' = 'glowing, smoldering.' *Vitakkhikâ*, 'an eruption on the skin,' belongs to the root *kar̥k̥*.

trees, the utter passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Come, Ânanda! let us go on to the river Kakutthâ.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

52. The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
Clad on with them the Master then
Shone forth in colour like to gold¹!

53. Now the Blessed One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakutthâ; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the Mango Grove.

54. And when he was come there he addressed the venerable *Kundaka*, and said: 'Fold, I pray you, *Kundaka*, a robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, *Kundaka*, and would lie down.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable *Kundaka*, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

¹ We have here the commencement of the legend which afterwards grew into an account of an actual 'transfiguration' of the Buddha. It is very curious that it should have taken place soon after the Buddha had announced to Ânanda his approaching death, and that in the Buddhist Sutta it should be connected so closely with that event; for a similar remark applies also to the Transfiguration mentioned in the Gospels. The *Mâlâlaṅkāra-vatthu*, for instance, says, 'His body appeared shining like a flame. Ânanda was exceedingly surprised. Nothing of this kind had, as yet, happened. "Your exterior appearance," said he to Budha, "is all at once white, shining, and beautiful above all expression." "What you say, O Ânanda, is perfectly true. There are two occasions [&c., much as above]. The shining light emanating from my body is a certain forerunner of this great event [his Parinibbâna]."'

55. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other; and calm and self-possessed, he meditated on the idea of rising up again in due time. And the venerable *Kundaka* seated himself there in front of the Blessed One.

56. The Buddha to *Kakutthâ's* river came,
 Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow,
 He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
 The Buddha without equal in the world!
 When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
 Crossed o'er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
 The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
 The Mighty Sage came to the Mango Grove.
 There spake he to the brother *Kundaka* :
 'Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch.'
 Cheered by the Holy One, he quickly spread
 The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
 The Master laid him down, wearied and worn;
 And there, before him, *Kunda* took his seat.

57. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Ânanda*, and said: 'Now it may happen, *Ânanda*, that some one should stir up remorse in *Kunda* the smith, by saying, "This is evil to thee, *Kunda*, and loss to thee in that when the Tathâgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died." Any such remorse, *Ânanda*, in *Kunda* the smith should be checked by saying, "This is good to thee, *Kunda*, and gain to thee, in that when

the Tathâgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Blessed One, *Kunda*, have I heard, from his own mouth have I received this saying, 'These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other — and which are the two? The offering of food which, when a Tathâgata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight; and the offering of food which, when a Tathâgata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind—these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any others. There has been laid up by *Kunda* the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.'” In this way, *Ânanda*, should be checked any remorse in *Kunda* the smith.'

58. Then the Blessed One perceiving how the matter stood, uttered, even at that time, this hymn of exultation :

‘ To him who gives shall virtue be increased ;
In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise ;
The righteous man casts off all sinfulness,
And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
And all delusion, doth to Nirvâna reach !’

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing
the Episode of *Ârâra*.

CHAPTER V.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : ‘Come, Ânanda, let us go on to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

2. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said :

3. ‘Spread over for me, I pray you, Ânanda, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sâla trees¹. I am weary, Ânanda, and would lie down.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he spread a

¹ According to the commentator ‘tradition says that there was a row of Sâla trees at the head (sîsa) of that couch (mañña), and another at its foot, one young Sâla tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Sâla trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches, and leaves. There was a couch there in the park for the special use of the (periodically elected) râga of the Mallas, and it was this couch which the Blessed One asked Ânanda to make ready.’ There is no further explanation of the term *uttara-sîsakam*, which may have been the name for a slab of wood or stone reserved on great occasions for the use of the leaders of the neighbouring republic, but available at other times for passers by.

covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sâla trees. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other ; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

4. Now at that time the twin Sâla trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season¹ ; and all over the body of the Tathâgata these dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandârava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathâgata they descended and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old !

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said : ‘ The twin Sâla trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season ; all over the body of the Tathâgata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandârava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathâgata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of rever-

¹ Sabbaphâliphullâ ti sabbe samantato pupphitâ mûlato patthâya yâva aggâ ekakkhannâ ahesum. (S.V. *thlu.*) Compare ekaphâliphullam vanam at Gâtaka I, 52.

ence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old !'

6. 'Now it is not thus, Ânanda, that the Tathâgata is rightly honoured, revered, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathâgata with the worthiest homage. Therefore, O Ânanda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts ; and thus, Ânanda, should it be taught.'

7. Now at that time the venerable Upâvana was standing in front of the Blessed One, fanning him. And the Blessed One was not pleased with Upâvana, and he said to him : 'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !'

8. Then this thought sprung up in the mind of the venerable Ânanda : 'The venerable Upâvana has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and speaks thus with him ?'

9. And the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One : 'The venerable Upâvana has long

been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upâvana, and speaks thus with him?'

10. 'In great numbers, Ânanda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathâgata. For twelve leagues, Ânanda, around the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded by powerful spirits¹. And the spirits, Ânanda, are murmuring, and say, "From afar have we come to behold the Tathâgata. Few and far between are the Tathâgatas, the Arahât Buddhas who appear in the world: and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathâgata will take place; and this eminent brother stands in

¹ Buddhaghosa explains that even twenty to sixty angels or gods (*devatâyo*) could stand âragga-ko/i-nittûdana- (MS. nittadana-) matte pi, 'on a point pricked by the extreme point of a gimlet,' without inconveniencing one another (*aññam aññam avyâbâdhenti*). It is most curious to find this exact analogy to the notorious discussion as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle in a commentary written at just that period of Buddhist history which corresponds to the Middle Ages of Christendom. The passage in the text does not really imply or suggest any such doctrine, though the whole episode is so absurd that the author of the text could not have hesitated to say so, had such an idea been the common belief of the early Buddhists. With these sections should be compared the similar sections in Chapter VI, of which these are perhaps merely an echo.

There is no comment on nittûdana, but there can be little doubt that Childers's conjectural reading is correct.'

front of the Tathâgata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathâgata ;” thus, Ânanda, do the spirits murmur.’

11. ‘ But of what kind of spirits is the Blessed One thinking ?’

12. ‘ There are spirits, Ânanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought : “ Too soon will the Blessed One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away ! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away ¹ ! ” ’

13. ‘ There are spirits, too, Ânanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought : “ Too soon will the Blessed One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away ! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight ! ” ’

14. ‘ But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, “ Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and

¹ *Kakkum* loke antaradhâyissati, on which there is no comment. It is literally, ‘ the Eye in the world will vanish away,’ where Eye is of course used figuratively of that by the aid of which spiritual truths can be perceived, corresponding exactly to the similar use in Europe of the word Light. The Master is often called *Kakkhumâ*, ‘ He with the Eye,’ ‘ He of the spiritual Eye ’ (see, for instance, the last verses in this Sutta), and here by a bold figure of speech he is called the Eye itself, which was shortly about to vanish away from the world, the means of spiritual insight which was no longer to be available for the common use of all men. But this is, it will be noticed, only the lament of the foolish and ignorant.

organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!”]¹

15. ‘In times past, Lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathâgata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One. But, Lord, after the end of the Blessed One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One.’

16. ‘There are these four places, Ânanda, which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe. Which are the four?’

17. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here the Tathâgata was born!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

18. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here the Tathâgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

19. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathâgata!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

20. ‘The place, Ânanda, at which the believing man can say, “Here the Tathâgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

¹ The words in brackets have been inserted from par. III, 63 above. See par. VI, 39 below.

21. 'And there will come, Ânanda, to such spots, believers, brethren and sisters of the order, or devout men and devout women, and will say, "Here was the Tathâgata born!" or, "Here did the Tathâgata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!" or, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathâgata!" or, "Here the Tathâgata passed away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!"

22. 'And they, Ânanda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.'

upant and
23. 'How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womankind?'

'Don't see them, Ânanda.'

'But if we should see them, what are we to do?'

'Abstain from speech, Ânanda.'

'But if they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?'

'Keep wide awake, Ânanda.'

24. 'What are we to do, Lord, with the remains of the Tathâgata?'

'Hinder not yourselves, Ânanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathâgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ânanda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ânanda, among the nobles, among the Brâhmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathâgata; and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata.'

25. ¹ 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathâgata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ânanda, should they treat the remains of a Tathâgata.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings²?'

26. 'They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ânanda, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool³. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron⁴, and cover that close up with another

¹ This conversation occurs also below (VI, 33), and the older tradition probably had it only in that connection.

² King of kings is an inadequate rendering of *Kakkavatti Râgâ*. It is a king whose power no other king can dispute, who is the acknowledged overlord in India. The idea can scarcely have existed before *Kandragupta*, the first *Kakravarti*, had raised himself to power. This passage, therefore, is a guide to the date at which the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* assumed its present form.

³ *Vihatena kappâsenâ ti suphoṭitena kappâsena: Kâsika-vattham hi sukhumattâ telam na ganhati, tasmâ vihatena kappâsenâ ti âha*. 'As Benâres cloth, by reason of its fineness of texture, does not take the oil, he therefore says, "with *vihata* cotton wool," that is, with cotton wool that has been well forced asunder.' That *phoṭita* is here the participle of the causal verb, and not of the simple verb, follows of necessity from its being used as an explanation of *vihata*, 'torn to pieces.' The technical use of the word, as applied to cotton wool, has only been found in this passage. It usually means 'torn with grief.'

⁴ *Âyasâya tela-doniyâ*, where one would expect *âyasâya*, but my MS. of the *Dîgha Nikâya* confirms twice over here, and twice again below, § VI, 33, 35, the reading given by Childers. *Buddhaghosa* says, *Âyasan ti suvannam, suvannamhi idha âyasan ti adhippeto*, but here again we should expect the second time to find *ayo* or *ayasam*. The meaning of the word is also not

oil vessel of iron¹. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a dâgaba² to the king of kings. This, Ânanda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

‘And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ânanda, should they treat the remains of the Tathâgata. At the four cross roads a dâgaba should be erected to the Tathâgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.’

27. ‘These men, Ânanda, worthy of a dâgaba², are four in number. Which are the four?’

‘A Tathâgata, or Arahata-Buddha, is worthy of a dâgaba. A Paññâ-Buddha is worthy of a dâgaba³.

quite clear. It no doubt was originally used for bronze, and only later for iron also, and at last exclusively of iron. As *kamsa* is already a common word for bronze in very early Buddhist Pâli texts, I think *âyasa* or *ayasa* must here mean ‘of iron.’ When Buddhaghosa says it is here a name for gold, we can only conclude that iron had become, in his time, a metal which he might fairly consider too base for the purpose proposed.

¹ Buddhaghosa has no note on *paññâ*; but from its use at *Gâtaka* I, 50, 29: 69, 23, it must, I think, have this meaning. I am not certain to what root it ought to be referred. I should mention that *pakkhipati* seems to me never to mean in Pâli, ‘to hurl forth into, to throw forth,’ but always ‘to place (slowly and carefully) into.’

² A solid mound or tumulus, in the midst of which the bones and ashes are to be placed. The dome of St. Paul’s as seen from the Thames Embankment gives a very good idea of one of the later Buddhist dâgabas. The Pâli word here and below is *Thûpa*.

³ A Paññâ-Buddha, who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

A true hearer of the Tathâgata is worthy of a dâgaba. A king of kings is worthy of a dâgaba.

28. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a Tathâgata, an Arahata-Buddha, worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that Blessed One, of that Arahata-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a Tathâgata, an Arahata-Buddha, is worthy of a dâgaba.'

29. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a Paikkaka-Buddha worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that Blessed One, of that Paikkaka-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a Paikkaka-Buddha is worthy of a dâgaba.

30. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a true hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahata-Buddha, worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that true hearer of the Blessed Arahata-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a true

hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahât-Buddha, is worthy of a dâgaba.

31. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ânanda, is a king of kings worthy of a dâgaba ?

'At the thought, Ânanda, "This is the dâgaba of that righteous king who ruled in righteousness," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a king of kings is worthy of a dâgaba.

'These four, Ânanda, are the persons worthy of a dâgaba.'

32. 'Now the venerable Ânanda went into the Vihâra, and stood leaning against the lintel of the door¹, and weeping at the thought : "Alas ! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection². And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind !"'

33. Now the Blessed One called the brethren, and said : 'Where, then, brethren, is Ânanda ?'

The venerable Ânanda, Lord, has gone into the

¹ Kapisîsam. Buddhaghosa says, Kapisîsakan ti dvâra-bâha-koḷiyam ṭhitaṃ aggala-rukkham, 'a piece of wood fixed as a bolt at the top of the door posts.' The Sanskrit lexicographers give kapi-sîrsha in the sense of 'coping of a wall.' Compare Pâtimokkha, Pâṭittiya, No. 19.

The expression that Ânanda went 'into the Vihâra' at the end of a conversation represented as having taken place in the Sâla Grove, would seem to point to the fact that this episode originally stood in some other connection. Buddhaghosa attempts to explain away the discrepancy by saying that Vihâra here means *Maṇḍala*.

² Ânanda had entered the Noble Path, but had not yet reached the end of it. He had not attained to Nirvâna.

Vihâra, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought: 'Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind!'

34. And the Blessed One called a certain brother, and said: 'Go now, brother, and call Ânanda in my name, and say, "Brother Ânanda, the Master calls for thee."'

'Even so, Lord!' said that brother, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ânanda: 'Brother Ânanda, the Master calls for thee.'

'Very well, brother,' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

35. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ânanda, as he sat there by his side: 'Enough, Ânanda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, Ânanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all

measure. For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies¹, and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ânanda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the great evils—from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance²!'

36. ³ Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Whosoever, brethren, have been Arahât-Buddhas through the long ages of the past, there were servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ânanda has been to me. And whosoever, brethren, shall be Arahât-Buddhas in the long ages of the future, there shall be servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ânanda has been to me.

37. 'He is a wise man, brethren,—is Ânanda.

¹ Advayena, which Buddhaghosa explains as not being that kind of love which is now one thing and now another, or which varies in the presence or the absence of the object loved. When the Buddha is called in the Amara Kosha I, 1, 1, 9, *advaya-vâdin*, that must mean in a similar way, 'One whose teaching does not vary.'

² Literally, thou shalt become an Anâsava, that is, one who is free from the four Âsavas, all which are explained above in § I, 12, from which I have taken the details suggested to a Buddhist by the word used. The state of mind to which an Anâsava has reached is precisely the same, though looked at from a different point of view, as the state of mind expressed by the better known word *Nirvâna*.

³ What follows is repeated in the *Satipatthâna Vagga* of the *Samyutta Nikâya*; but in regard to Sâriputta (*Upatissa*) and Moggallâna, and reading *sâvaka-yugam* for *upa//hâko*.

He knows when it is the right time for him to come and visit the Tathâgata, and when it is the right time for the brethren and sisters of the order, for devout men and devout women, for a king, or for a king's ministers, for other teachers or their disciples, to come and visit the Tathâgata.

38. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ânanda. Which are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the order should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

'If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

39. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of nobles, or Brahman, or heads of houses, or Samanas should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent.

40. 'Just so, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ânanda.

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the

order, or of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse ; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

‘ Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities that are in Ânanda.’

41. When he had thus spoken¹, the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One :

‘ Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township². For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as *Kampâ*, *Râgagaha*, *Sâvatthi*, *Sâketa*, *Kosambi*, and *Benâres*. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and Brâhmans and heads of houses, believers in the Tathâgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata³.’

¹ From here down to the end of section 44 is found also, nearly word for word, in the beginning of the *Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta*, translated below ; compare also *Mahâ-Sudassana Gâtaka*, No. 95.

² *Kudda-nagarake ti patirûpake sambâdhe khuddaka-nagare: Uggâṅgala-nagarake ti visama-nagarake.* (S.V.fol. *thau*.) *Kudda*, if this explanation be right, seems to be merely an old and unusual form for *kshudra*, and the Burmese correction into *khudda* to be unnecessary : but I venture to think it is more likely to be=*kudya*, and to mean a wall built of mud and sticks, or what is called in India, of wattel and daub. When Buddhaghosa explains *uggaṅgala* as ‘lawless,’ he is expressing his view that a town in the jungle is likely to be a heathen, pagan sort of place.

³ With reference to Childers’s note in his *Dictionary on mahâ-sâlâ*, with which every one must entirely agree, Buddhaghosa’s

42. 'Say not so, Ânanda! Say not so, Ânanda, that this is but a small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ânanda, there was a king, by name Mahâ-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinârâ, Ânanda, was the royal city of king Mahâ-Sudassana, under the name of Kusâvatî, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth.

43. 'That royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food¹. Just, Ânanda, as the royal city of the gods, Âlakamandâ by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ânanda, was the royal city Kusâvatî mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

44. 'Both by day and by night, Ânanda, the royal city Kusâvatî resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the

explanation of the word will be interesting as a proof (if proof be needed) that the Ceylon scholars are not always trustworthy. He says, Khattiya-mahâsâlâ ti khattiya-mahâsârâ sârapattâ mahâ-khattiyâ. Eso nayo sabbattha.

¹ The first three of these adjectives are applied at Gâtaka I, 29 (v. 212) to the religion of the Buddhas; and I think the right reading there must be *phîtam*, in accordance with the corrections in two MSS. as noted by Mr. Fausbøll, and not *pîtam* as he has preferred to read. The whole set of epithets is often used of cities.

drum, of the tabor, and of the lute ; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong ; and lastly, with the cry, " Eat, drink, and be merry ¹ ! "

45. ' Go now, Ānanda, and enter into Kusinârâ, and inform the Mallas of Kusinârâ, saying, " This day, O Vâsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vâsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, ' In our own village did the death of our Tathâgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathâgata in his last hours. ' " "

' Even so, Lord, ' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Blessed One ; and he robed himself, and taking his bowl², entered into Kusinârâ attended by another member of the order.

¹ This enumeration is found also at *Gâtaka*, p. 3, only that the conch shell is added there—wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven. The *Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta* has in the corresponding passage, like the Burmese MS. noted here by Childers, conch instead of cymbal. My MS. reads cymbal here.

² *Nivâsetvâ patta-kîvaram âdâya atta-dutiyo*. *Buddhaghosa* has, naturally enough, no comment on this oft-recurring phrase. It cannot be meant that he put on only his under-garments, and carried his upper robe with him ; for then his shoulders would have been bare ; and it is quite against the rules to go into a village without all the robes having been put carefully on (*Pâtimokkha*, *Sekhiya* 1-3). I do not even understand how Ānanda, with due regard to the rules of the brotherhood (see *Pâtimokkha*, *Nisaggiya* 21-29), could have had a spare robe then with him. And *patta-kîvaram* can scarcely mean simply ' bowl-robe, ' referring to the length of cotton cloth in which the bowl was carried over the shoulder (' Buddhist Birth Stories, ' p. 71). ' With both his under-garments on, he entered Kusinârâ duly bowled and robed ' may be impossible English, but it probably correctly catches the

46. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinârâ were assembled in the council hall on some public affair¹.

And the venerable Ânanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinârâ; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, 'This day, O Vâsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vâsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, "In our own village did the death of our Tathâgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathâgata in his last hours."'

47. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ânanda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelling their hair, and stretched forth their arms and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!'

48. Then the Mallas, with their young men and

idea involved, though of course one (at least) of the under-cloths had been put on long before. See p. 122. A Thera never goes about in public alone, he is always accompanied by a Sâmaṇera.

¹ *Kenakid eva karanîyena*. Professor Pischel, in his edition of the Assalâyana Sutta (p. 1), prints this expression *kenakî deva-karanîyena*, and translates it (p. 28), 'for some religious purposes.' It seems to me that he has been misled by the commentary, which really presupposes the more correct division adopted by Childers.

maidens and their wives, being grieved and sad and afflicted at heart, went to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ânanda was.

49. Then the venerable Ânanda thought: 'If I allow the Mallas of Kusinârâ, one by one, to pay their respects to the Blessed One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinârâ will not have been presented to the Blessed One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas of Kusinârâ to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Blessed One, saying, "Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One."''

50. And the venerable Ânanda caused the Mallas of Kusinârâ to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One.'

51. And after this manner the venerable Ânanda presented all the Mallas of Kusinârâ to the Blessed One in the first watch of the night.

52. Now at that time a mendicant named Subhadda, who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinârâ. And the mendicant Subhadda heard the news: 'This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama.'

53. Then thought the mendicant Subhadda: 'This have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and

disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathâgatas appear in the world, the Arahât Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty.'

54. Then the mendicant Subhadda went to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana of Kusi-nârâ, to the place where the venerable Ânanda was.

55. And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ânanda: 'Thus have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathâgatas appear in the world, the Arahât Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ânanda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!'

56. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ânanda said to the mendicant Subhadda: 'Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathâgata. The Blessed One is weary.'

57. And again the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]; and the third time the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply].

58. Now the Blessed One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ânanda with the mendicant Subhadda. And the Blessed One called the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'It is enough, Ânanda! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ânanda, may be allowed to see the Tathâgata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand.'

59. Then the venerable Ânanda said to Subhadda, the mendicant: 'Enter in, friend Subhadda; for the Blessed One gives you leave.'

60. Then Subhadda, the mendicant, went in to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and of civility, he took his seat on one side.) And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: 'The Brâhman by saintliness of life¹, Gotama, who

¹ *Samana-brâhmanâ*, which compound may possibly mean *Samanas* and *Brâhmanas* as it has usually been rendered, but I think not necessarily. Not one of those here specified were *Brâhmanas* by caste, as is apparent from the *Sumangala Vilâsinî* on the *Sâmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 114. Compare the use of *Kshatriya-brâhmano*; 'a soldier priest,' a *Kshatriya* who offered sacrifice; and of *Brâhmano*, absolutely, as an epithet of an *Arahat*. In the use of the word *samana* there seems to me to be a hopeless confusion between, a complete mingling of the meanings of, the two roots *sram* and *sam* (which, in Pâli, would both become *sam*). It connotes both asceticism and inward peace, and might best be rendered 'devotee,' were it not for the intellectual inferiority implied by that word in our language. A *Samana Brâhman* should therefore mean a man of any caste, who by his saintliness of life, by his renunciation of the world, and by his reputation as a religious thinker, had acquired the position of a quasi *Brâhman*, and

are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude—to wit, Pûrana Kassapa, Makkhali of the cattle-pen, Agita of the garment of hair, Kakkhâyana of the Pakudha tree, Sañgaya the son of the Belatthi slave-girl, and Nigantha of the Nâtha clan—have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly understood things? or have they not? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not¹?’

61. ‘Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Ânanda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the mendicant Subhadda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

62. And the Blessed One spake: ‘In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first or of the second or of the third or of the fourth degree².

was looked up to by the people in the same way as that in which they looked up to a Brâhman by caste. Compare further my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ vol. i. p. 260; and also Mr. Beal’s remarks in the Indian Antiquary for May, 1880; and Professor Max Müller’s note on Dhammapada, verse 265.

¹ Buddhaghosa has an exegetical note on *abbhaññamsu*, but passes over those celebrated Six Teachers in silence. The little that is thus far known of them will be discussed in another place.

² This refers to the four divisions of the Noble Eightfold Path. See above, chap. II, § 8, where their characters are described. The

And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is found, is found the man of true saintliness of the first and the second and the third and the fourth degree. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the noble eightfold path, and in it alone, Subhadda, is the man of true saintliness. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahats ¹.

word translated 'man of true saintliness,' or 'true saint,' is in the text *Samazo*, on which see the note on page 105. I am at a loss how to render the word adequately here.

¹ Arahats are those who have reached *Nirvâna*, the 'supreme goal,' the 'highest fruit' of the Noble Eightfold Path. To live 'the Life that's Right' (*sammâ*) is to live in the Noble Path, each of the eight divisions of which is to be *sammâ*, round, right and perfect, normal and complete. To live right (*sammâ*) is therefore to have—1. Right views, free from superstition. 2. Right aims, high and worthy of the intelligent and earnest man. 3. Right speech, kindly, open, truthful. 4. Right conduct, in all concerns of life. 5. Right livelihood, bringing hurt or danger to no living thing. 6. Right perseverance, in all the other seven. 7. Right mindfulness, the watchful, active mind. 8. Right contemplation, earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life. In each of these the word right is *sammâ*, and the whole paragraph being on the Noble Path, the allusion is certainly to this central doctrine of the Buddhist Dhamma.

Buddhaghosa says that that *bhikkhu sammâ viharati*, who, having himself entered the Noble Path, leads his brother into it, and this is, no doubt, good Buddhism. But it is a practical application of the text, a theological exegesis, and not a philological explanation. Even so it seems to lay the stress too much on 'bereft,' and too little on 'Arahats.'

In the last words of the prose we seem to have a reminiscence of what were once verses, which may have run—

Suññâ pavâdâ samanehi aññe;

v
page 63
" 147
147

‘But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realms of virtue and of truth,
And outside these no really “saint” can be¹!

‘Yea, not of the first, nor of the second, nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of those who have reached the highest fruit.’

63. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: ‘Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!’

Ime ka sammâ vihareyyu bhikkhû,
Asuñño loko 'rahatehi assa.

¹ I have followed, though with some doubt, Childers's punctuation. Buddhaghosa refers padesa-vattî to samāno; and ito, not to padesa, but to magga, understood; and it is quite possible that this is the correct explanation. On samādhikāni see the comment at *Gâtaka* II, 383.

64. 'Whosoever, Subhadda, that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons.'

65. 'If, Lord, whosoever that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline,—if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order—I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the order!'

66. But the Blessed One called the venerable Ânanda, and said: 'As it is, Ânanda, receive Subhadda into the order!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

67. And Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the venerable Ânanda: 'Great is your gain, friend Ânanda, great is your good fortune, friend Ânanda, that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself!'

68. So Subhadda, the mendicant, was received

into the higher grade of the order under the Blessed One; and from immediately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And e'er long he attained to that supreme goal of the higher life¹ for the sake of which men go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

69. So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahats; and he was the last disciple whom the Blessed One himself converted².

End of the Hiraññavatiya portion, being the
Fifth Portion for Recitation.

¹ That is, Nirvâna. Compare Maṅgala Sutta V, 11, and the Dhammapada, verses 180, 354, and above Chap. I, § 7.

² Buddhaghosa says that the last five words in the text (the last twelve words in my translation) were added by the Theras who held the Council. On Subhadda's ordination he has the following interesting note: 'The Thero (that is, Ānanda), they say, took him on one side, poured water over his head from a water vessel, made him repeat the formula of meditation on the impermanency of the body (*Takka-paññakā-kammaññānam*; see my "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 161), shaved off his hair and beard, clad him in the yellow robes, made him repeat the "Three Refuges," and led him back to the Blessed One. The Blessed One himself admitted him then into the higher rank of the brotherhood, and pointed out to him a subject for meditation (*kammaññānam*; see "Buddhist

Birth Stories," p. 147). He accepted this, and walking up and down in a quiet part of the grove, he thought and meditated upon it, till overcoming the Evil Spirit, he had acquired Arahatsip, and with it the discriminating knowledge of all the Scriptures (*Paṭi-sambhidā*). Then, returning, he came and took his seat beside the Blessed One.'

According to this, no set ceremony for ordination (*Saṅghakammam*), as laid down in the *Vinaya*, took place; and it is otherwise probable that no such ceremony was usual in the earliest days of Buddhism.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said : ' It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, " The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more ! " But it is not thus, Ānanda, that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you.'

2. ' Ānanda ! when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other—with the epithet, that is, of " Āvuso " (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title " Friend." But an elder should be addressed by a younger brother as " Lord " or as " Venerable Sir."'

3. ' When I am gone, Ānanda, let the order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts¹.'

4. ' When I am gone, Ānanda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother Kāṇṇa.'

' But what, Lord, is the higher penalty ?'

¹ In *Kulla Vagga XI*, 1, 9, 10, is related how the brotherhood formally considered the permission thus accorded to them, and resolved to adhere to all the precepts as laid down in the Buddha's lifetime. In his comment on this passage Buddhaghosa incidentally refers to a conversation on the subject between Nāgasena and Milinda Rāga, but makes no mention of the work known as *Milinda Pañha*. Compare Trenckner's edition of that work, p. 142.

‘Let *Khanna* say whatever he may like, Ānanda, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him¹.’

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, “Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.”’

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. And again the second and the third time the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, “Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.”’

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

¹ Compare *Kulla Vagga* I, 25-31: IV, 14, 1: XI, 1, 12-14. *Khanna* is represented as an obstinate, perverse man; so destitute of the proper ‘esprit de corps’ that he dared to take part with the sisterhood, and against the brotherhood, in a dispute which had arisen between them. But after the social penalty here referred to had been duly imposed upon him, even his proud and independent spirit was tamed; he became humble: his eyes were opened; and he, also, attained to the ‘supreme goal’ of the Buddhist faith.

7. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another.'

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

8. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way!'

9. 'It is out of the fulness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ānanda! But, Ānanda, the Tathāgata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way! For even the most backward, Ānanda, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, and is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation¹.'

10. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, "Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"'

This was the last word of the Tathāgata!

11. Then the Blessed One entered into the first

¹ Compare above, Chap. II, § 7. By 'the most backward,' according to Buddhaghosa, the Blessed One referred to Ānanda, and he said this to encourage him.

stage of deep meditation¹. And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of deep meditation he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present². And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away.

12. Then the venerable Ânanda said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'O my Lord, O Anuruddha, the Blessed One is dead!'

'Nay! brother Ânanda, the Blessed One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be!'

13. Then the Blessed One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to

¹ *GAâna*, the full text and an explanation of which will be found in the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-176.

² Compare above, Chap. III, §§ 37-42.

which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of deep meditation he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the last stage of deep meditation he immediately expired.

14. When the Blessed One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and awe-inspiring : and the thunders of heaven burst forth.

15. When the Blessed One died, Brahmâ Sahampati, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

‘ They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
Aside their complex form—that aggregation
Of mental and material qualities,
That gives them, or in heaven or on earth,
Their fleeting individuality !
E’en as the teacher—being such a one,

Unequaled among all the men that are,
 Successor of the prophets of old time,
 Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear—
 Hath died!¹

16. When the Blessed One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

‘They’re transient all, each being’s parts and powers,
 Growth is their nature, and decay.
 They are produced, they are dissolved again :
 And then is best, when they have sunk to rest!²’

¹ Brahmâ, the first cause, the highest result of Indian theological speculation, the one God of the Indian Pantheists, is represented as using expressions full of deep allusions to the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines. The Samussaya is the result of the temporary collocation of the ‘aggregations’ (khandhâ) of mental and material qualities which give to each being (bhûto, that is, man, animal, god, ghost, fairy, or what not) its outward and visible shape, its individuality. Loka is here not the world in our sense, but the ‘locality’ in the Buddhist universe which such an individual occupies until it is dissolved. (Comp. Chap. II, §§ 14, 34.) Brahmâ appears therefore as a veritable Vibhaggavâdî.

² On this celebrated verse see below the Introduction to Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta. It must be the original of the first verse in the Chinese work, Fa Kheu Pi Hu (Beal, Dhammapada, p. 32), though it is there so changed that every clause has lost its point.

‘Whatever exists is without endurance.
 And hence the terms “flourishing” and “decaying.”
 A man is born, and then he dies.
 Oh, the happiness of escaping from this condition!’

The very meaning which is here the most essential connotation of saṅkhârâ is lost in the phrase ‘whatever exists.’ By a misapprehension of the, no doubt, difficult word Dhamma, which, however, never means ‘term,’ the second clause has lost its point. And by a grammatical blunder the third clause in the Chinese confines the doctrine, erroneously, to man. In a Chinese tale, called

17. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these stanzas :

‘When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvâṇa’s tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart !
All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o’er the pain of death.
E’en as a bright flame dies away, so was
His last deliverance from the bonds of life !’

18. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Ānanda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

‘Then was there terror !
Then stood the hair on end !
When he endowed with every grace—
The supreme Buddha—died !’

Ngan shih niu, translated by Mr. Beal, in the *Indian Antiquary* for May, 1880, the following verses occur ; and they are possibly another reflection of this stanza :

‘All things that exist are transitory.
They must of necessity perish and disappear ;
Though joined together, there must be separation ;
Where there is life there must be death.’

¹ *Ketaso Vimokkho. Kenaṅki dhammena anāvaraṇa-vimokho sabbaso apaṇṇatti-bhāvūpagamo*, says Buddhaghosa ; that is, ‘the deliverance which is free from the restraint of each and every mental quality completely vanishing away’ (dhammā being here = *saññā* and *vedanā* and *saṅkhârā* ; see ‘*Buddhism*,’ pp. 91, 92). See also below, p. 153.

² In these four stanzas we seem to have the way in which the death of the Buddha would be regarded, as the early Buddhist thought, by four representative persons—the exalted God of the theologians ; the Jupiter of the multitude (allowing in the case of

19¹. When the Blessed One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved]?''

20. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said: 'Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us².

each of these for the change in character resulting from their conversion to Buddhism); the holy, thoughtful Arahât; and the loving, childlike disciple.

¹ Nearly=V, 11-14; and below, VI, 39.

² *Uggâhâyanti*. I have followed the reading of my own MS., which is confirmed by the *Sumangala Vilâsinî* and the *Mâlâ-lankâra-vatthu*. *Viggâhâyanti*, which Childers reads, would be questionable Buddhism. The spirits do not become extinct; that is, not as a general rule, as would be implied by the absolute state-

‘But of what kind of spirits is the Lord, the venerable Anuruddha, thinking?’

21. ‘There are spirits, brother Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: “Too soon has the

ment, ‘Even the spirits, brethren, become extinct.’ It is no doubt true that all spirits, from the lowest to the highest, from the most insignificant fairy to the God of theological speculation, are regarded as temporary. But when they cease to exist as gods or spirits (*devatā*), they do not go out, they are not extinguished (*viggahāyanti*); they continue to exist in some other form. And though that other form would, from the European point of view, be a different being, as there would be no continuity of consciousness, no passage of a ‘soul’ from the one to the other; it would, from the Buddhist point of view, be the same being, as it would be the resultant effect of the same Karma. There would follow on the death of a *devatā*, not extinction, but a transmutation of force, a transmigration of character, a passing on, an inheritance of Karma. Only in the exceedingly rare case of an *anāgāmin*, of which an instance will be found above, Chap. II, § 7, could it be said that a spirit becomes extinct.

The expression ‘of worldly mind,’ here and above in V, 11, is in Pāli *paṭhavi-saññiniyo*, an ambiguous phrase which has only been found in this connection. Buddhaghosa says merely, ‘because they made (*māpetvā*) an earth in heaven.’ This gloss again may be taken either in a figurative or in a literal sense; but, if not impossible, it is at least unlikely that the good commentator means calmly to state that the angels created a floor in the skies—for the greater convenience of tumbling! The word seems to me also to be opposed to *vītarāgā*, ‘free from passion,’ and I have therefore taken it in a spiritual sense. There is a third possibility, viz. that it is used in an intellectual sense, ‘having the idea of the world present to their mind;’ and this would be in accordance with the more usual use of *saññī*. But how easily, especially in Buddhism, the intellectual merges into the religious may be seen from such a phrase as *marāṇa-saññīno*, used at Mahāvamsa 33 of the *bhikkhus*. Compare also above, III, 14.

Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!”

‘There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: “Too soon has the Blessed one died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!”

‘But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, “Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [that such a being should not be dissolved]?”’

22. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Ānanda spent the rest of that night in religious discourse. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the venerable Ānanda: ‘Go now, brother Ānanda, into Kusinârâ and inform the Mallas of Kusinârâ, saying, ‘The Blessed One, O Vâsetthas, is dead: do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl, and went into Kusinârâ with one of the brethren as an attendant.

23. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinârâ were assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinârâ; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, ‘The

Blessed One, O *Vâsetthas*, is dead ; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit !'

24. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable *Ânanda*, the *Mallas*, with their young men and their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought : ' Too soon has the Blessed One died ! Too soon has the Happy One passed away ! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !'

25. Then the *Mallas* of *Kusinârâ* gave orders to their attendants, saying, ' Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in *Kusinârâ* !'

26. And the *Mallas* of *Kusinârâ* took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the *Upavattana*, to the *Sâla* Grove of the *Mallas*, where the body of the Blessed One lay. There they past the day in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes ; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon ¹.

¹ The dress of the *Mallas* consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth ; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these—one to wrap round the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together ; to make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material ; and the only decoration, as simple as it

27. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ thought :

‘It is much too late to burn the body of the Blessed One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.’ And in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they past the second day too, and then the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

28. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinârâ thought :

‘Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!’

29. And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Blessed One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

30. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Anuruddha: ‘What, Lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention

is beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof, or stretched along the sides.

of bearing the body of the Blessed One, are unable to lift it up?’

‘It is because you, O *Vâsetthas*, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.’

31. ‘But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?’

‘Your purpose, O *Vâsetthas*, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, *Vâsetthas*, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate,—paying honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes,—let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called *Makuṭa-bandhana*, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.’

‘Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!’

32. Then immediately all *Kusinârâ* down even to the dust bins and rubbish heaps became strewn knee-deep with *Mandârava* flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of *Kusinârâ* upon earth, paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with dance and song and music, with garlands and with perfumes, they carried the

body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called *Makuta-bandhana*; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Blessed One¹.

33. ² Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Ânanda: 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathâgata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, *Vâsetthas*, should they treat the remains of a Tathâgata.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?'

'They wrap the body of a king of kings, *Vâsetthas*, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a *dâgaba* to the king of kings. This, *Vâsetthas*, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, *Vâsetthas*, should they treat the remains of the

¹ The point of this interesting legend is that the inhabitants of an Indian village of that time would have considered it a desecration or pollution to bring a dead body into or through their village.

² Compare Chap. V, §§ 25-30.

Tathâgata. At the four cross roads a dâgaba should be erected to the Tathâgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.’

34. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying, ‘Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas!’

35. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ wrapped the body of the Blessed One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth, —and so on till they had wrapped the body of the Blessed One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Blessed One.

36. Now at that time the venerable Mahâ Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pâvâ to Kusinârâ with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

37. Just at that time a certain naked ascetic who had picked up a Mandârava flower in Kusinârâ was coming along the high road to Pâvâ.

38. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he said to the naked ascetic:

‘O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?’

‘Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week! That is how I obtained this Mandârava flower.’

39. And immediately of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: ‘Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!’

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: ‘Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that they should not be dissolved?’

40. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the order in his old age, was seated there in their company¹.

And Subhadda the old addressed the brethren, and said: ‘Enough, brethren! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told, “This beseems you, this beseems you not.” But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!’

¹ At p. xxvi of the Introduction to his edition of the Mahâ Vagga, Dr. Oldenberg identifies this Subhadda with Subhadda the last convert, mentioned above in Chap. V, §§ 52–68. They are different persons; the last convert being represented as a young man of high character, incapable of the conduct here ascribed to this Subhadda. The last convert was a Brâhman, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Añña Kondañña, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber in the village Âtumâ.

41. But the venerable Mahâ Kassapa addressed the brethren, and said: 'Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!'

42. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

43. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'What, Lord, can be the reason, and what the cause, that four chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments, with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One, are unable to set it on fire?'

'It is because you, O Vâsetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

44. 'But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?'

'The purpose of the spirits, O Vâsetthas, is this: That venerable brother Mahâ Kassapa is now journeying along the high road from Pâvâ to Kusinârâ with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred of the brethren. The funeral pile of

the Blessed One shall not catch fire, until the venerable Mahâ Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the sacred feet of the Blessed One.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!'

45. Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa went on to Makuṭa-bandhana of Kusinârâ, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the place where the funeral pile of the Blessed One was. And when he had come up to it, he arranged his robe on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands he thrice walked reverently round the pile; and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

46. And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pile, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

47. And when the homage of the venerable Mahâ Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pile of the Blessed One caught fire of itself¹.

¹ It is possible that we have here the survival of some ancient custom. Spence Hardy appropriately refers to a ceremony among Jews (of what place or time is not mentioned) in the following terms: 'Just before a Jew is taken out of the house to be buried, the relatives and acquaintances of the departed stand round the coffin; when the feet are uncovered; and each in rotation lays hold of the great toes, and begs pardon for any offence given to the deceased, and requests a favourable mention of them in the next world.' (Manual of Buddhism, p. 348.)

The Buddhist bhikkhus in Siam and the great majority of those in Ceylon (the adherents of the Siyam-samâgama) always keep one shoulder uncovered. It is evident that the bhikkhus

48. Now as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen : and only the bones remained behind.

Just as one sees no soot or ash when glue or oil is burned ; so, as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen : and only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

49. And when the body of the Blessed One had been burnt up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One ; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters (beneath the earth), and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One. The Mallas of Kusinâra also brought water scented with all kinds of perfumes, and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One¹.

in Burma, and those in Ceylon who belong to the Amara-purasamâgama, are more in accordance with ancient custom in wearing the robe ordinarily over both shoulders.

¹ There is something very quaint in the way in which the faithful Mallas are here represented as bringing coals to Newcastle. The 'storehouse of the waters' is in Pâli *udaka-sâla*, on which Buddhaghosa has two theories : first, that the *Sâla* trees around shed down a miraculous rain from their trunks and branches and leaves ; and next, that the waters burst up from the earth and became as it were a diadem of crystal round the pyre. On the belief that water thus burst up miraculously through the earth, see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 64, 67. If the reading be correct it is scarcely possible that *sâla* can here have anything to do with *Sâla* trees ; but the other interpretation is open to the objections

50. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ surrounded the bones of the Blessed One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

51. Now the king of Magadha, Agâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the king of Magadha, Agâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I too am of the soldier caste. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast¹!'

52. And the *Likkhavis* of Vesâli heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the *Likkhavis* of Vesâli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

53. And the Sâkiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the

that sâla means an open hall rather than a storehouse, and that the belief in a 'storehouse of water' has not, as yet, been found elsewhere.

¹ The commentator gives a long account of Agâtasattu's proceedings on this occasion.

news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Sâkiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

54. And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

55. And the Koliyas of Râmagâma heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Koliyas of Râmagâma sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

56. And the Brâhman of Vetthadîpa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Brâhman of Vetthadîpa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I am a Brâhman. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!'

57. And the Mallas of Pāvā heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Mallas of Pāvā sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

58. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinârâ spoke to the assembled brethren, saying, 'The Blessed One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Blessed One!'

59. When they had thus spoken, *Dona* the Brâhman addressed the assembled brethren, and said:

'Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.

Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.

Unseemly is it that over the division

Of the remains of him who was the best of
beings

Strife should arise, and wounds, and war!

Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite

In friendly harmony to make eight portions.

Wide spread let Thûpas rise in every land

That in the Enlightened One mankind may trust!'

60. 'Do thou then, O Brâhman, thyself divide the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division¹.'

'Be it so, sir!' said *Dona*, in assent, to the assem-

¹ Here again the commentator expands and adds to the comparatively simple version of the text.

bled brethren. And he divided the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them: 'Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honour will I establish a feast.'

And they gave the vessel to *Dona* the Brâhman.

61. And the Moriyas of Pipphalivana heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Moriyas of Pipphalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And when they heard the answer, saying, 'There is no portion of the remains of the Blessed One left over. The remains of the Blessed One are all distributed,' then they took away the embers.

62. Then the king of Magadha, *Agâtasattu*, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a mound in *Râgagaha* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Likkhavis* of *Vesâli* made a mound in *Vesâli* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Bulis* of *Allakappa* made a mound in *Allakappa* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the *Koliyas* of *Râmagâma* made a mound in *Râmagâma* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And *Vetthadîpaka* the Brâhman made a mound in *Vetthadîpa* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of *Pâvâ* made a mound in *Pâvâ* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of *Kusinârâ* made a mound in *Kusinârâ* over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And *Dona* the Brâhman made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burnt, and held a feast.

And the *Moriyas* of *Pipphalivana* made a mound over the embers, and held a feast.

Thus were there eight mounds [*Thûpas*] for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be¹.

[63. Eight measures of relics there were of him
of the far-seeing eye,
Of the best of the best of men. In India seven
are worshipped,
And one measure in *Râmagâma*, by the kings of
the serpent race.
One tooth, too, is honoured in heaven, and one in
Gandhâra's city,
One in the *Kâlinga* realm, and one more by the
Nâga race.

¹ Here closes Buddhaghosa's long and edifying commentary. He has no note on the following verses, which he says were added by *Theras* in *Ceylon*. The additional verse found in the *Phayre MS.* was in the same way probably added in *Burma*.

Through their glory the bountiful earth is made
bright with offerings painless—
For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best
honoured by those who are honoured,
By gods and by Nâgas and kings, yea, thus by
the noblest of monarchs—
Bow down with clasped hands!
Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through
hundreds of ages!]

End of the Book of the Great Decease.

**DHAMMAKAKKAPPAVAT-
TANA-SUTTA.**

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THIS translation is made from a transcript of the text as found in the very beautiful Ceylon MS. on silver plates, now in the British Museum¹. The letters, which are perfectly formed, are cut into the silver; and the MS. has this peculiarity, that every sentence is repeated with a slight change in the collocation of the words. Thus the first sentence is given as follows:—

Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagavâ Bârânasiyam viharati Isipatane Migadâye. Me evam sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagavâ Bârânasiyam Isipatane Migadâye viharati.

As this repetition is merely carried out for the further security of the text it has not been followed in the translation.

This text belongs to the *Ânguttara Nikâya*. M. Léon Feer has lithographed the *Samyutta* treatment in his 'Textes tirés du Kandjour²,' together with the text of the corresponding passage in the *Lalita Vistara*, and the Tibetan translation from that poem. The Sanskrit text, so far as it runs parallel with our *Sutta*, will also be found in Rajendra Lal Mitra's edition of the *Lalita Vistara* (p. 540 and foll.) and the Tibetan text, with a French translation, in M. Foucaux's 'rGya Cher Rol Pa.' Dr. Oldenberg has just published the *Vinaya* treatment contained in the *Mahâ Vagga* I, 6. It is the same word for word as our *Sutta* (except § 1, which is of course not found there). The *Samyutta* expands the idea of the portion numbered below §§ 9-20, having also similar paragraphs in reference to the *bhikkhus* themselves. The

¹ MS. Egerton, 794; bought from a bookseller named Rodel in 1839.

² *Livraison*, No. X.

Lalita Vistara differs a good deal in minor details, but is substantially the same as regards the Noble Truths, and the eight divisions of the Noble Path.

A translation of this Sutta, found among Mr. Gogerly's papers after his death, was published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society* for 1865: and the *Journal Asiatique* for 1870 contained a translation and full analysis by M. Léon Feer.

It would be difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of this Sutta. There can be no reasonable doubt that the very ancient tradition accepted by all Buddhists as to the substance of the discourse is correct, and that we really have in it a summary of the words in which the great Indian thinker and reformer for the first time successfully promulgated his new ideas. And it presents to us in a few short and pithy sentences the very essence of that remarkable system which has had so profound an influence on the religious history of so large a portion of the human race.

The name given to it by the early Buddhists—the setting in motion onwards of the royal chariot-wheel of the supreme dominion of the Dhamma—means, as I have shown elsewhere¹, not 'the turning of the wheel of the law,' as it has been usually rendered; but 'the inauguration, or foundation, of the Kingdom of Righteousness.'

Is it possible that the praying wheels of Thibet have led to the misapprehension and mistranslation now so common? But who would explain a passage in the New Testament by a superstition current, say, in Spain in the twelfth century? And so when Mr. Da Cuiha thinks that the Dhamma is symbolised by the wheel, because 'Gotama ignored the beginning, and was uncertain as to the end²,' he seems to me to be following a vicious method of interpreting such figures of speech. It cannot be disputed that the term 'wheel' might have implied such an idea as he puts into it. But if we want to know what it did imply, we must be guided wholly by the previous use of the word at the

¹ 'Buddhism,' p. 45.

² 'Memoir on the Tooth Relic,' &c., p. 15.

time when it was first used in a figurative sense: and that previous use allows only of the interpretation given above. Perhaps, however, Mr. Da Cuñha is only copying (not very exactly) Mr. Alabaster, who has said, 'Buddha, as I have tried to show in other parts of this book, did not attempt to teach the beginning of existence, but assumed it as a rolling circle of causes or effects. This was his circle or wheel of the law¹.'

Mr. Alabaster therefore calls his very useful book on Siamese Buddhism, 'The Wheel of the Law;'—an expression which he on the first page of his preface takes to be about equivalent to Buddhism. But his theory of the meaning of the term seems to be based upon a misunderstanding of a passage in the Siamese 'Life of Buddha,' which he there translates. At page 78 he renders his text, 'The Holy Wheel which the Law taught is plenteous in twelve ways,' and he explains this on p. 169 as referring to the twelve *Nidānas*, the chain of causes and effects. But the passage in the Siamese text is evidently a reminiscence of the 'twelffold manner' spoken of in the same connection in our *Sutta* (§ 21), and does not refer to the *Nidānas* at all.

A better comment on the word is the legend of the Treasure of the Wheel, which will be found below in the 'Book of the Great King of Glory²,' a passage which shows that this figure belonged to that circle of poetical imagery which the early Buddhists so often borrowed from the previous poets of Vedic literature to aid them in their attempts to describe the most important events in the life of their revered Teacher. And, like the day of Pentecost by the early Christians, this Inauguration of the Kingdom of Righteousness was rightly regarded by them as a turning-point in the history of their faith. We find this even in the closing sections of our *Sutta*; and in later times the poets of every Buddhist clime have vied one with another in endeavouring to express their sense of the importance of the occasion.

'The evening was like a lovely maiden; the stars

¹ 'Wheel of the Law,' p. 288.

² Chap. I, §§ 10-20.

were the pearls upon her neck; the dark clouds her braided hair; the deepening space her flowing robe. As a crown she had the heavens where the angels dwell; these three worlds were as her body; her eyes were the white lotus flowers which open to the rising moon; and her voice was as it were the humming of the bees. To do homage to the Buddha, and to hear the first preaching of his word, this lovely maiden came.' The angels (*devas*) throng to hear the discourse until the heavens are empty; and the sound of their approach is like the rain of a storm; all the worlds in which there are sentient beings are made void of life, so that the congregation assembled was in number infinite, but at the sound of the blast of the glorious trumpet of Sakka, the king of the gods, they became still as a waveless sea. And then each of the countless listeners thought that the sage was looking towards himself, and was speaking to him in his own tongue, though the language used was *Māgadhi*!

It is most curious that this last figure should be so closely analogous to the language used with respect to the corresponding event in the history of the Christian church: and I do not know the exact source from which Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 186) derives it. But I think it is highly improbable that there is any borrowing on the one side or on the other.

It cannot be denied that there is a real beauty of an Oriental kind in the various expressions which the Buddhists use; and that there was real ground for the enthusiasm which gave them birth. Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth so simple in its nature, so free from any superhuman agency, so independent of, so even antagonistic to the belief in a soul, the belief in God, and the hope for a future life. And we must not allow our estimate of the importance of the event to be influenced by our disagreement from the opinions put forth. Whether these be right or wrong, it was a turning-point in the religious history of man when a reformer, full of the most earnest moral purpose, and trained in all the intellectual culture

of his time, put forth deliberately, and with a knowledge of the opposing views, the doctrine of a salvation to be found here, in this life, in an inward change of heart, to be brought about by perseverance in a mere system of self-culture and of self-control.

That system, it will be seen, is called the Noble Path, and is divided into eight sections or divisions, each of which commences with the word *sammâ*—a word for which we have no real equivalent in English, though it has been rendered by such terms as 'right,' 'perfect,' and 'correct.' Our word 'right,' in some of its uses, would be a sufficiently adequate translation, but it is based on a different derivation, and connotes a set of ideas not alluded to by *sammâ*. If used as an adjective this word—signifying literally 'going with'—means either 'general, common,' or 'corresponding, mutual,' and as an adverb, 'commonly, usually, normally,' or 'fittingly, properly, correctly;' and hence, in a secondary sense, and with allusion to both these ideas, 'round, fit, and perfect, normal and complete.' When used to characterise such widely different things as language, livelihood, and belief, the meaning of the term is by no means difficult to grasp; but it is difficult, if not impossible, to find any single English word which in each case would convey its full force without importing also some extraneous idea. From a desire to follow closely the Pâli form of expression I had first in my manual of 'Buddhism' adopted the one word 'right' throughout the translation of the text; and I have kept to this below, though I feel that that word quite fails to give the force of the preposition *sam* (*सम-*, *con-*), which is the essential part of the Pâli *sammâ*. But I think the meaning of the Buddhist ideal, of the summary which is the most essential doctrine, the very pith of Buddhism, would be better brought out by a diversified rendering in the way I afterwards attempted in an article in the *Fortnightly Review* (No. CLVI); or, as above (p. 107), with the authorised interpretation appended. It would then run—

1. Right Views; free from superstition or delusion.
2. Right Aims; high, and worthy of the intelligent, earnest man.
3. Right Speech; kindly, open, truthful.
4. Right Conduct; peaceful, honest, pure.
5. Right Livelihood; bringing hurt or danger to no living thing.
6. Right Effort; in self-training, and in self-control.
7. Right Mindfulness; the active, watchful mind.
8. Right Contemplation; earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life.

It is interesting to notice that Gogerly, who first rendered sammâ throughout by correct¹, afterwards adopted the other method²; and as these eight divisions of the perfect life are of such vital importance for a correct understanding of what Buddhism really was, I here add in parallel columns his two versions of the terms used :—

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Correct views (of truth). | Correct doctrines. |
| 2. Correct thoughts. | A clear perception (of their nature). |
| 3. Correct words. | Inflexible veracity. |
| 4. Correct conduct. | Purity of conduct. |
| 5. Correct (mode of obtaining a) livelihood. | A sinless occupation. |
| 6. Correct efforts. | Perseverance in duty. |
| 7. Correct meditation. | Holy meditation. |
| 8. Correct tranquillity. | Mental tranquillity. |

The varying expressions in these two lists are intended in all cases, (except perhaps the second,) to convey the same idea. The second division (sammâ-saṅkappo) is not really open to any doubt. Saṅkappo is will, volition, determination, desire; that exertion of the will in the various affairs of life which results from the feeling that a certain result will be desirable. The only variation in the meaning is that sometimes more stress is laid upon the implied exertion of the will, sometimes more stress upon the implied desire

¹ Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1845.

² Ibid. 1865.

which calls it into action. 'Motive' would be somewhat too impersonal, 'volition' too metaphysical a rendering; 'aims' or 'aspirations' seems to me to best express the sense intended in this passage.

In No. 7 (*sammâ-sati*) *sati* is literally 'memory,' but is used with reference to the constantly repeated phrase 'mindful and thoughtful' (*sato sampagâno*); and means that activity of mind and constant presence of mind which is one of the duties most frequently inculcated on the good Buddhist. Gogerly's rendering of the term should have been reserved for the last division (*sammâ-samâdhi*), that prolonged meditation on the deep mysteries of life, which is stated in the Great Decease¹ to be the necessary complement and accessory to intelligence and goodness. Reason and works are good in themselves, but they require to be made perfect by that *samâdhi* which in Buddhism corresponds to faith in Christianity.

This Buddhist ideal of the perfect life has an analogy most instructive from a historical point of view with the ideals of the last pagan thinkers in Europe before the rise of Christianity, and of the modern exponents of what has been called fervent atheism. When after many centuries of thought a pantheistic or monotheistic unity has been evolved out of the chaos of polytheism,—which is itself a modified animism or animistic polydæmonism,—there has always arisen at last a school to whom theological discussions have lost their interest, and who have sought for a new solution of the questions to which the theologies have given inconsistent answers, in a new system in which man was to work out here, on earth, his own salvation. It is their place in the progress of thought that helps us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the Agnostic philosopher of India, the Stoics of Greece and Rome, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany, and among ourselves.

¹ Chap. I, § 12, and often afterwards.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

DHAMMA-KAKKA-PPAVATTANA-SUTTA.

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully-Enlightened One.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Benares, at the hermitage called Migadâya. And there the Blessed One addressed the company of the five Bhikkhus¹, and said :

2. 'There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world² ought not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and especially of sensuality—a low and pagan³ way (of seeking satisfaction) unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly-minded—

¹ These are the five mendicants who had waited on the Bodisat during his austerities, as described in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 88, 89. Their names are given on p. 113 of that book ; see below, the note on § 32.

² Pabbagito, one who has gone forth, who has renounced worldly things, a 'religious.'

³ Gamma, a word of the same derivation as, and corresponding meaning to, our word 'pagan.'

and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism (or self-mortification), which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

3. 'There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata¹—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna!

4. 'What is that middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna? Verily! it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

'Right views;
 Right aspirations;
 Right speech;
 Right conduct;
 Right livelihood;
 Right effort;
 Right mindfulness; and
 Right contemplation.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is that middle path, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows under-

¹ The Tathâgata is an epithet of a Buddha. It is interpreted by Buddhaghosa, in the Samangala Vilâsinî, to mean that he came to earth for the same purposes, after having passed through the same training in former births, as all the supposed former Buddhas; and that, when he had so come, all his actions corresponded with theirs.

'Avoiding these two extremes' should perhaps be referred to the Tathâgata, but I prefer the above rendering.

standing, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâṇa!

5. 'Now¹ this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

'Birth is attended with pain², decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates which spring from attachment (the conditions of individuality and their cause)³ are painful.

'This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

6. 'Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

'Verily, it is that thirst (or craving), causing the renewal of existence, accompanied by sensual delight, seeking satisfaction now here, now there—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for (a future) life, or the craving for success (in this present life)⁴.

¹ On the following 'four truths' compare Dhammapada, verse 191, and Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta II, 2, 3, and IV, 7, 8.

² Or 'is painful.'

³ Paññ' upâdânakkhandhâ. On the Khandhâ, or the material and mental aggregates which go to make up an individual, see my 'Buddhism,' Chap. III. Upâdâna, or 'grasping' is their source, and the uprooting of this upâdâna from the mind is Arahatsip.

One might express the central thought of this First Noble Truth in the language of the nineteenth century by saying that pain results from existence as an individual. It is the struggle to maintain one's individuality which produces pain—a most pregnant and far-reaching suggestion. See for a fuller exposition the Fortnightly Review for December, 1879.

⁴ 'The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life'

‘This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

7. ‘Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

‘Verily, it is the destruction, in which no passion remains, of this very thirst; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harbouring no longer of this thirst.

‘This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

8. ‘Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the way¹ which leads to the destruction of sorrow. Verily! it is this noble eightfold path²; that is to say:

correspond very exactly to the first and third of these three *taṇhâs*. ‘The lust of the flesh, the lust of life, and the pride of life,’ or ‘the lust of the flesh, the lust of life, and the love of this present world,’ would be not inadequate renderings of all three.

The last two are in Pâli *bhava-taṇhâ* and *vibhava-taṇhâ*, on which Childers, on the authority of Vigèsin̄ha, says: ‘The former applies to the *sassata-diṭṭhi*, and means a desire for an eternity of existence; the latter applies to the *ukkheḍa-diṭṭhi*, and means a desire for annihilation in the very first (the present) form of existence.’ *Sassata-diṭṭhi* may be called the ‘everlasting life heresy,’ and *ukkheḍa-diṭṭhi* the ‘let-us-eat-and-drink-for-to-morrow-we-die heresy.’ These two heresies, thus implicitly condemned, have very close analogies to theism and materialism.

Spence Hardy says (‘Manual of Buddhism,’ p. 496): ‘*Bhava-taṇhâ* signifies the pertinacious love of existence induced by the supposition that transmigratory existence is not only eternal, but felicitous and desirable. *Vibhava-taṇhâ* is the love of the present life, under the notion that existence will cease therewith, and that there is to be no future state.’

Vibhava in Sanskrit means, 1. development; 2. might, majesty, prosperity; and 3. property: but the technical Buddhist sense, as will be seen from the above, is something more than this.

¹ *Paṭipadâ*.

² *Ariyo aṭaṅgiko Maggo*.

‘Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.

‘This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow.

9. ‘That this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down, but there arose within me the eye (to perceive it), there arose the knowledge (of its nature), there arose the understanding (of its cause), there arose the wisdom (to guide in the path of tranquillity), there arose the light (to dispel darkness from it)¹.

10. ‘And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should comprehend that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

11. ‘And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had comprehended that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there

¹ The words in parentheses have been added by Gogerly, doubtless from some comment not accessible to me; and I have included them also, but in parentheses, as they seem to complete the ideas actually involved in the text.

arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

12. 'That this was the noble truth concerning the origin of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye; but there arose within me the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

13. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

14. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

15. 'That this, O Bhikkhus, was the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

16. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should fully realise the destruction of sorrow though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

17. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully realised the destruction of sorrow, though the noble

truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

18. 'That this was the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

19. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

20. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

21. 'So long, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were not quite clear, regarding each of these four noble truths in this triple order, in this twelve-fold manner—so long was I uncertain whether I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brâhmanas, or of gods or men.

22. 'But as soon, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge

and insight were quite clear regarding each of these four noble truths, in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner—then did I become certain that I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of *Samanas* and *Brâhmans*, or of gods or men.

23. 'And now this knowledge and this insight has arisen within me. Immovable is the emancipation of my heart. This is my last existence. There will now be no rebirth for me!'

24. Thus spake the Blessed One. The company of the five *Bhikkhus*, glad at heart, exalted the words of the Blessed One. And when the discourse had been uttered, there arose within the venerable *Kondañña* the eye of truth, spotless, and without a stain, (and he saw that) whatsoever has an origin, in that is also inherent the necessity of coming to an end¹.

25. And when the royal chariot wheel of the truth had thus been set rolling onwards by the Blessed One, the gods of the earth gave forth a shout, saying :

'In Benâres, at the hermitage of the *Migadâya*, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any *Samana* or *Brâhman*, not by any god,

¹ It is the perception of this fact which is the *Dhammaakkhu*, the Eye of Truth, or the Eye for Qualities as it might be rendered with reference to the meaning of *Dhamma* in the words that follow.

They are in Pâli *yam kiñci samudaya-dhammam, sabbam tam nirodha-dhammam*, literally, 'whatever has the quality of beginning, that has the quality of ceasing.'

not by any Brahma or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!'

26. And when they heard the shout of the gods of the earth, the attendant gods of the four great kings¹ (the guardian angels of the four quarters of the globe) gave forth a shout, saying :

'In Benâres, at the hermitage of the Migadâya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any Samaza or Brâhman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!'

27. [And thus as the gods in each of the heavens heard the shout of the inhabitants of the heaven beneath, they took up the cry until the gods in the highest heaven of heavens] gave forth the shout, saying :

'In Benâres, at the hermitage of the Migadâya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any Samaza or Brâhman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back²!'

¹ Their names are given in the Mahâ Samaya Sutta in Grimblot's 'Sept Suttas Palis.'

² The text repeats § 26 for each of the heavens ; and the gods thus enumerated are as follows, beginning with Bhumma Devâ in § 25 :

1. Bhumma Devâ.
2. Katumahârâgika Devâ.
3. Yâma Devâ.
4. Tusitâ Devâ.
5. Nimmânaratî Devâ.
6. Paranimmitavasavattî Devâ.
7. Brahmakâyikâ Devâ.

See the Mahâ Samaya Sutta in Grimblot's 'Sept Suttas Palis,' and

28. And thus, in an instant, a second, a moment, the sound went up even to the world of Brahmâ : and this great ten-thousand-world-system quaked and trembled and was shaken violently, and an immeasurable bright light appeared in the universe, beyond even the power of the gods !

29. Then did the Blessed One give utterance to this exclamation of joy : ‘Kondañña hath realised it. Kondañña hath realised it!’ And so the venerable Kondañña acquired the name of Aññâta-Kondañña (‘the Kondañña who realised’)¹.

End of the Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana-sutta.

compare Professor Max Müller’s note in ‘Buddhaghosha’s Parables,’ p. xxxiii, and Hardy in the ‘Manual of Buddhism,’ p. 25.

¹ The Mahâ Vagga completes the narrative as follows : ‘And then the venerable Aññâta-Kondañña having seen the truth, having arrived at the truth, having known the truth, having penetrated the truth, having past beyond doubt, having laid aside uncertainty, having attained to confidence, and being dependent on no one beside himself for knowledge of the religion of the teacher, spake thus to the Blessed One :

“May I become, O my Lord, a novice under the Blessed One, may I receive full ordination !”

“Welcome, O brother !” said the Blessed One, “the truth has been well laid down. Practice holiness to the complete suppression of sorrow !”

‘And that was the ordination of the Venerable One.’

The other four, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahânâma, and Assagi, were converted on the following days, according to the ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 113.

It is there also said that ‘myriads of the angels (devas) had been converted simultaneously with Kondanya.’

TEVIGGA-SUTTANTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE TEVIGGA SUTTA.

THIS is the twelfth and last Sutta in the first division of the *Dîgha Nikâya*, which is called the *Sîlakkhandha Vaggo*, because the whole of its twelve Dialogues deal, from one point of view or another, with *Sîla*, or Right Conduct.

There is another Sutta sometimes called by the same name, No. 21 in the Middle Fifty of the *Maggîma Nikâya*: but it has nothing, except the name, in common with the present. It is called *Tevigga Sutta* merely because Gotama is there described by the complimentary title of *Tevigga*, 'Wise in the Vedas;' and its full name is the *Tevigga-vakkhagotta-sutta*¹.

I have made the present translation from a text constituted from three MSS.,—my own MS. of the *Dîgha Nikâya*, referred to as D; the Turnour MS. of the same in the Indian Office, referred to as T; both in Sinhalese characters: and the Phayre MS. in the same place, in Burmese characters, referred to as P.

In this book we have Right Conduct used as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem* for the conversion of two earnest young Brâhmans.

They ask which is the true path to a state of union (in the next birth) with God. After arguing, in a kind of Socratic dialogue, that on their own showing, on the

¹ It may be noted, in passing, that the substance of it recurs as the *Vakkhagotta Samyutta* in the *Samyutta Nikâya*.

basis of facts they themselves admitted, the Brâhmans could have no real knowledge of their God, Gotama maintains that union with a God whom they admitted to be pure and holy must be unattainable by men impure and sinful and self-righteous, however great their knowledge of the Vedas. And he then lays down, not without occasional beauty of language, that system of Right Conduct, which must be the only direct way to a real union with God.

One would think perhaps that such a Sutta might be adapted, without very great difficulty, for use as a missionary tract, so closely does it remind us of the argument of many a sermon on the text, 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven!' And it is true that the *Teviggâ*—the men of special knowledge in the three Vedas—correspond exactly in most essential particulars with the Scribes and Pharisees of the New Testament. They were the official preservers by repeating, as the Scribes were by copying, the sacred books; and they were the recognised interpreters, and the sole custodians of the traditional interpretation—which too often explained away the real meaning—of those books. It follows that as the law in both cases was included in the sacred books, it was they who, in both cases, were the real lawgivers, and practically the only lawyers. And as almost all learning was confined to, or in close connection with the sacred books, the *Teviggâ* were the chief *Pandits*, as the Scribes were the 'Doctors of the Law.' Like the Pharisees, too, the Brâhmans laid claim to peculiar sanctity; and many of them in the pride of their education, their birth, and their wealth, looked down with self-righteous scorn on the masses of the people. And while, on the other hand, the Brâhmans further resembled the Scribes and Pharisees in that many of them were justly deserving of the respect in which they were held; it is only the undeserving who, in both cases, are intended to be condemned.

But whatever interpretation of the 'kingdom of heaven'

the reader may adopt, it must be very different from anything the Sutta can mean by 'a state of union with Brahmâ.' It is not easy to say what opinion is really imputed to the young Brâhmans before their conversion. It is probably meant that they were seeking a way by which their Self should become identified, after death, with Brahman; a way by which they could escape from the immortality of transmigration, from existence altogether as separate individuals¹. And in holding out a hope of union with Brahmâ as a result of the practice of universal love², the Buddha is most probably intended to mean 'a union with Brahmâ' in the Buddhist sense—that is to say, a temporary companionship as a separate being with the Buddhist Brahmâ, to be enjoyed by a new individual not consciously identical with its predecessor. It is just possible that the argumentum ad hominem should be extended to this part of the Sutta; and that the statement in III, 1 should be taken to mean, 'This (universal love) is the only way to that kind of union with your own Brahmâ which you desire.' But such a yielding to heretical opinion at the close of his own exposition of the truth would scarcely be imputed to a Buddha.

Just as during the time of the early Christians, in the way which Archbishop Trench has so instructively pointed out, it was not men only who received a new birth and a new baptism, but old words and terms of common use were also infused with a new spirit; so the Indian reformer, while clothing his new system in the current phraseology, infused a different and in many cases a higher meaning into the old expressions.

Thus, for instance, *Tevigga* (Sanskrit *Traividya*) meant either knowledge of the Three Vedas, or as an adjective, a Brâhman possessed of that knowledge; and then, as a noun of multitude, such an assembly of those Brâhmans

¹ Compare Professor Max Müller's Preface to the Sacred Books of the East, vol. i. p. xxx.

² See Chapter III, §§ 1, 2.

as is described in the first sections of our Sutta. As there were many Brāhmans who had not that knowledge, the word naturally came to imply a person worthy of the respect due to special learning, and was used as a complimentary title, not very different from our Doctor. It is preserved as an epithet of Arahats in the Buddhist writings, but as meaning one possessed of the knowledge of a fundamental threefold doctrine of Buddhism, the doctrine of the impermanency, the inherent pain, and the absence of any abiding principle (any Self) in the confections or component things¹. That is to say, the knowledge of the Vedas was replaced by a knowledge of the real character of the deceptive and evanescent phenomena by which we are encircled, and of which we form a part.

So also with regard to Brahmā. The name was retained, but the idea was entirely changed. The course of religious belief had passed among the Indian section of the Âryan tribes through the usual stages of animism and polytheism to a kind of pantheism peculiar to India, in which Brahman was held to be a first cause, the highest self, emotionless, infinite, absolute. As the Buddhist system was constructed without any use of the previous idea of a separate soul, or self, or ghost, or spirit, supposed to exist inside the human body, this woven chain of previous speculation had as little importance for it as theological discussions have for positivism. But Buddhism fell into what to the positivist would be the unpardonable sin—perhaps inevitable at the time and place of its youth—of continuing to express a belief in the external spirits, big and little, of the then Hindu pantheon.

They were preserved very much in the previous order of precedence, and were all—except Māra, the Evil One, and his personal following, and a few others—supposed to be passably good Buddhists. They were not feared any more; they were patronized as a kind of fairies, usually beneficent,

¹ See *Kulla Vagga* VI, 6, 2, = *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 217; *Mahāvamsa*, p. 79; *Dīpavamsa* XV, 80 (where the Arahats are women); and on 'confections' below, in the Introduction to the 'Book of the Great King of Glory.'

though always more or less foolish and ignorant. They were of course not worshipped any more, for they were much less worthy of reverence than any wise and good man. And they were not eternal,—all of them, even the very best or highest, being liable, like all things and all other creatures, to dissolution. If they had behaved well they were then reborn under happy outward conditions, and might even look forward to being some day born as men, so that they could attain to the supreme goal of the Buddhist faith, to that bliss which passeth not away,—the *Nirvâna* of a perfect life in *Arahatship*.

The duty of a Buddhist who had entered the Noble Path towards these light and airy shapes—for to such vain things had the great gods fallen—was the same as his duty towards every fellow creature; pity for his ignorance, sympathy with his weakness, equanimity (the absence of fear or malice, or the sense of any differing or opposing interest), and the constant feeling of a deep and lasting love, all pervading, grown great, and beyond measure.

No exception was made in the case of *Brahmâ*. He, like every other creature that had life, was evanescent, was bound by the chain of existence, the result of ignorance, and could only find salvation by walking along the Noble Eightfold Path. It must be remembered that the *Brahmâ* of modern times, the God of the ardent theism of some of the best of the later Hindus, had not then come into existence: that conception was one effect of the influence of Mohammadan and Christian thought upon Hindu minds. And it would be useless to conjecture how the Buddhist theory might have been modified by contact with that ideal.

While regarded however as essentially of the same class as all other external spirits, *Brahmâ* was still regarded as a superior spirit, as a very devout Buddhist, and as a kind of king among the angels. The *Brahmâ* of this world system, who was living in Gotama's time, and who is living now, acquired his present exalted position from his virtue in a previous birth as a *Bhikkhu* named *Sahaka* in the time when *Kassapa Buddha's* religion flourished

upon earth¹. According to the author of the *Gâtaka* commentary, he assisted at the future Buddha's birth²; and twice afterwards he rendered service to the Bodisat just before the great conflict with Mâra³. And when after the victory the Blessed One hesitated whether it would be of any use to tell to others the truth he had found, it was Brahmâ who appeared and besought him to proclaim the truth⁴. Brahmâ Sahampati was the first to give utterance to the universal sorrow which followed on the death of the Buddha⁵; and at a critical period in the later history of the Buddhist church he is represented to have descended from heaven, and to have appeared to the Thera Sâlha, to confirm his wavering faith⁶.

These instances will show the high character ascribed to the Brahmâ of the world system in which we live; and in each of the infinite world systems which are scattered through space there is supposed to be a like finite, temporary, virtuous Brahmâ sitting as king over the most exalted of the angel hosts.

It must be evident that it follows, without the possibility of question, that the early Buddhists cannot with any accuracy be described as 'monotheists,' and it is much to be regretted that even cultured and scholarly writers still speak of them as such, and can suggest that the independent monotheism of the later Jews can be paralleled by a supposed monotheism among the Buddhists⁷.

And even if the idea of Brahmâ were at all the same as the idea of God, a union with this Brahmâ would mean a merely temporary life as an angel in the Brahmâ heaven—such a life as is represented below to have been the result of the noble life and noble thoughts of the Great King

¹ Teste a comment quoted by Childers, Dict. p. 227.

² 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 66.

³ Ibid. pp. 92, 97.

⁴ Ibid. p. 111. Related already in the *Mahâ Vagga* I, 2; 6, 7.

⁵ Book of the Great Decease, Chapter VI, § 14.

⁶ *Mahâvamsa*, p. 17.

⁷ 'Their (the Jews') monotheism was perhaps independently evolved; but the Buddhists at least showed a contemporary monotheism.' Mr. Huth, in 'Life &c. of Buckle,' p. 238.

of Glory. But this was not the supreme goal of the Buddhist faith; and the angel, though the same person as the king, from the Buddhist point of view (as resulting from, and carrying on, the same Karma), would be a different person from the king, according to the Christian point of view; for there is no mention of the passage of a soul from the earth to heaven, no conscious identity, no continuing memory.

We may draw, from the above, two conclusions. Firstly, that the use of a word in Sanskrit authors is but very little guide to the meaning of the corresponding word in the Pāli Buddhist scriptures whenever the word has reference to an idea of a religious character.

And, secondly, that very little reliance can be placed, without careful investigation, on a resemblance—however close at first sight—between a passage in the Pāli Piṭakas and a passage in the New Testament.

It is true that many passages in these two literatures can be easily shown to have a similar tendency. But when some writers on the basis of such similarities proceed to argue that there must have been some historical connection between the two, and that the New Testament, as the later, must be the borrower, I venture to think that they are wrong. There does not seem to me to be the slightest evidence of any historical connection between them; and whenever the resemblance is a real one—and it often turns out to be really least when it first seems to be greatest, and really greatest when it first seems least—it is due, not to any borrowing on the one side or on the other, but solely to the similarity of the conditions under which the two movements grew.

This does not of course apply to the later literature of the two religions; and it ought not to detract from the very great value and interest of the parallels which may be adduced from the earlier books. If we wish to understand what it was that gave such life and force to the stupendous movement which is called Buddhism, we cannot refrain from comparing it—not only in the points

in which it agrees with it, but also in the points in which it differs from it—with our own faith. I trust I have not been wrong in making use occasionally of this method, though the absence of any historical connection between the New Testament and the Pâli Piṭakas has always seemed to me so clear, that it would be unnecessary to mention it. But when a reviewer who has been kind enough to appreciate, I am afraid too highly, what he calls my 'service in giving, for the first time, a thoroughly human, acceptable, and coherent' account of the 'life of Buddha,' and of the 'simple groundwork of his religion' has gone on to conclude that the parallels I had thus adduced are 'an unanswerable indication of the obligations of the New Testament to Buddhism,' I must ask to be allowed to enter a protest against an inference which seems to me to be against the rules of sound historical criticism.

ON KNOWLEDGE OF THE VEDAS.

TEVIGGA-SUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

1. This have I heard. At one time when the Blessed One was journeying through Kosala with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred brethren, he came to the Brâhman village in Kosala which is called Manasâkaṭa. And there at Manasâkaṭa the Blessed One stayed in the mango grove, on the bank of the river Aḱiravatî, to the south of Manasâkaṭa¹.

2. Now at that time many very distinguished and wealthy Brâhmanas were staying at Manasâkaṭa—to wit, Kaṅki the Brâhman, Târukkha the Brâhman, Pokkharasâti the Brâhman, Gânuṣsoni the Brâhman, Todeyya the Brâhman, and other very distinguished and wealthy Brâhmanas².

¹ Burnouf, in a long note at 'Lotus,' &c., p. 491, already attempted to show that the river Aḱiravatî is the same as the modern Rapti, which he supposed to be a corruption of the latter part of the longer name. Hiouen Tsang mentions a river A-chi-lo-fa-ti, which is doubtless the same. It is evidently the river on which stood the town of Sâvatthi, and near to which lay the Geta-vana monastery (see 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 331); and it must therefore, in accordance with Burnouf's conjecture, be the Rapti, which is the Sanskrit Irâvatî. The Phayre Burmese MS. has almost always Aḱîravatî.

² Buddhaghosa says that

Kaṅki lived at Opasâda,
Târukkha lived at Ikḱhagala,

3. Now a conversation sprung up between Vâsettha and Bhâradvâga, when they were taking exercise (after their bath) and walking up and down in thoughtful mood, as to which was the true path, and which the false¹.

4. The young Brâhman Vâsettha spake thus :

‘This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ²—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Pokkarasâti.’

5. The young Brâhman Bhâradvâga spake thus :

Pokkharasâdi (sic MS.) lived at Ukkattha,
Gânussoni lived at Sâvatthi, and
Todeyya lived at Tudigâma.

There is some difference in the MSS. as to the spelling of these names: T. reads *Kaṅkī*; P. T. and D. *Pokkharasâti* (Sanskrit *Paushkarasâdi*); P. *Gânuyoni*, T. *Gânussoni*, D. *Gânusoni*; P. *Toreyya*, and Burnouf *Nodeyya* (which is possibly merely a misreading). *Gânusoni* was converted by the Bhaya-bherava Sutta; and I think it very probable that the other names are also those of subsequent converts.

Buddhaghosa adds that because *Manasâkâṭa* was a pleasant place the Brâhman had built huts there on the bank of the river and fenced them in, and used to go and stay there from time to time to repeat their mantras.

¹ *Gaṅghâvihâram anukaṅkamantânam anuviṅkarantânam*. On the first word see *Gâtaka* II, 272 (and comp. II, 240). *Kaṅkamati* is to walk up and down thinking. I have added ‘after their bath’ from Buddhaghosa, who says that this must be understood to have taken place when, after learning by heart and repeating all day, they went down in the evening to the river-side to bathe, and then walked up and down on the sand.

² *Brahma-sahavyatâya*. The first part of the compound is masculine (see below, § 12), but the Buddhists probably included under the name, when put into the mouth of Brâhman, all that the Brâhman included under both *Brahmâ* and *Brahman*. The Buddhist archangel or god *Brahmâ* is different from both, being part of an entirely different system of thought.

‘This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Târukkha.’

6. But neither was the young Brâhman *Vâsettha* able to convince the young Brâhman *Bhâradvâga*, nor was the young Brâhman *Bhâradvâga* able to convince the young Brâhman *Vâsettha*.

7. Then the young Brâhman *Vâsettha* said to the young Brâhman *Bhâradvâga* :

‘That Samana Gotama, *Bhâradvâga*, of the Sakya clan, who left the Sakya tribe to adopt the religious life, is now staying at *Manasâkata*, in the mango grove, on the bank of the river *Akiravatt*, to the south of *Manasâkata*. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad, that he is said to be “a fully enlightened one, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the world, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha¹.” Come, then, *Bhâradvâga*, let us go to the place where the Samana Gotama is; and when we have come there, let us ask the Samana Gotama touching this matter. What the Samana Gotama shall declare unto us, that let us bear in mind.’

‘Very well, my friend!’ said the young Brâhman *Bhâradvâga*, in assent, to the young Brâhman *Vâsettha*.

8. Then the young Brâhman *Vâsettha* and the young Brâhman *Bhâradvâga* went on to the place where the Blessed One was.

¹ See below, § 46.

And when they had come there, they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and sat down beside him.

And while they were thus seated the young Brâhman *Vâsettha* said to the Blessed One :

‘As we, Gotama, were taking exercise and walking up and down, there sprung up a conversation between us on which was the true path and which the false. I said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Pokkarasâti.”

‘Bhâradvâga said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Târukkha.”

‘Regarding this matter, Gotama, there is a strife, a dispute, a difference of opinion between us.’

9. ‘So you say, *Vâsettha*, that you said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Pokkarasâti.”

‘While Bhâradvâga said thus :

“This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ—I mean that which has been announced by the Brâhman Târukkha.”

‘Wherein, then, O *Vâsettha*, is there a strife, a dispute, a difference of opinion between you¹?’

10. ‘Concerning the true path and the false, Gotama. Various Brâhmans, Gotama, teach various paths—the Addhariya Brâhmans, the Tittiriya Brâhmans, the *Khandoka* Brâhmans, the *Khandava* Brâhmans, the *Brahmakariya* Brâhmans². Are all those saving paths? Are they all paths which will lead him, who acts according to them, into a state of union with Brahman?’

‘Just, Gotama, as near a village or a town there are many and various paths³, yet they all meet together in the village—just in that way are all the various paths taught by various Brâhmans—the Addhariya Brâhmans, the Tittiriya Brâhmans, the *Khandoka* Brâhmans, the *Khandava* Brâhmans, the *Brahmakariya* Brâhmans. Are all these saving paths? Are they all paths which will lead him, who acts according to them, into a state of union with Brahman?’

11. ‘Do you say that they all lead aright, *Vâsettha*?’

‘I say so, Gotama.’

‘Do you really say that they all lead aright, *Vâsettha*?’

‘So I say, Gotama.’

¹ This is either mildly sarcastic—as much as to say, ‘that is six to one, and half a dozen to the other’—or is intended to lead on *Vâsettha* to confess still more directly the fact that the different theologians held inconsistent opinions.

² P. here *Atthariyâ*, but below *Addhariyâ* (Sans. *Adhvaryu*); D. *Tittiriya*, T. *Tattiriya*, P. apparently *Titthiriya* (Sans. *Taittiriya*); D. *Khandâva*, T. P. omit (? Sans. *Khândasa*); all three MSS. *Khandoka* (Sans. *Khandoga*); P. *Bavhadigâ* here and below *Kavhadigâ* for *Brahmakariyâ* (? Sans. *Brahmakârî*). See ‘*Lotus*,’ p. 493.

³ *Maggâni*, which is noteworthy as a curious change of gender.

12. 'But then, *Vâsettha*, is there a single one of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas who has ever seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama.'

'But is there then, *Vâsettha*, a single one of the teachers of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas who has seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

'But is there then, *Vâsettha*, a single one of the pupils of the teachers of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas who has seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

'But is there then, *Vâsettha*, a single one of the Brâhmans up to the seventh generation who has seen Brahmâ face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

13. 'Well then, *Vâsettha*, those ancient *Rishis* of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas, the authors of the verses, the utterers of the verses, whose ancient form of words so chaunted, uttered, or composed, the Brâhmans of to-day chaunt over again or repeat; intoning or reciting exactly as has been intoned or recited—to wit, *Atthaka*, *Vâmaka*, *Vâmadeva*, *Vessâmitta*, *Yamataggi*, *Ângirasa*, *Bhâradvâga*, *Vâsettha*, *Kassapa*, and *Bhagu*¹—did even they speak thus, saying: "We know it, we have seen it, where Brahmâ is, whence Brahmâ is, whither Brahmâ is?"'

'Not so, Gotama!'

14. 'Then you say, *Vâsettha* [that not one of the Brâhmans, or of their teachers, or of their pupils, even up to the seventh generation, has ever seen Brahmâ face to face. And that even the *Rishis* of

¹ See *Mahâ Vagga* VI, 35, 2.

old, the authors and utterers of the verses, of the ancient form of words which the Brâhmans of to-day so carefully intone and recite precisely as they have been handed down—even they did not pretend to know or to have seen where or whence or whither Brahmâ is]¹. So that the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas have forsooth said thus: “What we know not, what we have not seen, to a state of union with that we can show the way, and can say: ‘This is the straight path, this is the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahmâ!’”

‘Now what think you, Vâsettha? Does it not follow, this being so, that the talk of the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?’

‘In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!’

15. ‘Verily, Vâsettha, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence!’

‘Just, Vâsettha, as when a string of blind men are clinging one to the other², neither can the foremost

¹ In the text §§ 12, 13 are repeated word for word.

² Andhavenî paramparam samsattâ. The Phayre MS. has replaced venî by pavēnî, after the constant custom of the Burmese MSS. to improve away unusual or difficult expressions. Buddhaghosa explains andhaveni by andhapaveni, and tells a tale of a wicked wight, who meeting a company of blind men, told them of a certain village wherein plenty of good food was to be had. When they besought him for hire to lead them there, he took the money, made one blind man catch hold of his stick, the next of that one, and so on, and then led them on till they came to a wilderness. There he deserted them, and they all—still

see, nor can the middle one see, nor can the hindmost see—just even so, methinks, *Vâsettha*, is the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas but blind talk: the first sees not, the middle one sees not, nor can the latest see. The talk then of these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas turns out to be ridiculous, mere words, a vain and empty thing!’

16. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Can the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas—like other, ordinary, folk—see the sun and the moon as they pray to, and praise, and worship them, turning round with clasped hands towards the place whence they rise and where they set?’

‘Certainly, Gotama, they [can]¹.’

17. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? The Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas, who can very well—like other, ordinary, folk—see the sun and the moon as they pray to, and praise, and worship them, turning round with clasped hands to the place whence they rise and where they set—are those Brâhmans, versed in the Three Vedas, able to point out the way to a state of union with the sun or the moon, saying: “This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, to a state of union with the sun or the moon?”’

‘Certainly not, Gotama!’

18. “So you say, *Vâsettha*, that the Brâhmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that

holding each the other, and vainly, and with tears, seeking both their guide and the path—came to a miserable end!

¹ The words of the question are repeated in the text in this and the following answers. It must be remembered, for these sections, that the sun and moon were Gods just as much as *Brahmâ*.

which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahmâ]. And you further say that even the *Rishis* of old, [whose words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahmâ is. Yet these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen !]¹ Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?’

‘In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!’

19. ‘Very good, *Vâsettha*. Verily then, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence.

‘Just, *Vâsettha*, as if a man should say, “How I long for, how I love the most beautiful woman in this land!”

‘And people should ask him, “Well! good friend! this most beautiful woman in the land whom you thus love and long for, do you know whether that beautiful woman is a noble lady or a Brâhman woman, or of the trader class, or a *Sûdra*?”

‘But when so asked he should answer “No.”

‘And when people should ask him, “Well! good

¹ The text repeats at length the words of §§ 12, 13, 14.

friend! this most beautiful woman in all the land, whom you so love and long for, do you know what the name of that most beautiful woman is, or what is her family name, whether she be tall or short, dark or of medium complexion, black or fair, or in what village or town or city she dwells?"

'But when so asked he should answer "No."

'And then people should say to him, "So then, good friend, whom you know not, neither have seen, her do you love and long for?"

'And then when so asked he should answer "Yes."

'Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would it not turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, it would turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk!'

20. 'And just even so, *Vâsettha*, though you say that the Brâhmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahman]. And you further say that even the *Rishis* of old, [whose words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahman is. Yet these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen!] Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that

the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!

‘Very good, *Vâsettha*. Verily then, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence.’

21. ‘Just, *Vâsettha*, as if a man should make a staircase in the place where four roads cross, to mount up into a mansion. And people should say to him, “Well, good friend, this mansion, to mount up into which you are making this staircase, do you know whether it is in the east, or in the south, or in the west, or in the north? whether it is high or low or of medium size?”

‘And when so asked he should answer “No.”’

‘And people should say to him, “But then, good friend, you are making a staircase to mount up into something—taking it for a mansion—which, all the while, you know not, neither have seen!”

‘And when so asked he should answer “Yes.”’

‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would it not turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk?’

‘In sooth, Gotama, it would turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk!’

22. ‘And just even so, *Vâsettha*, though you say that the Brâhmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen *Brahmâ*]. And you further say that even the *Rishis* of old, [whose

words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahmâ is. Yet these Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen!] Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk?’

‘In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!’

23. ‘Very good, *Vâsettha*. Verily then, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such condition of things has no existence.’

24. ‘Again, *Vâsettha*, if this river *Akiravati* were full of water even to the brim, and overflowing¹. And a man with business on the other

¹ *Samatittikâ kâkapeyyâ*, a stock phrase used of a river in flood time. Buddhaghosa says, *Samatittikâ ti samaharitâ* (sic ? *samâharitâ*): *kâkapeyyâ ti yatthakatthañi tîre tñitena kâkena sakkâ pâtuṇ ti kâkapeyyâ*, which does not seem to me to solve the question as to the origin and history of these difficult terms. With respect to the right form of *samatittikâ* it should be noticed that the northern Buddhist spelling is *samatîrthakâ* (*Sukhavatîvyâha*, ed. Max Müller in J. R. A. S. for 1880, p. 182), and that both Childers and Oldenberg have read *samatitthikâ* in the Burmese MSS. of *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I*, 33 = *Mahâ Vagga VI*, 28. Now the difference in Burmese letters between *tt* and *tth* (ꨀꨀ and ꨀꨀꨀ) is so very small that the copyists frequently write one for the other; and even in good MSS. where the two are not confounded, it is sometimes difficult to tell which is really meant. When talking of rivers the mention of *tittas* seems so appro-

side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And he, standing on this bank, should invoke the further bank, and say, "Come hither, O further bank ! come over to this side !"

priate that a copyist, and especially a Burmese copyist, would naturally read a doubtful combination as *tth* ; so that even if all Burmese MSS. spell this word with *tth* (which is by no means certain), very little reliance should be placed upon the fact. On the other hand, the distinction in Sinhalese between *tt* and *tth* is very marked (ඌ and ඌඌ), and the Sinhalese MSS. all read *tt*. I think therefore that Childers was right in finally adopting *samatittikâ* as the correct Pâli form. In the numerous words in which Buddhist Sanskrit has a form differing in a way which sets philological rules at defiance from the corresponding Pâli form, Childers thought (see Dict. p. xi, where the list of words might be greatly extended) that the Sanskrit was always derived from the Pâli, and the Sanskrit writers had merely blundered. I venture, with great diffidence, to doubt this. It seems more likely that, at least in many instances, both Pâli and Sanskrit were alike derived from a previous Prâkrit form, and that in differently interpreting a difficult word, both Sanskrit and Pâli authors made mistakes. That may be the case here ; and it is almost certain that the original word had nothing to do with *tîrtha*. How easily this idea could be adopted we see from the fact that Childers when first editing the MSS. (in the J. R. A. S. for 1874), and when he had only Sinhalese MSS. then before him, altered their reading into *samatitthikâ*, and put this form into his Dictionary ; though he afterwards (in the separate edition), and after noting that reading in the Phayre MS., chose the other. But what, after all, does 'having equal or level *tîrthas* or landing-places' mean, when spoken of a river ? Comp. *Samatittikam bhuṅgâmi* (Mil. 213, 214) ; *Sabbato tittam pokkharanim* (Gât. I, 339, text *tittam*) ; and *Samatittiko telapatto* (ibid. 393, text 'iyo, but see p. 400). The root perhaps is *TR/P*.

*Kâka*peyya, according to Buddhaghosa, would mean 'crow-drinkable.' Crows do not drink on the wing ; and they could stand to drink either when a river actually overflowed its banks and formed shallows on the adjoining land ; or when in the hot season it had formed shallows in its own bed. 'Crow-drinkable' might mean therefore just as well 'shallow' as 'overflowing.' Had the word originally anything to do with *kâka* after all ?

‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would the further bank of the river *Akiravatt*, by reason of that man’s invoking and praying and hoping and praising, come over to this side?’

‘Certainly not, Gotama!’

— 25. ‘In just the same way, *Vâsettha*, do the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas—omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brâhman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men not Brâhmans—say thus: “*Indra* we call upon, *Soma* we call upon, *Varuṇa* we call upon, *Îsâna* we call upon, *Paṅgâpati* we call upon, *Brahmâ* we call upon, *Mahiddhi* we call upon, *Yama* we call upon¹!” Verily, *Vâsettha*, that those Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brâhman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men not Brâhmans—that they, by reason of their invoking and praying and hoping and praising, should, after death and when the body is dissolved, become united with *Brahmâ*—verily such a condition of things has no existence!’

26. ‘Just, *Vâsettha*, as if this river *Akiravati* were full, even to the brim, and overflowing. And a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And he, on this bank, were to be bound tightly, with his arms behind his back, by a strong

¹ The Sinhalese MSS. omit *Mahiddhi* and *Yama*, but repeat the verb ‘we call upon’ three times after *Brahmâ*. It is possible that the Burmese copyist has wrongly inserted them to remove the strangeness of this repetition. The comment is silent.

chain. Now what think you, *Vâsettha*, would that man be able to get over from this bank of the river *Akiravatt* to the further bank?’

‘Certainly not, Gotama!’

27. ‘In’ the same way, *Vâsettha*, there are five things leading to lust, which are called in the Discipline of the Noble One a “chain” and a “bond.”’

‘What are the five?’

‘Forms perceptible to the eye; desirable, agreeable, pleasant, attractive forms, that are accompanied by lust and cause delight. Sounds of the same kind perceptible to the ear. Odours of the same kind perceptible to the nose. Tastes of the same kind perceptible to the tongue. Substances of the same kind perceptible to the body by touch. These five things predisposing to passion are called in the Discipline of the Noble One a “chain” and a “bond.” And these five things predisposing to lust, *Vâsettha*, do the Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas cling to, they are infatuated by them, guilty of them, see not the danger of them, know not how unreliable they are, and so enjoy them.

28. ‘And verily, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmans versed in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brâhman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men non-Brâhmans—clinging to these five things predisposing to passion, infatuated by them, guilty of them, seeing not their danger, knowing not their unreliability, and so enjoying them—that these Brâhmans should after death, on the dissolution of the body, become united to Brahâm—such a condition of things has no existence.’

29. 'Again, *Vâsettha*, if this river *Akiravati* were full of water even to the brim, and overflowing. And a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And if he covering himself up, even to his head, were to lie down, on this bank, to sleep.

'Now what think you, *Vâsettha*? Would that man be able to get over from this bank of the river *Akiravati* to the further bank?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

30. 'And in the same way, *Vâsettha*, there are these five hindrances, in the Discipline of the Noble One, which are called "veils¹," and are called "hindrances²," and are called "obstacles³," and are called "entanglements⁴."

'Which are the five?'

'The hindrance of lustful desire,
The hindrance of malice,
The hindrance of sloth and idleness,
The hindrance of pride and self-righteousness,
The hindrance of doubt.

'These are the five hindrances, *Vâsettha*, which, in the Discipline of the Noble One, are called veils, and are called hindrances, and are called obstacles, and are called entanglements.

31. 'Now with these five hindrances, *Vâsettha*, the Brâhmins versed in the Three Vedas are veiled, hindered, obstructed, and entangled.

32. 'And verily, *Vâsettha*, that Brâhmins versed

¹ *Âvaranâ*.

² *Nivaranâ*.

³ All three MSS. *onahâ*. S. V. reads *onaddham* in the text, and explains it by *onahâ*.

⁴ All three MSS. *pariyonahâ*. S. V. reads *pariyoddham* in the text, and explains it by *pariyonahâ*.

in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brâhman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men non-Brâhmans—veiled, hindered, obstructed, and entangled by these Five Hindrances—that these Brâhmans should after death, on the dissolution of the body, become united to Brahmâ—such a condition of things has no existence.’

33. ‘Now what think you, Vâsettha, and what have you heard from the Brâhmans aged and well-stricken in years, when the learners and teachers are talking together? Is Brahmâ in possession of wives and wealth, or is he not ¹?’

‘He is not, Gotama.’

‘Is his mind full of anger, or free from anger?’

‘Free from anger, Gotama.’

‘Is his mind full of malice, or free from malice?’

‘Free from malice, Gotama.’

‘Is his mind depraved, or pure ²?’

‘It is pure, Gotama.’

‘Has he self-mastery, or has he not ³?’

‘He has, Gotama.’

34. ‘Now what think you, Vâsettha, are the

¹ Sapariggaho vâ Brahmâ apariggaho vâ ti. Buddhaghosa says on Vâsettha’s reply, ‘Kâmakâhandassa abhâvato itthi-pariggaheno apariggaho,’ thus restricting the ‘possession’ to women, with especial reference to the first ‘hindrance;’ but the word in the text, though doubtless alluding to possession of women in particular, includes more. Compare, on the general idea of the passage, the English expression ‘no encumbrances.’

² Asaṅkiliṭṭha-kitto. That is, says Buddhaghosa, ‘free from mental sloth and idleness, self-righteousness, and pride.’

³ Vasavattî vâ avasavattî vâ. Buddhaghosa says, in explanation of the answer: ‘By the absence of doubt he has his mind under control’ (vase vatteti).

Brâhmans versed in the Vedas in the possession of wives and wealth, or are they not ?'

'They are, Gotama.'

'Have they anger in their hearts, or have they not?'

'They have, Gotama.'

'Do they bear malice, or do they not?'

'They do, Gotama.'

'Are they pure in heart, or are they not?'

'They are not, Gotama.'

'Have they self-mastery, or have they not?'

'They have not, Gotama.'

35. 'Then you say, *Vâsettha*, that the Brâhmans are in possession of wives and wealth, and that Brahmag is not. Can there, then, be agreement and likeness between the Brâhmans with their wives and property, and Brahmag, who has none of these things?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

36. 'Very good, *Vâsettha*. But, verily, that these Brâhmans versed in the Vedas, who live married and wealthy should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahmag, who has none of these things—such a condition of things has no existence.'

37. 'Then you say, too, *Vâsettha*, that the Brâhmans bear anger and malice in their hearts, and are sinful and uncontrolled, whilst Brahmag is free from anger and malice, and sinless, and has self-mastery. Now can there, then, be concord and likeness between the Brâhmans and Brahmag?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

38. 'Very good, *Vâsettha*. That these Brâhmans versed in the Vedas and yet bearing anger and malice, in their hearts, sinful, and uncontrolled,

should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united to Brahmâ, who is free from anger and malice, sinless, and has self-mastery—such a condition of things has no existence.’

39. ‘So that thus then, *Vâsettha*, the Brâhmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, while they sit down (in confidence), are sinking down (in the mire)¹; and so sinking they are arriving only at despair, thinking the while that they are crossing over into some happier land.

‘Therefore is it that the threefold wisdom of the Brâhmans, wise in their Three Vedas, is called a waterless desert, their threefold wisdom is called a pathless jungle, their threefold wisdom is called destruction!’

40. When he had thus spoken, the young Brâhman *Vâsettha* said to the Blessed One :

‘It has been told me, Gotama, that the Samana Gotama knows the way to the state of union with Brahmâ.

41. ‘What do you think, *Vâsettha*, is not *Manasâkâta* near to this spot, not distant from this spot?’

‘Just so, Gotama. *Manasâkâta* is near to, is not far from here.

42. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*, suppose there were a man born in *Manasâkâta*, and people should

¹ *Âsîditva samsîdanti*. I have no doubt the commentator is right in his explanation of these figurative expressions. Confident in their knowledge of the Vedas, and in their practice of Vedic ceremonies, they neglect higher things; and so, sinking into sin and superstition, ‘they are arriving only at despair, thinking the while that they are crossing over into some happier land.’

ask him, who never till that time had left *Manasākata*, which was the way to *Manasākata*. Would that man, born and brought up in *Manasākata*, be in any doubt or difficulty?’

‘Certainly not, Gotama! And why? If the man had been born and brought up in *Manasākata*, every road that leads to *Manasākata* would be perfectly familiar to him.’

43. ‘That man, *Vâsettha*, born and brought up at *Manasākata* might, if he were asked the way to *Manasākata*, fall into doubt and difficulty, but to the *Tathâgata*, when asked touching the path which leads to the world of *Brahmâ*, there can be neither doubt nor difficulty. For *Brahmâ*, I know, *Vâsettha*, and the world of *Brahmâ*, and the path which leadeth unto it. Yea, I know it even as one who has entered the *Brahmâ* world, and has been born within it!’

44. When he had thus spoken, *Vâsettha* the young *Brâhman* said to the Blessed One :

‘So has it been told me, Gotama, even that the *Samana* Gotama knows the way to a state of union with *Brahmâ*. It is well! Let the venerable Gotama be pleased to show us the way to a state of union with *Brahmâ*, let the venerable Gotama save the *Brâhman* race!’

45. ‘Listen then, *Vâsettha*, and give ear attentively, and I will speak!’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said the young *Brâhman* *Vâsettha*, in assent, to the Blessed One.

46. Then the Blessed One spake, and said:

‘¹ Know, *Vâsettha*, that¹ (from time to time) a

¹ From here down to the end of p. 200 is a repetition word for

Tathâgata is born into the world, a fully Enlightened One, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the world, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men, a Blessed Buddha¹. He, by himself, thoroughly understands, and sees, as it were, face to face this universe—the world below with all its spirits, and the worlds above, of Mâra and of Brahmâ—and all creatures, Samanas and Brâhmanas, gods and men, and he then makes his knowledge known to others. The truth doth he proclaim both in its letter and in its spirit, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation: the higher life doth he make known, in all its purity and in all its perfectness.

47. 'A householder (gahapati), or one of his children, or a man of inferior birth in any class, listens to that truth². On hearing the truth he has faith in the Tathâgata, and when he has acquired that faith he thus considers with himself:

“Full of hindrances is household life, a path defiled by passion: free as the air is the life of him who has renounced all worldly things. How difficult is it for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fulness, in all its purity, in all its bright perfection! Let me then cut off my hair and beard, let me clothe myself in the

word of Sâmañña Phala Sutta, pp. 133 and following; including the passages there parallel to those in Subha Sutta, p. 157, and in Brahma-gâla Sutta, pp. 5-16.

¹ See above, § 7.

² The point is, that the acceptance of this 'Doctrine and Discipline' is open to all, not of course that Brâhmanas never accept it.

orange-coloured robes, and let me go forth from a household life into the homeless state!"

48. 'Then before long, forsaking his portion of wealth, be it great or be it small; forsaking his circle of relatives, be they many or be they few, he cuts off his hair and beard, he clothes himself in the orange-coloured robes, and he goes forth from the household life into the homeless state.

49. 'When he has thus become a recluse he passes a life self-restrained according to the rules of the Pâtimokkha; uprightness is his delight, and he sees danger in the least of those things he should avoid; he adopts and trains himself in the precepts; he encompasses himself with holiness in word and deed; he sustains his life by means that are quite pure; good is his conduct, guarded the door of his senses; mindful and self-possessed, he is altogether happy!¹'

¹ The argument is resumed after the Three Sîlas, or Descriptions of Conduct—a text, doubtless older than the Suttas in which it occurs, setting forth the distinguishing moral characteristics of a member of the Order.

The First Sîla is an expansion of the Ten Precepts ('Buddhism,' p. 160), but omitting the fifth, against the use of intoxicating drinks. The Second Sîla is a further expansion of the first and then of the last four, and finally of the fourth Precept. The Third Sîla is directed against auguries, divinations, prophecies, astrology, quackery, ritualism, and the worship of Gods (including Brahmâ).

These Three Sîlas may perhaps have been inserted in the Sutta as a kind of counterpoise to the Three Vedas. Our Sutta really reads better without them; but they are interesting in themselves, and the third is especially valuable as evidence of ancient customs and beliefs.

CHAPTER II.

THE SHORT PARAGRAPHS ON CONDUCT.

THE KŪLA SĪLAM¹.

1. 'Now wherein, *Vâsettha*, is his conduct good?'

'Herein, O *Vâsettha*, that putting away the murder of that which lives, he abstains from destroying life. The cudgel and the sword he lays aside; and, full of modesty and pity, he is compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life!

'This is the kind of goodness that he has.

2. 'Putting away the theft of that which is not his, he abstains from taking anything not given. He takes only what is given, therewith is he content, and he passes his life in honesty and in purity of heart!

'This, too, is the kind of goodness that he has.

3. 'Putting away in chastity, he lives a life of chastity and purity, averse to the low habit of sexual intercourse.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)²

¹ There is no division into actual chapters in the original, but it is convenient to arrange the following enumeration of moral precepts separately, as they occur in various suttas in the same order; and are always divided into the three divisions of Lower, Medium, and Higher Morality.

² The clause 'this, too, is the kind of goodness that he has' is repeated in the text after each section. The clause, which differs

4. 'Putting away lying, he abstains from speaking falsehood. He speaks truth, from the truth he never swerves; faithful and trustworthy, he injures not his fellow man by deceit.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. 'Putting away slander, he abstains from calumny. What he hears here he repeats not elsewhere to raise a quarrel against the people here: what he hears elsewhere he repeats not here to raise a quarrel against the people there. Thus he lives as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peace-maker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. 'Putting away bitterness of speech, he abstains from harsh language. Whatever word is humane, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people—such are the words he speaks.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. 'Putting away foolish talk, he abstains from vain conversation. In season he speaks; he speaks that which is; he speaks fact; he utters good doctrine; he utters good discipline; he speaks, and at the right time, that which redounds to profit, is well-grounded, is well-defined, and is full of wisdom.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

8. 'He refrains from injuring any herb or any creature. He takes but one meal a day; abstaining

in the different suttas in which this enumeration of Buddhist morality is found, is distinct from the enumeration itself, and, like the opening reference to *Vâsettha*, characteristic only of the particular Sutta.

from food at night time, or at the wrong time. He abstains from dancing, singing, music, and theatrical shows. He abstains from wearing, using, or adorning himself with garlands, and scents, and unguents, and he abstains from lofty couches and large beds.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

9. ‘He abstains from the getting of silver or gold. He abstains from the getting of grain uncooked. He abstains from the getting of flesh that is raw. He abstains from the getting of any woman or girl. He abstains from the getting of bondmen or bondwomen. He abstains from the getting of sheep or goats. He abstains from the getting of fowls or swine. He abstains from the getting of elephants, cattle, horses, and mares. He abstains from the getting of fields or lands.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

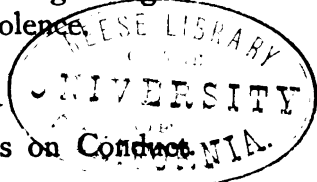
10. ‘He refrains from carrying out those commissions on which messengers can be sent. He refrains from buying and selling. He abstains from tricks with false weights, alloyed metals, or false measures. He abstains from bribery, cheating, fraud, and crooked ways.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

11. ‘He refrains from maiming, killing, imprisoning, highway robbery, plundering villages, or obtaining money by threats of violence.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)’

End of the Short Paragraphs on Conduct.



THE MIDDLE PARAGRAPHS ON CONDUCT.

THE MAGGHIMA SÎLAM.

1. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to injuring plants or vegetables: that is to say, the germs arising from roots, the germs arising from trunks of trees, the germs arising from joints, the germs arising from buds, or the germs arising from seeds. He, on the other hand, refrains from injuring such plants or animals.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

2. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to storing up property: that is to say, meat, drink, clothes, equipages, beds, perfumes, and grain. He, on the other hand, refrains from storing up such property.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

3. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to witnessing public spectacles: that is to say, dancing, singing, concerts, theatrical representations, recitations, instrumental music, funeral ceremonies, drummings, balls, gymnastics, tumblings, feasts in honour of the dead, combats between elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams, cocks, and quails, cudgel playing, boxing, wrestling, fencing, musters, marching, and reviews of troops. He, on the other hand, refrains from such public spectacles.

‘ This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

4. ‘ Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to occupying their time with games detrimental to their progress in virtue: that is to say, with a board of sixty-four squares, or of one hundred squares; tossing up; hopping over diagrams formed on the ground; removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder; dicing; trap-ball; sketching rude figures; tossing balls; blowing trumpets; ploughing matches; tumbling; forming mimic windmills; guessing at measures; chariot races; archery; shooting marbles from the fingers; guessing other people’s thoughts; and mimicking other people’s acts. He, on the other hand, refrains from such games detrimental to virtue.

‘ This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. ‘ Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of elevated and ornamented couches or things to recline upon: that is to say, of large couches; ornamented beds; coverlets with long fleece; embroidered counterpanes; woollen coverlets, plain or worked with thick flowers; cotton coverlets, worked with knots, or dyed with figures of animals; fleecy carpets; carpets inwrought with gold or with silk; far-spreading carpets; rich elephant housings, trappings, or harness; rugs for chariots; skins of the tiger or antelope; and pillows or cushions ornamented with gold lace or embroidery. He, on the other hand, refrains from the use of such elevated or ornamented couches or things to recline upon.

‘ This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. 'Or whereas some Samāna-Brāhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of articles for the adornment of their persons: that is to say, unguents; fragrant oils; perfumed baths; shampoos; mirrors; antimony for the eyebrows and eyelashes; flowers; cosmetics; dentifrices; bracelets; diadems; handsome walking-sticks; tiaras; swords; umbrellas; embroidered slippers; fillets; jewelry; fans of the buffalo tail; and long white garments. He, on the other hand, refrains from the use of such articles for the adornment of the person.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. 'Or whereas some Samāna-Brāhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to mean talk: that is to say, tales of kings, of robbers, or of ministers of state; tales of arms, of war, of terror; conversation respecting meats, drinks, clothes, couches, garlands, perfumes, relationships, equipages, streets, villages, towns, cities, provinces, women, warriors, demigods; fortune-telling; hidden treasures in jars; ghost stories; empty tales; disasters by sea; accidents on shore; things which are, and things which are not. He, on the other hand, refrains from such mean conversation.

' This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

8. 'Or whereas some Samāna-Brāhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to wrangling: that is to say, to saying, "You are ignorant of this doctrine and discipline, but I understand them!" "What do you know of doctrine or discipline?" "You are heterodox, but I am orthodox!" "My discourse is profitable, but yours is worthless!" "That which you should speak

first you speak last, and that which you should speak last you speak first!" "What you have long studied I have completely overturned!" "Your errors are made quite plain!" "You are disgraced!" "Go away and escape from this disputation; or if not, extricate yourself from your difficulties!" He, on the other hand, refrains from such wrangling.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

9. 'Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to performing the servile duties of a go-between: that is to say, between kings, ministers of state, soldiers, Brāhmins, people of property, or young men, who say, "Come here!" "Go there!" "Take this to such a place!" "Bring that here!" But he refrains from such servile duties of a messenger.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

10. 'Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to hypocrisy: that is to say, they speak much; they make high professions; they disparage others; and they are continually thirsting after gain. But he refrains from such hypocritical craft.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)'

End of the Middle Paragraphs on Conduct.

THE LONG PARAGRAPHS ON CONDUCT.

THE MAHÂ SÎLAM.

1. 'Or whereas some *Samana*-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices as these: that is to say, by divination from marks on the body; by auguries; by the interpretation of prognostics, of dreams, and of omens, good or bad; by divinations from the manner in which cloth and other such things have been bitten by rats; by sacrifices to the god of fire, offerings of Dabba grass, offerings with a ladle, offerings of husks, of bran, of rice, of clarified butter, of oil, and of liquids ejected from the mouth; and by bloody sacrifices; by teaching spells for preserving the body, for determining lucky sites, for protecting fields, for luck in war, against ghosts and goblins, to secure good harvests, to cure snake bites, to serve as antidotes for poison, and to cure bites of scorpions or rats; by divination, by the flight of hawks, or by the croaking of ravens; by guessing at length of life; by teaching spells to ward off wounds; and by pretended knowledge of the language of beasts.—

'He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

2. 'Or whereas some *Samana*-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying

practices as these : that is to say, by explaining the good and bad points in jewels, sticks, garments, swords, arrows, bows, weapons of war, women, men, youths, maidens, male and female slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowl, snipe, iguanas, long-eared creatures, turtle, and deer.—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

3. ‘Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by foretelling future events, as these :

“There will be a sortie by the king.” “There will not be a sortie by the king.” “The king within the city will attack.” “The king outside the city will retreat.” “The king within the city will gain the victory.” “The king outside the city will be defeated.” “The king outside the city will be the conqueror.” “The king inside the city will be vanquished.” Thus prophesying to this one victory and to that one defeat.—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

4. ‘Or whereas some Samāṇa-Brāhmins, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these : that is to say, by predicting—

“There will be an eclipse of the moon.” “There will be an eclipse of the sun.” “There will be an eclipse of a planet.” “The sun and the moon will be in conjunction.” “The sun and the moon will be in

opposition." "The planets will be in conjunction." "The planets will be in opposition." "There will be falling meteors, and fiery coruscations in the atmosphere." "There will be earthquakes, thunderbolts, and forked lightnings." "The rising and setting of the sun, moon, or planets will be cloudy or clear." And then: "The eclipse of the moon will have such and such a result." "The eclipse of the sun will have such and such a result." "The eclipse of the moon will have such and such a result." "The sun and the moon being in conjunction will have such and such a result." "The sun and the moon being in opposition will have such and such a result." "The planets being in conjunction will have such and such a result." "The planets being in opposition will have such and such a result." "The falling meteors and fiery coruscations in the atmosphere will have such and such a result." "The earthquakes, thunderbolts, and forked lightnings will have such and such a result." "The rising and setting of the sun, moon, or planets, cloudy or clear, will have such and such a result."

'He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by predicting—

"There will be an abundant rainfall." "There will be a deficient rainfall." "There will be an abundant harvest." "There will be famine." "There will be tranquillity." "There will be disturbances." "The season will be sickly." "The season will be healthy."

Or by drawing deeds, making up accounts, giving pills, making verses, or arguing points of casuistry—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. ‘Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these : that is to say, by giving advice touching the taking in marriage, or the giving in marriage ; the forming of alliances, or the dissolution of connections ; the calling in property, or the laying of it out. By teaching spells to procure prosperity, or to cause adversity to others ; to remove sterility ; to produce dumbness, locked-jaw, deformity, or deafness. By obtaining oracular responses by the aid of a mirror, or from a young girl, or from a god. By worshipping the sun, or by worshipping Brahmâ ; by spitting fire out of their mouths, or by laying hands on people’s heads—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. ‘Or whereas some Samana-Brâhmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these : that is to say, by teaching the ritual for making vows and performing them ; for blessing fields ; for imparting virility and rendering impotent ; for choosing the site of a house ; for performing a house-warming. By teaching forms of words to be used when cleansing the mouth, when bathing, and when making offerings to the god of

fire. By prescribing medicines to produce vomiting or purging, or to remove obstructions in the higher or lower intestines, or to relieve head-ache. By preparing oils for the ear, collyriums, catholicons, antimony, and cooling drinks. By practising cautery, midwifery, or the use of root decoctions or salves—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)’

End of the Long Paragraphs on Conduct.

CHAPTER III.

1. ¹ 'And he lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love, and so the second, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure.

2. 'Just, *Vâsettha*, as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard—and that without difficulty—in all the four directions; even so of all things that have shape or life, there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free, and deep-felt love.

'Verily this, *Vâsettha*, is the way to a state of union with Brahmâ.

3. 'And he lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of pity, sympathy, and equanimity, and so the second, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with heart of pity, sympathy, and equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure.

4. 'Just, *Vâsettha*, as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard—and that without difficulty—in all the four directions; even so of all things that have

¹ This paragraph occurs frequently; see, *inter alia*, below, *Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta* II, 8. It will be seen from 'Buddhism,' pp. 170, 171, that these meditations play a great part in later Buddhism, and occupy very much the place that prayer takes in Christianity. A fifth, the meditation on Impurity, has been added, at what time I do not know, before the last. All five are practised in Siam (Alabaster, 'Wheel of the Law,' p. 168).

shape or life, there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free, and deep-felt pity, sympathy, and equanimity.

‘Verily this, *Vâsettha*, is the way to a state of union with *Brahmâ*.’

5. ‘Now what think you, *Vâsettha*, will the *Bhikkhu*¹ who lives thus be in possession of women and of wealth, or will he not?’

‘He will not, Gotama!’

‘Will he be full of anger, or free from anger?’

‘He will be free from anger, Gotama!’

‘Will his mind be full of malice, or free from malice?’

‘Free from malice, Gotama!’

‘Will his mind be sinful, or pure?’

‘It will be pure, Gotama!’

‘Will he have self-mastery, or will he not?’

‘Surely he will, Gotama!’

6. ‘Then you say, *Vâsettha*, that the *Bhikkhu* is free from household cares, and that *Brahmâ* is free from household cares. Is there then agreement and likeness between the *Bhikkhu* and *Brahmâ*?’

‘There is, Gotama!’

7. ‘Very good, *Vâsettha*. Then in sooth, *Vâsettha*, that the *Bhikkhu* who is free from household cares should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with *Brahmâ*, who is the same—such a condition of things is every way possible!

8. ‘And so you say, *Vâsettha*, that the *Bhikkhu* is free from anger, and free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself; and that *Brahmâ* is

¹ Or ‘Member of our Order.’ See the note on *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* I, 6.

free from anger, and free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself. Then in sooth, *Vâsettha*, that the Bhikkhu who is free from anger, free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahmâ, who is the same—such a condition of things is every way possible!’

9. When he had thus spoken, the young Brâhmans *Vâsettha* and *Bhâradvâga* addressed the Blessed One, and said :

‘Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to us, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And we, even we, betake ourselves, Lord, to the Blessed One as our refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept us as disciples, as true believers, from this day forth, as long as life endures!’

End of the *Tevigga Suttanta*.

ÂKANĀKHEYYA-SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ÂKĀṆKHEYA SUTTA.

JUST as the *Tevigga Sutta* is an *argumentum ad hominem* to the man wise in the Vedas, and seeking through that knowledge for union with the Deity, urging him to adopt rather the Buddhist method of a life of righteousness here on earth; so the present Sutta is a similar argument addressed to the seeker after the various things specified in its different sections. If he should desire any of these things then let him live the life of uprightness as set out in the opening section, and cultivate the intelligent earnestness and spiritual insight described in the refrain.

The two combined amount, as would naturally be expected, to the *Nirvāṇa* of a perfect life in *Arahatship*—the supreme goal not only of every good Buddhist, but of every good Buddhist argument. As applied in the earlier sections it is only a re-statement of a familiar doctrine; as applied in the later sections it has the additional interest of showing us the answer of early Buddhism to the mystics, as the *Tevigga* shows us its answer to the theologians. And in the answer we find the details of some curious beliefs which existed in India when Buddhism arose, and which in after times, and especially in the northern church, had so disastrous an effect upon it.

With regard to the reality of these mystical powers our Sutta gives an uncertain sound; leaving, however, an impression rather in its favour. The argument is equally good either way, but the author of the Sutta is so engrossed with *Arahatship* that he does not stay to say

whether he regards the belief in the powers referred to as a delusion or not. I have no doubt that he really believed in their theoretical possibility, which is elsewhere also in the Pāli Piṭakas accepted or implied; though the practical effect of the belief has greatly varied among Buddhists in different times and countries. In the southern church, which adhered more closely to the simple doctrines of early Buddhism, these beliefs have been relegated to the region of legend and fairy tale; in the northern church there have been found, from time to time, believers who attached to them a practical importance. There is a useful analogy between the expressions used in 1 Samuel xxviii, and those in the latter part of our Suttas; and between the general position of witchcraft in the history of Christianity, and of these beliefs in the history of Buddhism; but it would take too long to carry out the comparison and contrast in detail here, and with due regard to the necessary limitations under which the comparison should be made. The analogy only reaches to their history, and to their relative importance in the religious systems with which they were connected; the two sets of belief themselves are fundamentally different, the Indian beliefs being much more nearly allied to modern spiritualism and mesmerism.

We have a curious instance of the way in which such legends grow in a parallel passage of the earlier and later lives of Gotama as accepted by orthodox Buddhists. In the Mahā Vagga¹ it is said that during the first watch of the night following on Gotama's victory over the Evil One, he fixed his mind upon the Chain of Causation, during the second watch he did the same, and during the third watch he did the same—the only difference in the narrative being the verses with which in each of the three watches the meditation closed.

In the life of Gotama prefixed to the Gātakas², the simplicity of this account is improved away by saying that

¹ I, i, 2-6.

² Gātika I, 75, translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 102.

in the first watch he acquired the knowledge of Past Births (Pubbe-nivâsa-nâna, described in our § 17), in the second the knowledge of Present Births (Dibba-*kakkhu*, described in our § 19), and only in the third the knowledge of the Chain of Causation (*Patikâ-samuppâda*). It is curious that in the corresponding passage of the northern Buddhist Sanskrit poem, the *Lalita Vistara*¹, we find precisely the same tradition, which must therefore have been current in both northern and southern churches before the fifth century of our era.

I think it is quite possible that at that time it had become part of the Buddhist theory that every Arahant possessed this supernatural insight; and as Gotama was supposed by the authors of these two later works to have acquired Arahantship by his victory over the Evil One, it naturally seemed to them proper to say that he then also acquired these particular powers. It is clear that even in the time when the *Piṭakas* were put into their present form it was considered that the Buddha had acquired them², and that they could be acquired by less exalted persons³. In the later literature several instances are given of particular persons who possessed one or other of them in a greater or less degree; but it is instructive to notice that these are always persons who lived long before the time of the writer who records the instances.

The early Buddhist doctrine as to witchcraft, astrology, omens, auguries, sacrifices, prophecies, and the like, will be found in the *Mahâ Sîla* (above, pp. 196-200), and in the *Third Fetter* (below, p. 222).

¹ Calcutta edition, pp. 440-448.

² See, for instance, the *Tevigga-vakkhagotta Sutta*.

³ *Sâmañña Phala Sutta*, pp. 144-154.

IF HE SHOULD DESIRE—

ĀKAṆKHEYYA-SUTTA.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Sāvattthi in Anātha Pindika's park.

There the Blessed One addressed the Brethren, and said, 'Bhikkhus.' 'Yea, Lord!' said the Brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then spake the Blessed One:

2. 'Continue, Brethren, in the practice of Right Conduct¹, adhering to the Rules of the Order²; continue enclosed by the restraint of the Rules of the Order, devoted to uprightness in life³; train yourselves according to the Precepts⁴, taking them upon you in the sense of the danger in the least offence.

3. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to become beloved, popular, respected among his fellow-disciples, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within⁵, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation⁶, let him look through things⁷, let him be much alone!'

¹ Sīla.

² Pātimokkhā.

³ Ākārakoṭṭarā. Comp. Teviga Sutta I, 49.

⁴ Sikkhāpadesu. The Buddhist Decalogue (given in 'Buddhism,' p. 160).

⁵ Agghattam keto samatham.

⁶ Ghāna.

⁷ Vipassanā: it is always used, in contrast to samatha

4. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to receive the requisites—clothing, food, lodging, and medicine, and other necessities for the sick—let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

5. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that to those people among whom he receives the requisites—clothing, food, lodging, and medicine, and other necessities for the sick—that charity of theirs should redound to great fruit and great advantage, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

6. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that those relatives of his, of one blood with him, dead and gone, who think of him with believing heart should find therein great fruit and great advantage¹, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

7. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that he

(note 5), of insight into objective phenomena. These three qualities are constantly referred to as parts of Arahatsip. The Rev. David da Silva makes vipassanā identical with the sevenfold perception (*saññā*, mentioned as conditions of the welfare of a community in the Book of the Great Decease, Chap. I, § 10).

¹ Even after death those who remember the Buddha, the Truth, or the Order with believing heart can reap spiritual advantage. Compare the Dhammapada commentary, p. 97.

should be victorious over discontent and lust¹, that discontent should never overpower him, that he should master and subdue any discontent that had sprung up within him, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone !'

8. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, that he should be victorious over (spiritual) danger and dismay, that neither danger nor dismay should ever overcome him, that he should master and subdue every danger and dismay, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone !'

9. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to realise the hopes of those spiritual men who live in the bliss which comes, even in this present world, from the four *Ghânas*, should he desire not to fall into the pains and difficulties (which they avoid), let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone !'

10. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to reach with his body and remain in those stages of deliverance which are incorporeal, and pass beyond

¹ Aratiratisaho. Arati is the disinclination to fulfil the duties of a *Samāṇa*, discontent with the restrictions of the Order.

² The bliss here referred to, and described in detail below, *Mahā-Sudassana Sutta*, Chap. III, is the 'ecstasy of contemplation' referred to in the refrain.

phenomena¹, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

11. ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the complete destruction of the three Bonds to become converted, to be no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and to be assured of final salvation², let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

12. ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the complete destruction of the three Bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, hatred, and delusion, to become a Sakadâgâmin, and (thus) on his first return to this world to make an end of sorrow, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

13. ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the complete destruction of the five Bonds which bind people to this earth, to become an inheritor of the highest heavens³, there to pass entirely away, thence

¹ These are the eight Vimokkhâ, a list of which occurs in the Great Decease, Chap. III, §§ 33-42.

² On this and the two following sections compare Mahâparinibbâna Sutta II, 7, and on the Bonds or Fetters below, p. 222.

³ Opapâtika. This is another of those words which, from their connoting Buddhist ideas unknown in Europe, are really untranslatable. It means a being who springs into existence without the intervention of parents, and therefore, as it were,

never to return, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!

14.¹ 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to exercise one by one each of the different Iddhis, being one to become multiform, being multiform to become one; to become visible, or to become invisible; to go without being stopped to the further side of a wall, or a fence, or a mountain, as if through air; to penetrate up and down through solid ground, as if through water; to walk on the water without dividing it, as if on solid ground; to travel cross-legged through the sky, like the birds on wing; to touch and feel with the hand even the sun and the moon, mighty and powerful though they be; and to reach in the body even up to the heaven of Brahmâ; let him then fulfil all righteous-

uncaused, and seeming to appear by chance. All the higher devas (angels or gods) are opapâtika, there being no sex or birth in the highest heavens; and it is with especial allusion to this that the word is here used. There is of course from the Buddhist point of view (which admits of nothing without a cause) a very sufficient cause for the sudden appearance of an opapâtika in heaven, viz. the karma of a being who has past away somewhere else; but the Buddhist theory necessitated the choice of an expression which would give no countenance to the (heretical) idea of a soul flying away after the death of its body from one world to another.

In the expression 'which bind people to this world,' by world is meant the Rûpa-loka, or world of form, which include all those parts of the universe whose inhabitants have an outward form and are subject to lusts.

¹ With this paragraph compare Mahâparinibbâna Sutta III, 14, and Sâmañña Phala Sutta, p. 145.

ness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

15.¹ 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to hear with clear and heavenly ear, surpassing that of men, sounds both human and celestial, whether far or near, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

16.² 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to comprehend by his own heart the hearts of other beings and of other men; to discern the passionate mind to be passionate, and the calm mind calm; the angry mind to be angry, and the peaceable peaceable; the deluded mind to be deluded, and the wise mind wise; the concentrated thoughts to be concentrated, and the scattered to be scattered; the lofty mind to be lofty, and the narrow mind narrow; the sublime thoughts to be sublime, and the mean to be mean; the steadfast mind to be steadfast, and the wavering to be wavering; the free mind to be free, and the enslaved mind to be enslaved; let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!'

17. 'If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to be able to call to mind his various temporary states in days gone by; such as one birth, two births,

¹ With this paragraph compare *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 146.

² Compare *M. P. S. I*, 16, and *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 147.

three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred or a thousand, or a hundred thousand births¹; his births in many an æon of destruction, in many an æon of renovation, in many an æon of both destruction and renovation²; (so as to be able to say), “In that place such was my name, such my family, such my caste³, such my subsistence, such my experience of comfort or of pain, and such the limit of my life; and when I passed from thence, I took form again in that other place where my name was so and so, such my family, such my caste, such my subsistence, such my experience of comfort or of joy, and such my term of life; and when I fell from thence, I took form in such and such a place⁴;” —should he desire thus to call to mind his temporary states in days gone by in all their modes and all their details let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

18.⁵ ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to see with pure and heavenly vision, surpassing that of

¹ The *Lalita Vistara* (p. 442) characteristically carries this enumeration further up into innumerable *koṭis* and *niyutas* of births.

² This is based on the Buddhist theory of the periodical destruction and renovation of the universe, each of which takes countless years to be accomplished.

³ *Vanna*, colour.

⁴ The text of this clause recurs nearly word for word in the *Brahma-gāla Sutta*, pp. 17-21; and in the *Lalita Vistara*, Chap. XXII, p. 442; and exactly in the *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 148.

⁵ This paragraph recurs in the *Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, p. 150, and in nearly the same words in the *Lalita Vistara*, Chap. XXII.

men, beings as they pass from one state of existence and take form in others ; beings base or noble, good-looking or ill-favoured, happy or miserable, according to the karma they inherit—(if he should desire to be able to say), “ These beings, reverend sirs, by their bad conduct in action, by their bad conduct in word, by their bad conduct in thought, by their speaking evil of the Noble Ones¹, by their adhesion to false doctrine, or by their acquiring the karma of false doctrine², have been reborn, on the dissolution of the body after death, in some unhappy state of suffering or woe³. ” “ These beings, reverend sirs, by their good conduct in action, by their good conduct in word, by their good conduct in thought, by their not speaking evil of the Noble Ones, by their adhesion to right doctrine, by their acquiring the karma of right doctrine, have been reborn, on the dissolution of the body after death, into some happy state in heaven ; ”—should he desire thus to see with pure and heavenly vision, surpassing that of men, beings as they thus pass from one state of existence and take form in others ; beings base or noble, good-looking or ill-favoured, happy or miserable, according to the karma they inherit ; let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs

¹ This is a collective term, meaning Buddhas, Paṭṭhaka Buddhas, Arahats, Anâgâmins, Sakadâgâmins, and Sotâpannas ; that is, those who are walking in the Noble Eightfold Path.

² The Pâli is *miḥḥâ-* (and below *sammâ-*) *diṭṭhi-kamma-samâdâna* ; the Lalita Vistara, whose other expressions are identical with the Pâli, has, very strangely, *mithyâ-* (and below *samyag-*) *diṭṭhi-karma-dharma-samâdâna*.

³ See note on M. P. S., Chap. I, § 23.

from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

19.¹ ‘If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, by the destruction of the great evils (Āsava²), by himself, and even in this very world, to know and realise and attain to Arahatsip, to emancipation of heart, and emancipation of mind, let him then fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!’

20. ‘Continue therefore, Brethren, in the practice of Right Conduct, adhering to the Rules of the Order; continue enclosed by the restraint of the Rules of the Order, devoted to uprightness in life; train yourselves according to the Precepts, taking them upon you in the sense of the danger in the least offence. For to this end alone has all, that has been said, been said!’

21. Thus spake the Blessed One. And those Brethren, delighted in heart, exalted the word of the Blessed One.

End of the Ākaṅkheyya Sutta.

¹ Compare Sāmañña Phala Sutta, p. 151; Mahāparinibbāna Sutta II, 7; and Lalita Vistara, Chap. XXII, p. 442.

² Sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance.

KETOKHILA-SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

KETOKHILA SUTTĀ.

THE following translation has been made from a text, based on the Turnour and Phayre MSS. in the India Office, of which Dr. Morris was kind enough to allow me the use. The Suttas in the *Magghima Nikāya* are usually distinguished by the way in which a single thought or one or two allied thoughts are stated shortly at the commencement, and are then elaborated and repeated through a number of consecutive and carefully-balanced paragraphs arranged in a literary form that would now be considered monotonous and tiresome in the extreme. The repetitions in the Suttas of the *Dīgha Nikāya* are no doubt equally artificial, but the train of reasoning being longer and more varied, there is always the hope of a change in the form, or of a new departure in the thought, to sustain the reader's flagging interest.

The argument of this Sutta may be shortly stated thus. The means by which freedom from barrenness and bondage of heart can be reached are zeal and determined effort. But that zeal will be crippled in its struggle against barrenness by want of confidence in the teacher, his doctrine, his order, or his system of self-culture, and by want of concord with the brethren. And that zeal will be crippled in its struggle against bondage by sensuality, by sloth, or by a craving after a future life in any of its various forms. If the disciple be strenuously diligent in the struggle against these things he need not fear or doubt, he will never fail, but will assuredly reach even to the supreme security of Arahatsip.

When I first read this Sutta I was irresistibly reminded of that passage in the New Testament where the exhortation to the disciple, 'giving all diligence' to add to his faith

virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, and brotherly kindness, is followed by the figure that these things will make him to be 'neither barren nor unfruitful;' and closes with the promise that if he do these things, giving diligence to make his calling and election sure, he shall never fall, but shall enter into that everlasting kingdom which is the supreme goal of the Christian life.

The analogy is sufficiently close to throw considerable light upon our Sutta, but it touches only the barrenness. The bondage is specially Buddhistic, and is allied with the doctrine of the *Sanyoganas*, or fetters, which the pilgrim along the Noble Path has to break before he can reach the full fruit of Arahatsip. It should be compared also with the fivefold bond mentioned in the *Tevigga Sutta*, Chap. I, §§ 26-28, the word there used being *bandhanam*, as against *vinibandhanam* here, and the fivefold bond being a fivefold division of our first bondage.

The ten fetters are—

1. The delusion of self (*sakkâya-ditthi*).
2. Doubt (*vicikicchâ*).
3. Reliance on the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (*silabbata-parâmâsa*).
4. The bodily lusts or passions (*kâma*).
5. Hatred, ill-feeling (*patigha*).
6. Desire for a future life in the worlds of form (*rûparâga*).
7. Desire for a future life in the formless worlds (*arûparâga*).
8. Pride (*mâno*).
9. Self-righteousness (*uddhaṭṭhâ*).
10. Ignorance (*aviggâ*).

Here the 4th fetter is correlative to our first bondage; the 6th fetter to our 2nd and 3rd bondage; and part of the 3rd fetter to our 5th bondage.

The 2nd, 3rd, and 5th bondage are in fact but a new way of stating the fundamental Buddhist doctrine that good must be pursued without any ulterior motive; and that that man is not spiritually free in whom there is still the least hankering after any future life beyond the grave.

BARRENNESS AND BONDAGE.

KETOKHILA-SUTTA.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling at Sāvatti, in the park of Anātha Pindika.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, saying, 'Brethren!'

'Yea, Lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One spake:

2. 'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not quite become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness¹, has not altogether broken through the five kinds of mental bondage²—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to the full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline³—that can in no wise be!'

3. 'And who has not become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness?'

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother

¹ *Pañka ketokhilā*.

² *Pañka ketaso vinibandhā*.

³ *Dhamma-vinaye*. On the disputed question as to whether this compound is a *Dvanda* or not, see Dr. Oldenberg, *Mahā Vagga*, p. x. M. Léon Feer ('*Études Bouddhiques*,' p. 203) has taken it as *Tatpurusha*; and it would be hazardous to say that it is never used as such. Here I think it is a *Dvanda*.

doubts in the Teacher (Satthâ), is uncertain regarding him, has not confidence in him, and has not faith in him; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this first spiritual barrenness.

4. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother doubts in the System of Belief (Dhamma), is uncertain regarding it, has not confidence in it, has not faith in it; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this second spiritual barrenness.

5. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has doubt in the Brotherhood (Saṅgha), is uncertain about it, has no confidence in it, has no faith in it; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this third spiritual barrenness.

6. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has doubt in the System of Self-culture (Sikkhâ), is uncertain about it, has no confidence in it, has no faith in it; then is his mind not inclined towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this fourth spiritual barrenness.

7. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother is angry with his fellow-disciples, discontented with

them, excited against them, barren towards them, the mind of the brother, O Bhikkhus, thus angry with his fellow-disciples, discontented with them, excited against them, barren towards them does not incline towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not become free from this fifth spiritual barrenness.

‘It is such a one, O Bhikkhus, who is not free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness.’

8. ‘And who has not broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage?’

‘In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for lusts (kāme), has not got rid of the desire after lusts, has not got rid of the attraction to lusts, has not got rid of the thirst for lusts, has not got rid of the fever of lust, has not got rid of the craving after lusts.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not got rid of the passion for lusts, has not got rid of the desire after lusts, has not got rid of the attraction to lusts, has not got rid of the thirst for lusts, has not got rid of the fever of lust, has not got rid of the craving after lusts, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this first spiritual bondage.

9. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for a body¹ (kāye),

¹ It is possible that kāya may be used here in a technical sense, as the group or aggregate of qualities, apart from form, which go

has not got rid of the desire after a body, has not got rid of the attraction to a body, has not got rid of the thirst for a body, has not got rid of the fever of a body, has not got rid of the craving after a body.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not got rid of the passion for a body, has not got rid of the desire after a body, has not got rid of the attraction to a body, has not got rid of the thirst for a body, has not got rid of the fever of a body, has not got rid of the craving after a body, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this second spiritual bondage.

10. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for a form (*rûpe*), has not got rid of the desire after a form, has not got rid of the attraction to a form, has not got rid of the thirst for a form, has not got rid of the fever of a form, has not got rid of the craving after a form.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not got rid of the passion for a form, has not got rid of the desire after a form, has not got rid of the attraction to a form, has not got rid of the thirst for a form, has not got rid of the fever of a form, has not got rid of the craving after a form, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this third spiritual bondage.

to make up an individual. This paragraph would then correspond to the 7th *Samyogana*.

11. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, a brother may have eaten enough and to satiety, and begins to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth.

'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, when he has eaten enough and to satiety, begins to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth, his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this fourth spiritual bondage.

12. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, a brother may have adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts¹, and thinking to himself: "By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!"—

'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, may have adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts, and thinking to himself: "By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!" his mind does not incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth not toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has not broken through this fifth spiritual bondage.

'It is such a one, O Bhikkhus, who has not broken through the five kinds of mental bondage.

¹ *Aññataram deva-nikāyam*. Compare Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, Chap. I, § 11, Chap. II, § 9.

13. 'And whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not quite become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness, has not altogether broken through the five kinds of mental bondage—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to the full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline—that can in no wise be!

14. 'But whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has become quite free from the five kinds of mental barrenness, has altogether broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline—that can well be!'

15. 'And who has become free from the five kinds of spiritual barrenness?'

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not doubt in the Teacher (Satthâ), is not uncertain regarding him, has confidence in him, and has faith in him; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this first spiritual barrenness.

16. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not doubt in the System of Belief (Dhamma), is not uncertain regarding it, has confidence in it, and has faith in it; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this second spiritual barrenness.

17. 'And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother

does not doubt in the Brotherhood (Saṅgha), is not uncertain about it, has confidence in it, and has faith in it; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this third spiritual barrenness.

18. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not doubt in the System of Self-culture (Sikkhā), is not uncertain about it, has confidence in it, and has faith in it; then his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fourth spiritual barrenness.

19. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother is not angry with his fellow-disciples, is not discontented with them, is not excited against them, is not barren towards them, the mind of the brother, O Bhikkhus, who is thus not angry with his fellow-disciples, not discontented with them, not excited against them, not barren towards them, does incline toward zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fifth spiritual barrenness.’

20. ‘And who has broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage?’

‘In the first place, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has got rid of the passion after lusts (kāme), has got rid of the desire after lusts, has got rid of the attraction to lusts, has got rid of the thirst for

lusts, has got rid of the fever of lust, has got rid of the craving after lusts.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has got rid of the passion after lusts, has got rid of the desire after lusts, has got rid of the attraction to lusts, has got rid of the thirst for lusts, has got rid of the fever of lust, has got rid of the craving after lusts, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this first spiritual bondage.

21. ‘And, further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has got rid of the passion after a body (kāye), has got rid of the desire after a body, has got rid of the attraction to a body, has got rid of the thirst for a body, has got rid of the fever of a body, has got rid of the craving after a body.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has got rid of the passion after a body, has got rid of the desire after a body, has got rid of the attraction to a body, has got rid of the thirst for a body, has got rid of the fever of a body, has got rid of the craving after a body, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this second spiritual bondage

22. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has got rid of the passion for a form (rūpe); has got rid of the desire after a form, has got rid of the attraction to a form, has got rid of the thirst for a form, has got rid of the fever of a form, has got rid of the craving after a form.—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has got rid of the passion for a form, has got rid of the desire after a form, has got rid of the attraction to a form, has got rid of the thirst for a form, has got rid of the fever of a form, has got rid of the craving after a form, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this third spiritual bondage.

23. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother does not, having eaten enough and to satiety, begin to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth.

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, does not, having eaten enough and to satiety, begin to follow after the ease of sleep, the ease of softness, the ease of sloth, his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

‘But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fourth spiritual bondage¹.

24. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, when a brother has not adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts, thinking to himself: “By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!”—

‘Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has not

¹ In this section, and in section 11, I have rendered *sukha* by ease, and not by happiness, as I think the former is always its more exact meaning in such passages.

adopted the religious life in the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the angel hosts, thinking to himself: "By this morality, or by this observance, or by this austerity, or by this religious life, I shall become an angel, or one of the angels!" his mind does incline to zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle.

'But whosoever mind inclineth towards zeal, exertion, perseverance, and struggle, he has become free from this fifth spiritual bondage.

'It is such a one, O Bhikkhus, who has broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage.

25. 'Whatsoever brother, O Bhikkhus, has become quite free from the five kinds of mental barrenness, has altogether broken through the five kinds of spiritual bondage—that such a one should reach up to the full advantage of, should attain to full growth in, to full breadth in, this doctrine and discipline—that can well be!

26. 'He practises the (first) road to saintship¹, which is accompanied by the union of the will to acquire it with earnest contemplation, and with the struggle against sin. He practises the (second) road to saintship, which is accompanied by the union of exertion with earnest contemplation, and with the struggle against sin. He practises the (third) road to saintship, which is accompanied by the union of thought with earnest contemplation, and with the struggle against sin. He practises the (fourth) road to saintship, which is accompanied by the union of investigation with earnest con-

¹ Iddhipâdam. Here Iddhi must be (spiritual) welfare.

templation and the struggle against sin¹,—and strong determination too as a fifth.

27. 'The brother, O Bhikkhus, thus endowed with fifteenfold determination² becomes destined to come forth into the light, capable of the higher wisdom, sure of attaining to the supreme security³.

28. 'Just, O Bhikkhus, as when a hen has eight or ten or twelve eggs, and the hen has properly brooded over them, properly sat upon them, properly sat herself round them, however much such a wish may arise on her heart as this, "O would that my little chickens should break open the egg-shell with the points of their claws, or with their beaks, and come forth into the light in safety!" yet all the while those little chickens are sure to break the egg-shell with the points of their claws, or with their beaks, and to come forth into the light in safety.

29. 'Just even so, a brother thus endowed with fifteenfold determination is sure to come forth into the light, sure to reach up to the higher wisdom, sure to attain to the supreme security⁴!'

¹ The text of this section, so far, will be found in Childers's dictionary, sub voce Iddhipâdo.

² That is, the four Iddhipâdas, and Usso/hi, each multiplied by three.

³ Anuttarassa Yogakkhemassa; that is, Nirvâna. Compare Dhammapada, ver. 23 and p. 180.

⁴ The tertium quid of the parable is the absolute certainty of the event which will follow on the hen having duly and diligently followed the law of her instinct, even though she, meanwhile, in her ignorance, be full of doubt and desire. The certainty of the delivery of a woman with child is not unfrequently used as a symbol of what can be absolutely depended upon. So of 'the word of the glorious Buddhas,' which endureth for ever, in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 18. I have attempted to imitate the play in the text upon the two words for the 'coming forth into the light,'

30. Thus spake the Blessed One. And those Brethren, delighted in heart, exalted the word of the Blessed One.

End of the Sutta, the sixth, on barrenness and bondage.

figuratively and literally, of the disciple and of the little chicken. The first is in Pâli bhabbo abhinibbidâya (from vid), the latter is aho vata . . . sotthinâ abhinibbhiggeyyan (from bhid). On sammâ-paribhavitâni, here applied to the *andâni*, see above, Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, Chap. I, § 12, note.

MAHÂ-SUDASSANA-
SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHĀ-SUDASSANA SUTTA.

THE following translation is made from a text based on three MSS. from the same sources as those referred to at the commencement of the *Tevigga Sutta*, and referred to in my notes by the same letters.

This Sutta follows in the *Dīgha Nikāya* immediately after the Book of the Great Decease, and is based on the same legend as the *Mahā-Sudassana Gāṭaka*, No. 95 in Mr. Fausböll's edition. As the latter differs in several important particulars from our Sutta, it is probably not taken directly from it, but is merely derived from the same source. To facilitate comparison between the two I add here a translation of the *Gāṭaka*, which has not been reached as yet in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' and which is very short.

The part enclosed in brackets [] is the comment, which was probably written in Ceylon in the fifth century of our era, and I have included that part of the comment which is explanatory of the words in the verse, as it is of more than usual interest. There is every reason to believe, for the reasons given in the Introduction to the 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' that the stories themselves belong to a very early period in the history of Buddhism; and we may be sure that if this particular story had been abstracted by the author of the commentary from our Sutta, he would not have ventured to introduce such serious changes into what he regarded as sacred writ.

MAHÂ-SUDASSANA GĀTAKA.

THE GREAT KING OF GLORY.

['How transient are all component things.' This the Master told when lying on his death-couch, concerning that word of Ānanda the Thera, when he said, 'Do not, O Blessed One, die in this little town,' and so on.

When the Tathāgata was at the *Getavana*¹ he thought 'the Thera Sāriputta, who was born at Nālagāma, has died, on the day of the full moon in the month of Kattika, in that very village²; and Mahā Moggallāna in the latter, the dark half of that same month. As my two chief disciples are thus dead, I too will pass away at Kusinārā.' Thereupon he proceeded straight on to that place, and lay down on the Uttara-sīsaka couch, between the twin Sāla trees, never to rise again.

Then the venerable Ānanda besought him, saying, 'Let

¹ It is not easy with our present materials to reconcile the apparently conflicting statements with regard to the Buddha's last journey. According to the *Mālāṅkāra-vatthu* this refers here to a residence at the *Getavana*, which took place between the end of § 30 in Chap. II, in the Book of the Great Decease, and the beginning of § 31. It will be noticed that § 31 speaks of 'the monastery,' which is apparently an undesigned confirmation of this tradition. (Such undesigned circumstances, however really undesigned, are very far, of course, from proving the actual truth of the tradition. They would only show that it was older than the time when the works in which they occur were put into their present shape.)

Mr. Fausböll, by his punctuation, includes these words in the following thought ascribed to the Blessed One, but I think they only describe the time at which the thought is supposed to have arisen.

² Or perhaps 'at Varaka.' I do not understand the word *varaka*, which has puzzled Mr. Fausböll. The modern name of the village, afterwards the site of the famous Buddhist university of Nālanda, is Baragaon. The full-moon day in Kattika is the 1st of December. An account of the death of Sāriputta will be found in the *Mālāṅkāra-vatthu* (Bigandet, 'Legend,' &c., 3rd ed., II, 1-25), and of the murder of Moggallāna by the *Niganthas* in the *Dhammapada* commentary (Fausböll, p. 298 seq.), of which Spence Hardy's account ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 338) is nearly a translation; and Bigandet's account (loc. cit. pp. 25-27) is an abridgment.

not the Blessed One die in this little township¹, in this little town in the jungle, in this branch township. Let the Blessed One die in one of the other great cities, such as Râgagaha, and the rest !'

But the Master answered, ' Say not, Ânanda, that this is a little township, a little town in the jungle, a branch township. I was dwelling formerly in this town at the time when I was Sudassana, the king of kings ; and then it was a great city, surrounded by a jewelled rampart, twelve leagues in length !'

And at the request of the Thera, he, telling the tale, uttered the Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta.]

Now on that occasion when Queen Subhaddâ saw Mahâ Sudassana, when he had come down out of the Palace of Righteousness, and was lying down, not far off, on the appropriate couch, spread out in the grove of the seven kinds of gems, and when she said : ' Thine, O king, are these four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief is the royal city of Kusavâti. Quicken thy desire after these !'

Then replied Mahâ Sudassana, ' Speak not thus, O queen ! but exhort me rather, saying, " Cast away desire for these, long not after them² ! "'

And when she asked, ' Why so, O king ? ' ' To-day my time is come, and I shall die ! ' was his reply³.

Then the weeping queen, wiping her eyes, brought herself with difficulty and distress to address him accordingly. And having spoken, she wept, and lamented ; and the other four and eighty thousand women wept too, and lamented ; and of the attendant courtiers not one could restrain himself, but all also wept.

But the Bodisat stopped them all, saying, ' Enough my friends ! Be still ! ' And he exhorted the queen, saying, ' Neither do thou, O queen, weep : neither do thou lament. For even unto a grain of sesamum fruit there is no such

¹ Khuddaka-nagarake. See the note on Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, ver. 60.

² Both these speeches are different from those given on the same occasion in the Sutta below.

³ This question and answer are not in the Sutta.

thing as a compound which is permanent! All are transient, all have the inherent quality of dissolution!¹

And when he had so said, he further uttered this stanza:

‘How transient are all component things!

Growth is their nature and decay:

They are produced, they are dissolved again:

And then is best,—when they have sunk to rest!¹

[In these verses the words ‘How transient are all component things!’ mean ‘Dear lady, Subhaddâ, where-soever and by whatsoever causes made or come together, compounds²,—that is, all those things which possess the essential constituents (whether material or mental) of existing things³,—all these compounds are impermanence itself. For of these form⁴ is impermanent, reason⁵ is impermanent, the (mental) eye⁶ is impermanent, and qualities⁷ are impermanent. And whatever treasure there be, whether conscious or unconscious, that is transitory. Understand therefore “How transient are all component things!”

‘And why? “Growth is their nature and decay.” These, all, have the inherent quality of coming into (individual) existence, and have also the inherent quality of growing old; or (in other words) their very nature is to come into existence and to be broken up. Therefore should it be understood that they are impermanent.

‘And since they are impermanent, when “they are produced, they are dissolved again.” Having come into existence, having reached a state⁸, they are surely dissolved. For all these things come into existence, taking an individual form; and are dissolved, being broken up. To them as soon as there is birth, there is what is called a state; as soon as there is a state, there is what is called

¹ All this is omitted in the Sutta. It is true the verse occurs there, but it is placed in the Sutta in the mouth of the Teacher, after the account of Mahâ Sudassana’s death.

The last clause is literally, ‘Blessed is their cessation,’ where the word for cessation, *upasamo*, is derived from the word *sam*, ‘to be calm, to be quiet,’ and means cessation by sinking into rest. Compare below.

² *Saṅkhârâ*.

³ *Khandâyatanâdayo*.

⁴ *Rûpam*.

⁵ *Viññânam*.

⁶ *Kakkhum*.

⁷ *Dhammâ*.

⁸ *Thiti*.

disintegration¹. For to the unborn there is no such thing as state, and there is no such thing as a state which is without disintegration. Thus are all compounds, having attained to the three characteristic marks (of impermanency, pain, and want of any abiding principle²), subject, in this way and in that way, to dissolution. All these component things therefore, without exception, are impermanent, momentary³, despicable, unstable, disintegrating, trembling, quaking, unlasting, sure to depart⁴, only for a time⁵, and without substance;—as temporary⁶ as a phantom, as the mirage, or as foam!

‘How then in these, dear lady Subhaddâ, is there any sign of ease? Understand rather that “then is best, when they have sunk to rest;” but their sinking to rest, their cessation, comes from the cessation of the whole round (of life), and is the same as Nirvâna. That and this are one⁶. And hence there is no such thing as ease.’]

And when Mahâ Sudassana had thus brought his discourse to a point with the ambrosial great Nirvâna, he made exhortation also to the rest of the great multitude, saying, ‘Give gifts! Observe the precepts! Keep the sacred days!’ and became an inheritor of the world of the gods.

[When the Master had concluded this lesson in the truth, he summed up the Gâtaka, saying, ‘She who was then Subhaddâ the queen was the mother of Râhula, the great adviser was Râhula, the rest of the retinue the Buddha’s retinue, and Mahâ Sudassana I myself.’]

¹ Bhaṅgo.

² *Anekkam, dukkham, anattam*. See Gâtaka I, 275; and, on the last, Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I, 10, and Mahâ Vagga I, vi, 38–47.

³ *Khamikâ*. See Oldenberg’s note on *Dîpavamsa* I, 53.

⁴ *Pâyâtâ*, literally ‘departed.’ The forms *payâti* and *payâto*, given by Childers, should be corrected into *pâyâti* and *pâyâto*. See Gâtaka I, 146.

⁵ *Tâvakâlikâ*. See Gâtaka I, 121, where the word is used of a cart let out on hire for a time only.

⁶ *Tad ev ekam ekam*, which is not altogether without ambiguity.

⁷ This paragraph, too, is omitted in the Sutta.

The word translated 'component things' or 'compounds' in this *Gâtaka* is *saṅkhârâ*, literally confections, from *kar*, 'to do,' and *sa m*, 'together.' It is a word very frequently used in Buddhist writings, and a word consequently of many different connotations; and there is, of course, no exactly corresponding word in English. 'Production' would often be very nearly correct, although it fails entirely to give the force of the preposition *sa m*; but a greater objection to that word is the fact that it is generally used, not of things that have come into being of themselves, but of things that have been produced by some one else. It suggests, if it does not imply, a producer; which is contrary to the whole spirit of the Buddhist passages in which the word *saṅkhârâ* occurs. In this important respect the word 'compound' is a much more accurate translation, though it lays somewhat too much stress on the *sa m*.

The term Confections (to coin a rendering) is sometimes used, as in the first line of these verses (as used in this connection), to denote all things which have been brought together, made up, by pre-existing causes; and in this sense it includes, as the commentator here points out, all those material or mental qualities which unite to form an individual, a separate thing or being, whether conscious or unconscious.

It is more usually used, with special reference to their origin from pre-existing causes, and with allusion to the wider class denoted by the same word, of the mental confections only, of all sentient beings generally, or of man alone. In this sense it forms by itself one of the five classes or aggregates (*khandhâ*) into which the material and mental qualities of each separate individual are divided in Buddhist writings—the class of dispositions, capabilities, and all that goes together to make what we call character. This class has naturally enough been again divided and subdivided; and a full list of the Confections in this sense, as now acknowledged by orthodox Buddhists, will be found in my manual 'Buddhism.' At the time when the Pâli *Piṭakas* reached their present form, no such elaborate list of Confections in detail seems to have been made; but the

general sense of the word was, as is quite clear from the passages in which it occurs, the idea which these details together convey. It is this second and more usual meaning of the term which is more especially emphasised in the concluding verse of the above stanza.

I have ventured to dwell so far on the word Confections, because the commentator here says that the cessation of these Confections is the same thing as *Nirvâna*; and the question of *Nirvâna* engrosses so large a share of the attention of those who are interested in Buddhism.

Whether it is entitled to do so is open to serious question. The Buddhist salvation was held to consist in a change of heart, a modification of personal character, to be attained to in this world, and forming the subject of Gotama's first discourse, 'The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness'.¹ When looked at from different points of view this state of mind was denoted, in the very numerous passages in which it is mentioned or referred to, under a great variety of different names or epithets, suggestive of the different points of view from which it could be regarded. The term *Nibbâna*, or *Nirvâna*, is only one of those epithets; and it is a most significant fact, to which I would invite especial attention, that it is an epithet comparatively very seldom employed in the Pâli *Piṭakas* themselves. It is to the state of mind itself, the salvation which every Arahāt has reached while yet alive, in a word, to Arahātship, that importance ought to be attached, rather than to that particular connotation of it suggested by the word *Nirvâna*.

One of the many ideas involved in Arahātship was the absolute dissolution of individuality. Gotama, whether rightly or wrongly is here of no importance, held that freedom from pain, absolute ease, happiness, was incompatible with existence as a distinct individual (whether animal, god, or man). The cessation of the Confections, so far from being a thing to be dreaded, was the inevitable result of the emancipation of heart and mind in Arahātship.

¹ The *Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana Sutta*, translated below.

But it was not a thing to be desired, and could not, in fact, be brought about apart from all the other things involved in Arahatsip. The formation of these Confections ceases in Nirvâna, and in Nirvâna alone; and when the poet declares that their cessation is blessed, he is saying the same thing as if he had said 'Nirvâna is blessed'¹.

Turning now to the Sutta itself, we find that the portion of the legend omitted in the *Gâtaka* throws an unexpected light upon the tale; for it commences with a long description of the riches and glory of Mahâ Sudassana, and reveals in its details the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more nor less than a spiritualist's sun-myth.

It cannot be disputed that the sun-myth theory has become greatly discredited, and with reason, by having been used too carelessly and freely as an explanation of religious legends of different times and countries which have really no historical connection with the earlier awe and reverence inspired by the sun. The very mention of the word sun-myth is apt to call forth a smile of incredulity, and the undubitable truth which is the basis of the theory has not sufficed to protect it from the shafts of ridicule. The 'Book of the Great King of Glory' seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied.

It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on a sun-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun, or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic. A large proportion of its contents has nothing at all to do with the worship of the sun; and even that which has, had not, in

¹ In this respect it should be noticed that the very word here used for cessation, *upasamo*, is used as one among a string of epithets of Arahatsip at *Dhamma-takka-ppavattana Sutta*, § 3, = *Gâtaka* I, 97, and again in *Dhamma-pada*, verses 368, 381. In this last passage the whole of the phrase in the last verse in our stanza recurs in the accusative case as an equivalent to Arahatsip, and the comma inserted by Mr. Fausböll between *sañkhârûpasamam* and *sukham* is, in both verses, unnecessary.

the mind of the author, when the book was put together. Whether indebted to a sun-myth or not, it is therefore perfectly true and valid evidence of the religious belief of the people among whom it was current; and no more shows that the Buddhists were unconscious sun worshippers than the story of Samson, under any theory of its possible origin, would prove the same of the Jews.

What we really have is a kind of wonderful fairy tale, a gorgeous poem, in which an attempt is made to describe in set terms the greatest possible glory and majesty of the greatest possible king, in order to show that all is vanity, save only righteousness—just such a poem as a Jewish prophet might have written of Solomon in all his glory. It would have been most strange, perhaps impossible, for the author to refrain from using the language of the only poets he knew, who had used their boldly figurative language in an attempt to describe the appearance of the sun.

To trace back all the rhetorical phrases of our Sutta to their earliest appearance in the Vedic hymns would be an interesting task of historical philology, though it would throw more light upon Buddhist forms of speech than upon Buddhist forms of belief. In M. Senart's valuable work, '*La Légende du Bouddha*,' he has already done this with regard to the seven treasures (mentioned in the early part of the Sutta) on the basis of the corresponding passage in the later Buddhist Sanskrit poem called the *Lalita Vistara*. The description of the royal city and of its wondrous Palace of Righteousness have been probably originated by the author, though on the same lines; and it reminds one irresistibly, in many of its expressions, of the similar, but simpler and more beautiful poem in which a Jewish author, some three centuries afterwards, described the heavenly Jerusalem.

When the Northern Buddhists, long afterwards, had smothered the simple teaching of the founder of their religion under the subtleties of theological and metaphysical speculation, and had forgotten all about the Noble Path, their goal was no longer a change of heart in the Arhatship to be reached on earth, but a life of happiness, under a change of outward condition, in a heaven of bliss

beyond the skies. One of the most popular books among the Buddhists of China and Japan is a description of this heavenly paradise of theirs, called the *Sukhâvatî-vyûha*, the 'Book of the Happy Country,' the Sanskrit text of which has been just published by Professor Max Müller in the volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for the present year. It is instructive to find that several of the expressions used are word for word the same as the corresponding phrases in the 'Book of the Great King of Glory.'

THE GREAT KING OF GLORY¹.

MAHÂ-SUDASSANA-SUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Kusinârâ in the Upavattana, the Sâla grove of the Mallas, between the twin Sâla trees, at the time of his death.

2. Now the venerable Ânanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Ânanda said to the Blessed One :

² 'Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as *Kampâ*, *Râgagaha*, *Sâvatthi*, *Sâketa*, *Kosambi*, and *Benâres*. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and Brâhmans and heads of houses, believers in the Tathâgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata.'

3. 'Say not so, Ânanda ! Say not so, Ânanda,

¹ Sudassana means 'beautiful to see, having a glorious appearance,' and is the name of many kings and heroes in Indian legend.

² From here down to the end of the next section is found also, nearly word for word, in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, above, pp. 99, 100. Compare also Mahâ-Sudassana Gâtaka, No. 95.

that this is but a small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ânanda, there was a king, by name Mahâ-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, an anointed Kshatriya¹, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinârâ, Ânanda, was the royal city of king Mahâ-Sudassana, under the name of Kusâvatî², and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusâvatî, Ânanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ânanda, as the royal city of the gods, Âkamaṇḍâ by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ânanda, was the royal city Kusâvatî mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Both by day and by night, Ânanda, the royal city Kusâvatî resounded

¹ Khattiyo muddhâvasitto, which does not occur in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, the Mahâpadhâna Sutta, the Lakkhana Sutta, and other places where this stock description of a *Kakkavatti* is found. It is omitted also in the Lalita Vistara. The Burmese Phayre MS. of the India Office reads here muddâbhisitto, but this is an unnecessary correction. So the name of the Hindu caste mentioned in the Sahyâdri Khandâ of the Skanda Purâṇa is spelt both ways. The epithet is probably inserted here from § 12 below.

² Kusâvatî was the name of a famous city mentioned as the capital of Southern Kusala in post-Buddhistic Sanskrit plays and epic poems. In the Mahâbhârata it is called Kusavatî. It is said to have been so named after Kusa, son of Râma, by whom it was built; and it is also called Kurasthali.

with the ten cries ; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots ; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute ; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong ; and lastly, with the cry, " Eat, drink, and be merry ¹ ! "

4. ' The royal city Kusâvattî, Ânanda, was surrounded by Seven Ramparts. Of these, one rampart was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems ² ! '

¹ This enumeration is found also at *Gâtaka*, p. 3, only that the *chank* is added there—wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven.

² Beryl, agate, and coral are doubtful renderings of Pâli names of precious substances, the exact meaning of which has been discussed on the very slender evidence available (and hence, it seems to me, with very little certain result) by Burnouf in the '*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*,' pp. 319-321 ; and Professor Max Müller has a further note in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, p. 178. The Pâli words here are in the first column :

1. Sovannamayo,	Suvarṇasaya ;
2. Rûpimayo,	Rûpasaya ;
3. Ve/uriyamayo,	Vaidûryasaya ;
4. Phalikamayo,	Sphaṭikasaya ;
5. Lohitaṇkamayo,	Lohitamuktasaya ;
6. Masâragallamayo,	Asmagarbhasaya ;
7. Sabbaratanamayo,	Musâragalvasaya :

those in the second being taken from the *Sukhavatîvyûṭha* in the passage corresponding to § 6 below. It is quite possible that the writers of these passages used the rarer words only as names of precious substances, without attaching any clearly distinct meaning to each (compare *Rev.* xxi. 19-21). The Pâli author seems to have been hard put to it to find enough names to fill up the sacred number seven ; just as in the 'Seven Jewels' of the *Dhamma*, the sacred number seven is reached by giving to one jewel two distinct names (*Pañkâ' indriyâni* = *pañka balâni*). At *Kulla Vagga IX*, 1, 4 we find the following enumeration of

5. 'To the royal city Kusâvati, Ânanda, there were Four Gates. One gate was of gold, and one of silver, and one of jade, and one of crystal. At each gate seven pillars were fixed; in height as three times or as four times the height of a man. And one pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

6. 'The royal city Kusâvati, Ânanda, was surrounded by Seven Rows of Palm Trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

7. 'And the Golden Palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the Silver Palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the Palms of Beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the Crystal Palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the Agate Palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the Coral Palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the Palms of every kind of Gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

8. ¹'And when those rows of palm trees, Ânanda,

rataṇas as found in the ocean, though only Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 are really produced there:

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Mutta.</i> | 6. <i>Pavâlam.</i> |
| 2. <i>Mani.</i> | 7. <i>Ragatam.</i> |
| 3. <i>Veḷuriyo.</i> | 8. <i>Gâtârûpam.</i> |
| 4. <i>Saṅkho.</i> | 9. <i>Lohitaṅko.</i> |
| 5. <i>Silâ.</i> | 10. <i>Masâragallam.</i> |

¹ This section and § 9 should be compared with one in the *Sukhavatîvyûha*, translated by Professor Max Müller as follows (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, p. 170):

'And again, O Śāriputra, when those rows of palm trees and

were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

‘Just, Ānanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

9. ‘And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

10. ‘The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was the possessor of Seven Precious Things, and was gifted with Four Marvellous Powers.’

‘What are those seven?’

11. ¹ ‘In the first place, Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, on the Sabbath day², on the day of

strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sāriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand koṇis of sounds, when played by Āryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds; a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm trees and strings of bells moved by the wind.

‘And when the men there hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in their body, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Assembly.’

Compare also below, § 81, and *Gātaka* I, 32.

¹ The following enumeration is found word for word in several other Pāli Suttas, and occurs also, in almost identical terms, in the *Lalita Vistara* (Calcutta edition, pp. 14–19).

² Uposatha, a weekly sacred day; being full-moon day, new-moon day, and the two equidistant intermediate days. Comp. § 21.

the full moon, had purified himself, and had gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day, there then appeared to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel¹, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete.

12. 'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory thought:

"This saying have I heard, 'When a king of the warrior race, an anointed king, has purified himself on the Sabbath day, on the day of the full moon, and has gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day; if there appear to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete — that king becomes a king of kings invincible.' May I, then, become a king of kings invincible²."

13. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory rose from his seat, and reverently uncovering from one shoulder his robe, he held in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand he sprinkled water up over the Wheel, as he said:

"Roll onward, O my Lord, the Wheel! O my Lord, go forth and overcome!"

14. 'Then the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, rolled onwards towards the region of the East, and after it went the Great King of Glory³, and with him his

¹ *Kakka-ratanam*, where the *kakka* is the disk of the sun.

² *Kakkavattirâgâ*.

³ *Atha kho kakka-ratanam puratthimam disam pavatti anvad eva râgâ Mahâsudassano, &c.* Here *anvad* must be the Sanskrit *anvañk*. The *Lalita Vistara* has *anveti* in the corresponding passage, and the (Phayre Burmese) MS. here reads *anud eva*. The verb in the second clause must be supplied, as

army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men. And in whatever place, Ânanda, the Wheel stopped, there the Great King of Glory took up his abode, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men.

15. 'Then, Ânanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the Great King of Glory and said:

"Come, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Do thou, O mighty king, be a Teacher to us!"

16. 'Thus spake the Great King of Glory:

"Ye shall slay no living thing.

"Ye shall not take that which has not been given.

"Ye shall not act wrongly touching the bodily desires.

"Ye shall speak no lie.

"Ye shall drink no maddening drink.

"Ye shall eat as ye have eaten¹."

17. 'Then, Ânanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East became subject unto the Great King of Glory.

18. 'But the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, having plunged down into the great waters in the East, rose up out again, and rolled onward to the region of the South [and there all happened as had hap-

is the case in the one or two other passages where I have met with this phrase.

¹ *Yathâbhattam bhuñgatha*. Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. I suppose it means, 'Observe the rules current among you regarding clean and unclean meats.' If so, the Great King of Glory disregards the teaching of the Âmagandha Sutta, quoted in 'Buddhism,' p. 131.

pened in the region of the East. And in like manner the wondrous Wheel rolled onward to the extremest boundary of the West and of the North; and there, too, all happened as had happened in the region of the East].

19. 'Now when the wondrous Wheel, Ânanda, had gone forth conquering and to conquer o'er the whole earth to its very ocean boundary, it returned back again to the royal city of Kusâvatî and remained fixed on the open terrace in front of the entrance to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory, as a glorious adornment to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory.

20. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Wheel which appeared to the Great King of Glory.

21. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Elephant Treasure¹, all white, sevenfold firm², wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Elephant-King, whose name was "The Changes of the Moon³."

22. 'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought :

¹ Hatthi-ratana.

² Satta-ppatittho, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks, and trunk. The expression is curious, and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it merely signifies 'exceeding firm,' the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation.

³ Uposatho. In the *Lalita Vistara* its name is 'Wisdom' (Bodhi). Uposatha is the name for the sacred day of the moon's changes—first, and more especially the full-moon day; next, the new-moon day; and lastly, the days equidistant between these two. It was therefore a weekly sacred day, and, as Childers says, may often be well rendered 'Sabbath.'

“Auspicious were it to ride upon that Elephant, if only it would submit to be controlled!”

23. ‘Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Elephant—like a fine elephant of noble blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

24. ‘When as before, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Elephant, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusāvati¹.

25. ‘Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Elephant that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

26. ‘Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Horse Treasure², all white with a black head, and a dark mane, wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Charger-King, whose name was “Thunder-cloud”³.”

27. ‘When he beheld it, the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought :

“Auspicious were it to ride upon that Horse if only it would submit to be controlled!”

28. ‘Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Horse—like

¹ Compare on this and § 29 my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 85, where a similar phrase is used of Kanthaka.

² Assa-ratanam.

³ Valāhako. Compare the Valāhassa Gāṭaka (Fausböll, No. 196, called in the Burmese MS. Valāhakassa Gāṭaka), of which the Chinese story translated by Mr. Beal at pp. 332–340 of his ‘Romantic History,’ &c., is an expanded and altered version. In the Valāhaka Saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya the spirits of the skies are divided into Uṇha-valāhakā Devā, Sīta-valāhakā Devā, Abbha-valāhakā Devā, Vāta-valāhakā Devā, and Vassa-valāhakā Devā, that is, the cloud-spirits of cold, heat, air, wind, and rain respectively.

a fine horse of the best blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

29. 'When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Horse, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusâvatî.

30. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Horse that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

31. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Gem-Treasure¹. That Gem was the Ve/uriya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way.

32. 'The splendour, Ânanda, of that wondrous Gem spread round about a league on every side.

33. 'When as before, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Gem, set all his fourfold army in array and raised aloft the Gem upon his standard top, he was able to march out in the gloom and darkness of the night.

34. 'And then too, Ânanda, all the dwellers in the villages, round about, set about their daily work, thinking, "The daylight hath appeared."

35. 'Such, Ânanda, was the wondrous Gem that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

36. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Woman-Treasure², graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner, and of the most fine complexion; neither

¹ Mani-ratanam.

² Itthi-ratanam.

very tall, nor very short; neither very stout, nor very slim; neither very dark, nor very fair; surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods¹.

37. 'The touch too, Ânanda, of the skin of that wondrous Woman was as the touch of cotton or of cotton wool: in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandal wood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

38. 'That Pearl among Women too, Ânanda, used to rise up before the Great King of Glory, and ~~and~~ ^{and} him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order ^{so} to act as to give him pleasure.

39. 'That Pearl among Women too, Ânanda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory—how much less then could she be so with the body!

40. 'Such, Ânanda, was the Pearl among Women who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

41. 'Now further, Ânanda, there appeared unto the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Treasurer², possessed, through good deeds done in a

¹ The above description of an ideally beautiful woman is of frequent occurrence.

² *Gahapati-ratanam*. The word *gahapati* has been hitherto usually rendered 'householder,' but this may often, and would certainly here, convey a wrong impression. There is no single word in English which is an adequate rendering of the term, for it connotes a social condition now no longer known among us. The *gahapati* was the head of a family, the representative in a village community of a family, the *pater familias*. So the god of fire, with allusion to the sacred fire maintained in each household, is called in the *Rig-veda* the *grîhapati*, the *pater familias*,

former birth, of a marvellous power of vision by which he could discover treasure, whether it had an owner or whether it had not.

42. 'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :

“Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will deal with thy wealth even as wealth should be dealt with.”

43. 'Then, as before, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wonderful Treasurer, went on board a boat, and had it pushed out into the current in the midst of the river Ganges. Then he said to the wonderful steward :

“I have need, O Treasurer, of yellow gold !”

“Let the ship then, O Great King, go alongside either of the banks.”

“It is here, O Treasurer, that I have need of yellow gold.”

44. 'Then the wonderful Treasurer reached down to the water with both his hands, and drew up a jar

of the human race. Thence it is often used in opposition to *brāhmaṇa* very much as we might use 'yeoman' in opposition to 'clerk' (*Gātaka* I, 83, and below, § 53); and the two combined are used in opposition to people of other ranks and callings held to be less honourable than that of clerk or yeoman (*Gātaka* I, 218). In this respect the term *gahapati* is nearly equivalent, though from a different point of view, to the *Kshatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* of the Hindu caste division; but the compound *brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā* as a collective term comes to be about equivalent to 'priests and laymen' (see, for instance, below, § 53, and *Mahā Vagga* I, 22; 3, 4, &c.) Then again the *gahapati* is distinct from the subordinate members of the family, who had not the control and management of the common property (*Sāmañña Phala Sutta*, 133, = *Tevigga Sutta* I, 47); and it is this implication of the term that is emphasised in the text. *Buddhaghosa* uses, as an explanatory phrase, the words *setthi-gahapati*. See further the passages quoted in the index to the *Kulla Vagga* (p. 354).

full of yellow gold, and said to the Great King of Glory :

“ Is that enough, O Great King ? Have I done enough, O Great King ? ”

‘ And the Great King of Glory replied :

“ It is enough, O Treasurer. You have done enough, O Treasurer. You have offered me enough, O Treasurer ! ”

45. ‘ Such was the wonderful Treasurer, Ânanda, who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

46. ‘ Now further, Ânanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Adviser¹, learned, clever, and wise ; and qualified to lead the Great King of Glory to undertake what he ought to undertake, and to leave undone what he ought to leave undone.

47. ‘ He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :

“ Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will be thy guide.”

48. ‘ Such, Ânanda, was the wonderful Adviser who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

‘ The Great King of Glory was possessed of these Seven Precious Things.

49. ‘ Now further, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was gifted with Four Marvellous Gifts².’

‘ What are the Four Marvellous Gifts ? ’

¹ *Parinâyaka-ratanam*. Buddhaghosa says that he was the eldest son of the king ; but this is probably a mere putting back into the Sutta of a later idea derived from the summary in the *Gâtaka*. The *Lalita Vistara* makes him a general.

² *Katûhi iddhîhi*. Here again, as elsewhere, it will be noticed that there is nothing supernatural about these four Iddhis. See

50. 'In the first place, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was graceful in figure, handsome in appearance, pleasing in manner, and of most beautiful complexion, beyond what other men are.

'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was endowed with this First Marvellous Gift.

51. 'And besides that, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was of long life, and of many years, beyond those of other men.

'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, was endowed with this Second Marvellous Gift.

52. 'And besides that, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory was free from disease, and free from bodily suffering; and his internal fire was neither too hot nor too cold, but such as to promote good digestion, beyond that of other men¹.

the notes above on the 'Book of the Great Decease,' I, 1; III, 2. They are merely attributes accompanying or forming part of the majesty (iddhi) of the *Kakkavatti*.

¹ *Samavepâkinyâ gahaniyâ samannâgato nâtisâtâya nâkkunhâya*. The same thing is said of *Rattapâla* in the *Rattapâla Sutta*, where Gogerly renders the whole passage, 'Rattapâla is healthy, free from pain, having a good digestion and appetite, being troubled with no excess of either heat or cold' (*Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1847-1848, p. 98). The *gahani* is a supposed particular organ or function situate at the junction of the stomach and intestines. *Moggallâna* explains it, *udare tu tathâ pâkanalasmim gahani* (*Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ*, 972), where *Subhûti's* Sinhalese version is 'kukshi, pâkâgni,' and his English version, 'the belly, the internal fire which promotes digestion.' *Buddhaghosa* explains *samavipâkiyâ kammagâ-tego-dhâtuyâ*, and adds, 'If a man's food is dissolved the moment he has eaten it, or if it remains like a lump, he has not the *samavepâkini gahani*, but he who has appetite (*bhattakkhandho*) when the time for food comes round again, he has the *samavepâkini gahani*,'—which is delightfully naïve.

‘The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Third Marvellous Gift.

53. ‘And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was beloved and popular with Brāhmins and with laymen alike¹. Just, Ānanda, as a father is near and dear to his own sons, just so, Ānanda, was the Great King of Glory beloved and popular with Brāhmins and with laymen alike. And just, Ānanda, as his sons are near and dear to a father, just so, Ānanda, were Brāhmins and laymen alike near and dear to the Great King of Glory.

54. ‘Once, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory marched out with all his fourfold army to the pleasure ground. There, Ānanda, the Brāhmins and laymen went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:

“O King, pass slowly by, that we may look upon thee for a longer time!”

‘But the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, addressed his charioteer, and said:

“Drive on the chariot slowly, charioteer, that I may look upon my people (Brāhmins and laymen) for a longer time!”

55. ‘This was the Fourth Marvellous Gift, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

56. ‘These are the Four Marvellous Gifts, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

57. ‘Now to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought:

“Suppose, now, I were to make Lotus-ponds

¹ Brāhmaṇa-gaḥapatikānam. See the note on § 41.

in the spaces between these palms, at every hundred bow lengths."

' Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory, in the spaces between those palms, at distances of a hundred bow lengths, made Lotus-ponds.

58. ' And those Lotus-ponds, Ânanda, were faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

59. ' And to each of those Lotus-ponds, Ânanda, there were four flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

60. ' And round those Lotus-ponds there ran, Ânanda, a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold¹.

¹ Pokkharani, the word translated Lotus-pond, is an artificial pool or small lake for water plants. There are some which are probably nearly as old as this passage still in good preservation in Anurâdhapuru in Ceylon. Each is oblong, and has its tiles and its four flights of steps, and some had railings. The balustrades, cross bars, figure head, and railing are in Pâli thambhâ, sūñiyo, unhîsam, and vedikâ, of the exact meaning of which I am not quite confident. They do not occur in the description

61. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought :

"Suppose, now, I were to have flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people—to wit, blue water lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water lilies."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory had flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people—to wit, blue water lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water lilies.

62. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :

"Suppose, now, I were to place bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory placed bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time.

63. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :

"Suppose, now, I were to establish a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who have need of it, couches for the tired, wives for

of the Lotus-lakes in Sukhavatī. General Cunningham says that the cross bars of the Buddhist railings are called *sūñiyō* in the inscriptions at Bharhut (The Stupa of Bharhut, p. 127). Buddhaghosa, who is good enough to tell us the exact number of the ponds—to wit, 84,000, has no explanation of these words, merely saying that of the two *vedikās* one was at the limit of the *ṭīles* and one at the limit of the *pariveṇa*. The phrases in the text are repeated below, §§ 73–87, of the Palace of Righteousness.

those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who are in want."

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory established a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who needed it, couches for the tired, wives for those who wanted wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who were in want.

64. 'Now, Ânanda, the people (Brâhmans and laymen) went to the Great King of Glory, taking with them much wealth. And they said :

"This abundant wealth, O King, have we brought here for the use of the King of Kings. Let the King accept it of us!"

"I have enough wealth, my friends, laid up for myself, the produce of righteous taxation. Do you keep this, and take away more with you!"

65. 'When those men were thus refused by the King they went aside and considered together, saying :

"It would not beseem us now, were we to take back this wealth to our own houses. Suppose, now, we were to build a mansion for the Great King of Glory."

66. 'Then they went to the Great King of Glory, and said :

"A mansion would we build for thee, O King!"

"Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

67. 'Now, Ânanda, when Sakka, the king of the gods, became aware in his mind of the thoughts that

were in the heart of the Great King of Glory, he addressed Vissakamma the god¹, and said:

“Come now, Vissakamma, create me a mansion for the Great King of Glory—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness’².”

68. “Even so, Lord!” said Vissakamma, in assent, Ânanda, to Sakka, the king of the gods. And as instantaneously as a strong man might stretch forth his folded arm, or draw in his arm again when it was stretched forth, so quickly did he vanish from the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, and appeared before the Great King of Glory.

69. ‘Then, Ânanda, Vissakamma the god said to the Great King of Glory:

“I would create for thee, O King, a mansion—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness!’”

‘Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

70. ‘So Vissakamma the god, Ânanda, created for the Great King of Glory a mansion—a palace to be called “Righteousness.”

71. ‘The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

72. ‘The ground-floor, Ânanda, of the Palace of Righteousness³, in height as three times the height to which a man can reach, was built of bricks, of four kinds. One kind of brick was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

¹ Vissakammam devaputtam, where devaputtam means not ‘son of a god,’ but ‘belonging to, born into the class of, the gods.’

² Dhammam nâma Pâsâdam.

³ Dhammassa pâsâdassa vatthum.

73. 'To the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand pillars of four kinds. One kind of pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

74. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was fitted up with seats of four kinds. One kind of seat was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

75. 'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were twenty-four staircases of four kinds. One staircase was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The staircase of gold had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The staircase of silver had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The staircase of beryl had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The staircase of crystal had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

76. 'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand chambers of four kinds. One kind of chamber was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the golden chamber a silver couch was spread; in the silver chamber a golden couch; in the beryl chamber a couch of ivory; and in the crystal chamber a couch of coral.

'At the door of the golden chamber there stood a palm tree of silver; and its trunk was of silver, and its leaves and fruits of gold.

'At the door of the silver chamber there stood a palm tree of gold; and its trunk was of gold, and its leaves and fruits of silver.

‘At the door of the beryl chamber there stood a palm tree of crystal; and its trunk was of crystal, and its leaves and fruits of beryl.

‘At the door of the crystal chamber there stood a palm tree of beryl; and its trunk was of beryl, and its leaves and fruits of crystal.

77. ‘Now there occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

“Suppose, now, I were to make a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex¹, under the shade of which I may pass the heat of the day.”

‘Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory made a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which he might pass the heat of the day.

78. ‘The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was surrounded by a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its figure head of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its figure head of gold².

79. ‘The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was hung round with two networks of bells. One network of bells was of gold, and one was of silver.

¹ Mahâvyûhassa ku’âgârassa dvâre. The ‘Great Complex’ contains a double allusion, in the same spirit in which the whole legend has been worked out: 1. To the Great Complex as a name of the Sun-God regarded as a unity of the four mythological deities, Vasudeva, Saṅkarshana, Pragumna, and Aniruddha; and 2. To the Great Complex as a name of a particular kind of deep religious meditation or speculation.

² See above, § 60, and the note on § 54.

The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold.

80. 'And when those networks of bells, Ânanda, were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ânanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ânanda, when those networks of bells were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

81. 'And whoever, Ânanda, in the royal city Kusâvatî were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those networks of bells when shaken by the wind.

82. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was finished it was hard to look at, destructive to the eyes. Just, Ânanda, as in the last month of the rains in the autumn time, when the sky has become clear and the clouds have vanished away, the sun, springing up along the heavens, is hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes,—just so, Ânanda, when the Palace of Righteousness was finished was it hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes.

83. 'Now there occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

"Suppose, now, in front of the Palace of Righteousness, I were to make a Lotus-lake to bear the name of 'Righteousness.'"

'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory made a Lotus-lake to bear the name of "Righteousness."

84. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

85. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

86. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, had four and twenty flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure head of beryl.

87. 'Round the Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, there ran a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold.

88. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ânanda, was surrounded by seven rows of palm trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

89. 'And the golden palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the silver palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the palms of beryl had trunks of beryl,

and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the crystal palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the agate palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the coral palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the palms of every kind of gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

90. 'And when those rows of palm trees, Ânanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ânanda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating,—just even so, Ânanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

91. 'And whoever, Ânanda¹, in the royal city Kusâvatî were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

92. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was finished, and the Lotus-lake of Righteousness was finished, the Great King of Glory entertained with all good things those of the Samanas who, at that time, were held in high esteem, and those of the Brâhmans who, at that time, were held in high esteem. Then he ascended up into the Palace of Righteousness.'

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ This paragraph is perhaps repeated by mistake ; but it is scarcely less in harmony with its context at § 8 than it is here. It is more probable that § 92 followed, originally, immediately after § 82, with the Lotus-lake clause omitted,

CHAPTER II.

1. 'Now there occurred, Ânanda, this thought to the Great King of Glory :

“Of what previous character, now, may this be the fruit, of what previous character the result, that I am now so mighty and so great?”

2. 'And then occurred, Ânanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought :

“Of three qualities is this the fruit, of three qualities the result, that I am now so mighty and so great,—that is to say, of giving, of self-conquest, and of self-control¹.”

3. 'Now the Great King of Glory, Ânanda, ascended up into the chamber of the Great Complex ; and when he had come there he stood at the door, and there he broke out into a cry of intense emotion :

“Stay here, O thoughts of lust !

“Stay here, O thoughts of ill-will !

“Stay here, O thoughts of hatred !

“Thus far only, O thoughts of lust !

“Thus far only, O thoughts of ill-will !

“Thus far only, O thoughts of hatred !”

4. 'And when, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory had entered the chamber of the Great Complex,

¹ I have here translated kamma by 'previous character' and by 'quality.' The easiest plan would, no doubt, have been, to preserve in the translation the technical term kamma, which is explained at some length in 'Buddhism,' pp. 99-106.

and had seated himself upon the couch of gold, having put away all passion and all unrighteousness, he entered into, and remained in, the First *Ghâna*,—a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation.

5. 'By suppressing reflection and investigation, he entered into, and remained in, the Second *Ghâna*,—a state of joy and ease, born of serenity, without reflection, without investigation, a state of elevation of mind, of internal calm.

6. 'By absence of the longing after joy, he remained indifferent, conscious, self-possessed, experiencing in his body that ease which the noble ones announce, saying, "The man indifferent and self-possessed is well at ease," and thus he entered into, and remained in, the Third *Ghâna*.

7. 'By putting away ease, by putting away pain, by the previous dying away both of gladness and of sorrow, he entered into, and remained in, the Fourth *Ghâna*,—a state of purified self-possession and equanimity, without ease, and without pain¹.

8. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory went out from the chamber of the Great Complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his mind pervade

¹ The above paragraphs are an endeavour to express the inmost feelings when they are first strung to the uttermost by the intense effects of deep religious emotion, and then feel the effects of what may be called, for want of a better word, the reaction. Most deeply religious natures have passed through such a crisis; and though the feelings are perhaps really indescribable, this passage is dealing, not with a vain mockery, but with a very real event in spiritual experience.

one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

9. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Pity; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Pity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

10. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Sympathy; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Sympathy, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

11. 'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Equanimity¹; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

¹ These are the four Appamaññâs or infinite feelings, also called (e.g. below, § II, 36) the four Brahma-vihâras. They are here very appropriately represented to follow immediately after

12. 'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, had four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which was the royal city of Kusâvatt :

'Four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which was the Palace of Righteousness :

'Four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which was the chamber of the Great Complex :

'Four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions :

'Four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was chief :

'Four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief :

the state of feeling described in the *Ghânas*; but they ought to be the constant companions of a good Buddhist (see *Khaggavisâna Sutta* 8; and compare also *Tevigga Sutta* III, 7; *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 246; and the *Araka Gâtaka*, No. 169).

‘Four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief:

‘Four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief:

‘Four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze:

‘Four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool:

‘Four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served¹.

13. ‘Now at that time, Ānanda, the four and eighty thousand state elephants used to come every evening and every morning to be of service to the Great King of Glory.

14. ‘And this thought occurred to the Great King of Glory:

“These eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Suppose, now, I were to let the elephants come in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!”

15. ‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Great Adviser:

“O, my friend, the Great Adviser! these eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Now, let the elephants come, O my friend, the Great Adviser, in

¹ Most of the trappings and cloths here mentioned are the same as those referred to in the *Magghima Sīla*, §§ 5, 6, 7 recurring in the *Tevigga Sutta*, and in the *Brahmagāla Sutta*. The whole paragraph is four times repeated below, §§ 29, 31, 33, 37.

alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

"Even so, Lord!" said the Wonderful Adviser, in assent, to the Great King of Glory.

16. 'From that time forth, Ânanda, the elephants came in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years.

17. 'Now, Ânanda, after the lapse of many years, of many hundred years, of many thousand years, there occurred to the Queen of Glory¹ this thought:

"'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. Suppose, now, I were to go and visit the Great King of Glory."

18. 'Then, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory said to the women of the harem:

"Arise now, dress your hair, and clad yourselves in fresh raiment. 'Tis long since we have beheld the Great King of Glory. Let us go and visit the Great King of Glory!"

19. "Even so, Lady!" said the women of the harem, Ânanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And they dressed their hair, and clad themselves in fresh raiment, and came near to the Queen of Glory.

20. 'Then, Ânanda, the Queen of Glory said to the Great Adviser:

"Arrange, O Great Adviser, the fourfold army in array. 'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. I am about to go to visit the Great King of Glory."

¹ Subhaddâ Devî. Subhadda, 'glorious, magnificent,' is a not uncommon name both for men and women in Buddhist and post-Buddhistic Hindu literature.

21. “Even so, O Queen!” said the Great Adviser, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And he set the fourfold army in array, and had the fact announced to the Queen of Glory in the words :

“The fourfold army, O Queen, is set for thee in array. Do now whatever seemeth to thee fit.”

22. ‘Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory, with the fourfold army, repaired, with the women of the harem, to the Palace of Righteousness. And when she had arrived there she mounted up into the Palace of Righteousness, and went on to the chamber of the Great Complex. And when she had reached it, she stopped and lent against the side of the door.

23. ‘When, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory heard the noise he thought :

“What, now, may this noise, as of a great multitude of people, mean?”

24. ‘And going out from the chamber of the Great Complex, he beheld the Queen of Glory standing leaning up against the side of the door. And when he beheld her, he said to the Queen of Glory :

“Stop there, O Queen ! Enter not !”

25. ‘Then the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, said to one of his attendants :

“Arise, good man ! take the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and make it ready under that grove of palm trees which is all of gold.”

26. “Even so, Lord!” said the man, in assent, to the Great King of Glory. And he took the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and made it ready under that grove of palm trees which was all of gold.

27. 'Then, Ânanda, the Great King of Glory laid himself down in the dignified way a lion does; and lay with one leg resting on the other, calm and self-possessed.

28. 'Then, Ânanda, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:

"How calm are all the limbs of the Great King of Glory! How clear and bright is his appearance! O may it not be that the Great King of Glory is dead¹!"

29. 'And she said to the Great King of Glory:

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusâvatt. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Arise,

¹ The rather curious connexion between these clauses is worthy of notice in comparison with the legend of the 'Transfiguration' just before the Buddha's death (above, pp. 80-82).

O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thunder-cloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the

sand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!”

34. ‘Then immediately, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory died. Just, Ānanda, as when a yeoman has eaten a hearty meal he becomes all drowsy,

four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvattī. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thunder-cloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called “the Changes of the Moon,” was chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which “Thunder-cloud,” the king of horses, was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called “the Flag of Victory” was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.

38. 'Of those four and eighty thousand cities, Ānanda, one was that city in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the royal city of Kusāvati.

'Of those four and eighty thousand palaces too, Ānanda, one was that palace in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the Palace of Righteousness.

'Of those four and eighty thousand chambers too, Ānanda, one was that chamber in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the chamber of the Great Complex.

'Of those four and eighty thousand divans too, Ānanda, one was that divan which, at that time, I used to occupy—to wit, one of gold, or one of silver, or one of ivory, or one of sandal wood.

'Of those four and eighty thousand state elephants too, Ānanda, one was that elephant which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of elephants, "the Changes of the Moon."

'Of those four and eighty thousand horses too, Ānanda, one was that horse which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of horses, "the Thunder-cloud."

'Of those four and eighty thousand chariots too, Ānanda, one was that chariot in which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the chariot called "the Flag of Victory."

'Of those four and eighty thousand wives too, Ānanda, one was that wife who, at that time, used to wait upon me—to wit, either a lady of noble birth, or a Velāmikānti.

'Of those four and eighty thousand myriads of suits of apparel too, Ānanda, one was the suit of apparel which, at that time, I wore—to wit, one of delicate texture, of linen, or cotton, or silk, or wool.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand dishes too, Ânanda, one was that dish from which, at that time, I ate a measure of rice and the curry suitable thereto.

39. ‘See, Ânanda, how all these things are now past, are ended, have vanished away. Thus impermanent, Ânanda, are component things; thus transitory, Ânanda, are component things; thus untrustworthy, Ânanda, are component things. In-somuch, Ânanda, is it meet to be weary of, is it meet to be estranged from, is it meet to be set quite free from the bondage of all component things!

40. ‘Now I call to mind, Ânanda, how in this spot my body had been six times buried. And when I was dwelling here as the righteous king who ruled in righteousness, the lord of the four regions of the earth, the conqueror, the protector of his people, the possessor of the seven royal treasures—that was the seventh time.

41. ‘But I behold not any spot, Ânanda, in the world of men and gods, nor in the world of Mâra, nor in the world of Brahmâ,—no, not among the race of Samanas or Brâhmans, of gods or men,—where the Tathâgata for the eighth time will lay aside his body¹.

¹ The whole of this conversation between the Great King of Glory and the Queen is very much shorter in the *Gâtaka*, the enumeration of the possessions of the Great King being omitted (except the first clause referring to the four and eighty thousand cities), and clauses 34–38, 40, and 41 being also left out, § 39 and the concluding being placed in the mouth of the King immediately after § 33. This may be perhaps partly explained by the narrative style in which the *Gâtakas* are composed—a style incompatible

42. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, once again the Teacher said:

‘How transient are all component things!
 Growth is their nature and decay:
 They are produced, they are dissolved again:
 And then is best, when they have sunk to rest!’¹

End of the Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta.

with the repetitions of the Suttas, and confined to the facts of the story.

But I think that no one can read this Sutta in comparison with the short passage found in the Book of the Great Decease (above, pp. 99-101) without feeling that the latter is the more original of the two, and that the legend had not, when the Book of the Great Decease was composed, attained to its present extended form.

We seem therefore really to have three stages of the legend before us, and though the *Gâtaka* story was actually put into its present shape at a known date (the fifth century of our era) long after the latest possible date for the Book of the Great King of Glory, it has probably preserved for us a reminiscence of what the legend was at the time when the Book of the Great Decease was composed.

¹ On this celebrated verse, see the note at Mahâparinibbâna Sutta VI, 16, where it is put into the mouth of Sakka, the king of the gods, and the discussion in the Introduction to this Sutta.

SABBÂSAVA-SUTTA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SABBÂSAVA SUTTA.

DR. MORRIS, who had borrowed the Phayre and Turnour MSS. of the *Magghima Nikâya* from the India Office Library, has been good enough to transcribe the text of this Sutta for me.

I had hoped from the Rev. David da Silva's analysis of the Sutta in the *Ceylon Friend* for 1872, that it would determine the exact meaning of the difficult word *Âsava* as used in the theory of Arahatsip, and in the important passage (the Faith, Reason, and Works paragraph) repeated so often in the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*. It will be seen that this is scarcely the case, but as it does throw light on the ideas wrapped up in the word, and contains a very interesting passage¹ on the especial value attached in Buddhism to the mental habit we should now call agnosticism, I have adhered to the intention of including it in this volume.

The word *Âsava* seems in this Sutta to be used in a general sense,—not confined only to the *Âsavas* of sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance, but including the more various defilements or imperfections of mind, out of which those especial defilements will proceed.

Incidentally reference is made to the well-known Buddhist doctrine, that the right thing is to seek after the *Nirvâna* of a perfect life in Arahatsip, and not to trouble and confuse oneself by the discussion of speculative questions as to past or future existence, or even as to the

¹ §§ 9, 10.

presence within the body of a soul. Buddhism is not only independent of the theory of soul, but regards the consideration of that theory as worse than profitless, as the source of manifold delusions and superstitions. Practically this comes, however, to much the same thing as the denial of the existence of the soul; just as agnosticism is, at best, but an earnest and modest sort of atheism. And we have seen above that *anatta* *m*, the absence of a soul or self as abiding principle, is one of the three parts of Buddhist wisdom (*viggā*)¹ and of Buddhist perception (*saññā*)². The reconciliation of these two doctrines, of the agnosticism and of the denial, is, I think, that the absence of soul is only predicated of those five Aggregates of parts and powers to which a good Buddhist should confine his attention. These alone he should consider; and he does wrong to care whether beyond and beside them a soul has, or has not, any real existence.

I may add that the importance of the *Āsavas* appears from the fact that elsewhere the knowledge of them, of their origin, of their cessation, and of the way that leads to their cessation is placed on the road to Arahatsip immediately after, and parallel to, the knowledge of Suffering, of its origin, of its cessation, and of the way that leads to its cessation—the knowledge, that is, of the four Noble Truths³.

The *Āsavas* there meant are sensuality, individuality (or life), and ignorance; and the expressions 'to him who knows, to him who sees' (*gānato passato*) are used there much in the same way as they are in our § 3. Perhaps this was the passage which Burnouf had in his mind when he wrongly said⁴ that he had found in the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* an enumeration of three classes of *Āsavas*, whereas that *Sutta* always divides them into four classes.

I am unable to suggest any good translation of the term itself—simple though it is. It means literally 'a running or flowing,' or (thence) 'a leak;' but as that figure is not

¹ See above, p. 162.

² *Samaññā Phala Sutta*, p. 152.

³ See above, p. 9.

⁴ *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 823.

used in English in a spiritual sense, it is necessary to choose some other figure; and it is not easy to find one that is appropriate. 'Sin' would be very misleading, the Christian idea of sin being inconsistent with Buddhist ethics. A 'fault' in the geological use of the word comes somewhat nearer. 'Imperfection' is too long, and for 'stain' the Pāli has a different word¹. In the Book of the Great Decease I have chosen 'evil;' here I leave the word untranslated.

¹ Rago. See the verses translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 164.

ALL THE ÂSAVAS.

SABBÂSAVA-SUTTA.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Sāvatti, at the *Getavana*, in Anātha Pindika's park.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said, 'Bhikkhus.'

'Yea, Lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One spake :

2. 'I will teach you, O brethren, the lesson of the subjugation of all the Âsavas. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One spake :

'I say that there is destruction of the Âsavas, brethren, to him who knows, to him who sees ; not to him who knows not, to him who sees not. And what do I say, brethren, is the destruction of the Âsavas to him who knows, to him who sees ? It is (a matter of) wise consideration, and of foolish consideration.

3. 'In him, brethren, who considers unwisely, Âsavas which have not arisen spring up, and Âsavas which have arisen are increased. In him, brethren, who considers wisely, Âsavas which have not arisen

spring not up, and Āsavas which have arisen do not increase.

4. 'There are Āsavas which should be abandoned, brethren, by insight, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by subjugation, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by right use, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by endurance, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by avoidance, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by removal, there are Āsavas which should be abandoned by cultivation.

5. 'And which, brethren, are the Āsavas which should be abandoned by insight¹?

'In the first place, brethren, the ignorant unconverted man, who perceives not the Noble Ones, who comprehends not, nor is trained according to the doctrine of the noble ones ; who perceives not good men, who comprehends not, nor is trained according to the doctrine of good men ; he neither understands what things ought to be considered, nor what things ought not to be considered ; the things that ought not to be considered, those he considers ; and the things that ought to be considered, those he does not consider.

6. 'And which, brethren, are those things which he should not consider, which he nevertheless considers?

'There are things which, when a man considers them, the Āsava of Lust springs up within him, which had not sprung up before ; and the Āsava of Lust, which had sprung up, grows great ; the Āsava of

¹ Dassanā.

Life springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, grows great; the Âsava of Ignorance springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, grows great.

‘These are the things which ought not to be considered, things which he considers.

7. ‘And which, brethren, are those things which should be considered, which he nevertheless does not consider?’

‘There are things, brethren, which, when a man considers them, the Âsava of Lust, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Âsava of Lust, which had sprung up, is put away; the Âsava of Life, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, is put away; the Âsava of Ignorance, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, is put away.

‘These are the things which ought to be considered, things which he does not consider.

8. ‘It is by his consideration of those things, which ought not to be considered; and by his non-consideration of those things, which ought to be considered, that Âsavas arise within him which had not sprung up; and Âsavas which had sprung up, grow great.’

9. ‘Unwisely doth he consider thus:

“‘Have I existed during the ages that are past, or have I not? What was I during the ages that are past? How was I during the ages that are

past? Having been what, what did I become in the ages that are past? Shall I exist during the ages of the future, or shall I not? What shall I be during the ages of the future? How shall I be during the ages of the future? Having been what, what shall I become during the ages of the future?"

'Or he debates within himself as to the present: "Do I after all exist, or am I not? How am I? This is a being; whence now did it come, and whither will it go?"

10. 'In him, thus unwisely considering, there springs up one or other of the six (absurd) notions¹.

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "I have a self!"

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "I have not a self!"

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "By my self, I am conscious of my self!"

'As something true and real he gets the notion, "By myself I am conscious of my non-self!"

'Or, again, he gets the notion, "This soul of mine can be perceived, it has experienced the result of good and evil actions committed here and there: now this soul of mine is permanent, lasting, eternal, has the inherent quality of never changing, and will continue for ever and ever!"

11. 'This, brethren, is called the walking in delusion, the jungle of delusion², the wilderness of delusion, the puppet show of delusion, the writhing of delusion, the fetter of delusion.

12. 'Bound, brethren, with this fetter of delusion,

¹ *Khannam diṭṭhīnam*.

² *Diṭṭhi-gaṇanam*, with allusion, doubtless, if the reading is correct, to *gaṇanam*.

the ignorant unconverted man becomes not freed from birth, decay, and death, from sorrows, lamentations, pains, and griefs, and from expedients¹—he does not become free, I say, from pain.

13. 'But the wise man, brethren, the disciple walking in the Noble Path, who perceives the noble ones; who comprehends, and is trained according to, the doctrine of the Noble Ones; who perceives good men, who comprehends, and is trained according to, the doctrine of good men; he understands both what things ought to be considered, and what things ought not to be considered—and thus understanding, the things that ought to be considered those he considers; and the things that ought not to be considered, those he does not consider.

14. 'And which, brethren, are those things which ought not to be considered, and which he does not consider?

'There are things which, when a man considers them, the Âsava of Lust springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Lust, which had sprung up, grows great; the Âsava of Life springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, grows great; the Âsava of Ignorance springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, grows great.

'These are the things which ought not to be considered, things which he considers.

¹ That is, the practice of rites and ceremonies and the worship of Gods.

15. 'And which, brethren, are those things which should be considered, and which he does consider ?

'There are things, brethren, which, when a man considers them, the Âsava of Lust, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him ; and the Âsava of Lust, which had sprung up, is put away ; the Âsava of Life, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him ; and the Âsava of Life, which had sprung up, is put away ; the Âsava of Ignorance, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him ; and the Âsava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, is put away.

'These are the things which ought to be considered, things which he does not consider.

16. 'It is by his not considering those things which ought to be considered, and by his considering those things which ought not to be considered, that Âsavas which had not sprung up within him spring not up, and Âsavas which had sprung up are put away.

17. 'He considers, "This is suffering." He considers, "This is the origin of suffering." He considers, "This is the cessation of suffering." He considers, "This is the way which leads to the cessation of suffering." And from him, thus considering, the three fetters fall away—the delusion of self, hesitation, and the dependence on rites and ceremonies.

'These are the Âsavas, brethren, which are to be abandoned by insight.

18. 'And which are the Âsavas to be abandoned by subjugation (samvarâ) ?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting,

remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Sight. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of sight Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of sight the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

19. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Hearing. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of hearing Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of hearing the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

20. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Smell. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of smell Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of smell the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

21. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Taste. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of taste Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of taste the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

22. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Touch. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of touch Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of touch the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

23. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Mind. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of mind Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of mind the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by subjugation.

24. 'And which are the Âsavas to be abandoned by right use¹?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, makes use of his robes for the purpose only of warding off the cold, of warding off the heat, of warding off the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes ; and of covering his nakedness².

25. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of alms, not for sport or sensual enjoyment, not for adorning or beautifying himself, but solely to sustain the body in life, to prevent its being injured, to aid himself in the practice of a holy life—thinking the while, "Thus shall I overcome the old pain, and shall incur no new; and everywhere shall I be at ease, and free from blame."

26. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of an abode; only to ward off cold, to ward off heat, to ward off the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes ; only to avoid the dangers of the climate, and to secure the delight of privacy.

¹ Pañisevanâ.

² Compare Dickson's *Kammavâtâ*, p. 7, where the reading, however, is wrong.

27. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of medicine and other necessities for the sick ; only to ward off the pain that causes injury, and to preserve his health.

28. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man not making such right use, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to the man making such right use, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by right use.

29. 'And which, brethren, are the Âsavas to be abandoned by endurance¹?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, is patient under cold and heat, under hunger and thirst, under the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes ; he is enduring under abusive words, under bodily suffering, under pains however sharp, rough, severe, unpleasant, disagreeable, and destructive even to life.

30. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who endureth not, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who endures, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by endurance.

31. 'And which, brethren, are the Âsavas to be abandoned by avoidance²?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu wisely reflecting, avoids a rogue elephant, he avoids a furious horse, he avoids a wild bull, he avoids a mad dog, a snake, a stump in the path, a thorny bramble, a pit, a precipice, a dirty tank or pool. When tempted to

¹ Adhivâsanâ.

² Parivagganâ.

sit in a place where one should not sit, or to walk where one should not walk, or to cultivate the acquaintance of bad companions, he is skilled to shun the evil: and wisely reflecting he avoids that, as a place whereon one should not sit, that, as a place wherein one should not walk, those men, as companions that are bad.

32. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who avoideth not, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who avoids, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by avoidance.

33. 'And which, brethren, are the Âsavas to be abandoned by removal¹?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, when there has sprung up within him a lustful thought, that he endureth not, he puts it away, he removes it, he destroys it, he makes it not to be; when there has sprung up within him an angry thought, a malicious thought, some sinful, wrong disposition, that he endureth not, he puts it away, he removes it, he destroys it, he makes it not to be.

34. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who removeth not, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who removes, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by removal.

35. 'And which, brethren, are the Âsavas to be abandoned by cultivation²?

¹ Vinodanâ.

² Bhâvanâ.

‘¹ Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Mindfulness, dependent on seclusion, dependent on passionlessness, dependent on the utter ecstasy of contemplation, resulting in the passing off of thoughtlessness.

36. ‘He cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Search after Truth, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Energy, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Joy, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Peace, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Earnest Contemplation, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Equanimity—each dependent on seclusion, dependent on passionlessness, dependent on the utter ecstasy of contemplation, resulting in the passing off of thoughtlessness.

37. ‘For whereas, brethren, to the man who cultivateth not, Âsavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who cultivates, the Âsavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

‘These, brethren, are called the Âsavas to be abandoned by cultivation.

38. ‘And then when a Bhikkhu has by insight put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by insight, and by subjugation has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by subjugation, and by right use has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by right use, and by endurance has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by endurance, and by avoidance has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by avoidance,

¹ Compare Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I, 9.

and by removal has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by removal, and by cultivation has put away the Âsavas to be abandoned by cultivation—that Bhikkhu, brethren, remains shut in by the subjugation of the Âsavas, he has destroyed that Craving Thirst, by thorough penetration of mind he has rolled away every Fetter, and he has made an end of Pain.’

39. Thus spake the Blessed One; and those Bhikkhus, glad at heart, exalted the word of the Blessed One.

End of the Sabbâsava Sutta.

INDEX.

- Abhibhâyatanâni, the eight, pages 49, 50.
 Addhariya Brâhmans, 171.
 Age of the Suttas, x.
 Agâtasattu, king of Magadha, 1, 131.
 Agita, one of the Six Teachers, 106.
 Akiravati river, 167, 178.
 Alabaster, Mr., 141.
 Allakappa, name of a place, 132.
 Âlâra Kâlâma, teacher, 75-77.
 Ambagâma, near Vesâli, 66.
 Ambalattikâ, near Râgagaha, 12.
 Ambapâli, the courtesan, 28.
 — entertains the Buddha, 30-32.
 Ânanda's sorrow and imperfection, 95, 96.
 — his character, 97, 98, 118, 119.
 Ânanda Ketiya, 66.
 Angels. See Tâvatimsa.
 — called devatâ, 45.
 — on the point of a needle, 88.
 — desire to become an, is spiritual bondage, 227.
 Ângirasa, a Vedic poet, 172.
 Apadesa, 66.
 Appamaññas, the four, 201, 273.
 Arahats Buddhas, 13, 104.
 Arahats, who are, &c., 107, 119.
 Arahats and the Ten Fetters, 222.
 Arahats and Nirvâna, 243.
 Âsavas, 293-307.
 — translation of, 295.
 Assemblies, the eight, 48, 49.
 Astrology, 197, 198.
 Âtumâ, name of a village, 77.
 Attbaka, Vedic poet, 172.
 Bahuputta Ketiya, 40.
 Baptism, 1.
 Beal, the Rev. Samuel, 118, 255.
 Beluva, near Vesâli, 34.
 Benâres, 99.
 Benâres muslin, 54, 92.
 Bhadda, convert at Nâdika, 25, 26.
 Bhagu, a Vedic poet, 172.
 Bhanda-gâma, near Vesâli, 64, 66.
 Bhâradvâga, a young Brâhman, 168-170.
 — a Vedic poet, 172.
 Bhikkhu, meaning of, 5.
 Bhoga-nagara, near Vesâli, 66.
 Bible, texts in, referred to—
 1 Samuel xxviii, 208.
 2 Kings vi. 17, 19.
 Matthew v. 20, 160.
 Matthew xi. 21, 46.
 Matthew xv. 14, xxii. 26, 173.
 Matthew xvii. 31, 207.
 Mark ix. 29, 207.
 Luke vii. 37-39, 34.
 Acts ii. 6, 142.
 Philippians ii. 12, 114.
 Philippians iii. 13, 7.
 2 Peter i. 10, 114.
 Revelation xxi. 19-21, 245, 249.
 Bigandet's Legend of Gaudama, xxxii.
 — quoted, xvi, 32, 33, 34, 82.
 Bodisat, the, 239.
 Boggabâgâ, 9, 14.
 Bonds, the five, 181.
 — the ten, 222.
 Brahmâ, the supreme deity, 116, 162-165.
 Brahma-kariya Brâhmans, 171.
 Brâhmans, 160, 180-185.
 — different schools of, 171.
 Brahma-vihâras, the four, 201, 273.
 Brick Hall, the, at Nâdika, 24.
 Buddha, the, description of character of, 27, 169.
 — his relation to the Order, 37.
 — his last illness, 35.
 — date of death of the, xlviii.
 Buddhahood, how reached, 14.

- Buddhas, past and future, 13, 97, 104.
 — description of character of, 186.
 Buddhism, ancient summary of, 62, 63.
 — another, 65.
 — central doctrine of, 143, 144.
 Buddhist era, date of, xlv–xlviii.
 Buddhists, modern sects of, 129.
 Bulis of Allakappa, a clan, 132.
 Burial rites, xl–xlv, 92.
 Burnouf, Eugène, 50, 65, 75, 167.
 Cats, 14.
 Causation, chain of, 208.
 Cave dwellings, 56.
 Chetiyas, 4, 66. See *Ketiya*.
 — the seven at Vesālī, 40, 58.
 Chinese works on the Great Decease, xxxvi–xxxix.
 Christianity, is it indebted to Buddhism? 165, 166.
 Clans, customs of, 3, 4.
 Cloth of gold, 80–82.
 — of Benâres, 92.
 Conditions of the welfare of a community, 6–11.
 — the Four Noble, 64, 65.
 Confections (*Samkhārā*), 242, 243.
 Council of Rāgagaha, xii, xiii, xv.
 — of Patna, xiii.
 — of Vesālī, xvii, xix.
 Cremation ceremonies, xl.
 Cunningham, General, 47, 263.
 Da Cuñha, Mr., 140.
 Da Silva, the Rev. David, 211, 293.
 Dāgaba, or tope, 93, 131–135.
 Dāgabas, date of earliest, xvii.
 Dawn, as the Woman-Treasure of the King of Glory, 257.
 Deliverance, eight stages of, 51, 52.
 Delusion. See *Ditthi*.
 Destiny, result of actions, 25, 26.
 Devatā, note on meaning of, 45.
 Dhamma, 62, 64, 117, 118.
 Dhamma-akkhu, 82, 96, 119, 127, 153.
 Dibba-akkhu, 209, 218.
 Dīpavamsa, xxii.
 Ditthi. See *Āsava*.
 — six kinds of, in detail, 297.
 Divinations condemned, 196.
 Dona, a Brāhman, 133, 134.
 Earth rests on water, 45.
 Earthquake, occurrence of, 44.
 — eight causes of, 45–48.
 Elephant look, curious belief as to, 64.
 Era, date of the Buddhist, xlv–xlviii.
 Esoteric doctrine, none in Buddhism, 36.
 Existence, cause of renewed, 6.
 Eye, epithet of the Buddha, 84.
 Eye of Truth. See *Dhamma-akkhu*.
 Fairies of the earth, 18, 19, 45.
 Faith, reason, and works, 11.
 Fa Kheu Pi Hu, a Chinese work, 117.
 Fausböll, Professor, 100.
 Feer, M. Léon, 139, 140.
 Fetters, the ten, 222, 307.
 — the first three, 299.
 Final perseverance of the saints, 26, 27, 114.
 Fortune-telling, 197, 199.
 Foucaux, M., 139.
 Funeral ceremonies, xl–xlv.
 Gahani, curious belief as to, 260.
 Gahapati, pater familias, 257, 258.
 Games of chance and skill, 193.
 Gandhāra, a city, 135.
 Gods, good men so called, 20, 21.
 Gogerly, the Rev. Samuel, 139, 144, 150, 260.
 Gotama, name of the Buddha, 103, 104, 169.
 Gotama's gate, 21.
 — own teaching, xx–xxii.
 Gotamaka Ketīya, 40.
 Great Decease, meaning of, xxxii.
 Grimblot's 'Sept Suttas Pālis,' 50.
 Gains (and see *Nigantva*), 1.
 Gambugāma, near Vesālī, 66.
 Gārussoni, a Brāhman, 167.
 Gbāna, 115, 210, 212.
 — the four, in detail, 272.
 Hardy, the Rev. Spence, 129, 142, 149.
 Hatthi-gāma, near Vesālī, 66.
 Hell, corresponding belief to, among the Buddhists, 17.
 Hindrances, the five, 182.
 Huth's 'Life of Buckle,' quoted, 164.
 Iddhi, 2, 40, 259.

- Idealists, European and Buddhist, 49.
Ikṣvāgala, in Kosala, 167.
 Incarnation of the Buddha, 46, 47.
 Infinite feelings, the four, incumbent on the Buddhist, 201, 273.
 Isigili, Mount at Râgagaha, 56.
- Kâkudha, convert at Nâdika, 16, 25.
 Kakutthâ river, 74.
 Kakṣâyana, one of the Six Teachers, 106.
 Kalandaka-nivâpa, 56.
 Kâlîṅga, convert at Nâdika, 25, 26.
 Kalpa, an æon, 41.
 Kâṣṣoka, xvi.
 Karma, 84, 165, 214, 217, 271.
 Kassapa. See Pûrana-Kassapa and Mahâ-Kassapa.
 — a Vedic poet, 172.
 Karissabha, convert at Nâdika, 25, 26.
 Koliyas of Râmagâma, a clan, 132.
 Konika = Agâtasattu, 1.
 Kosambi, a great city, 99.
 Koṣigâma, near Patna, 23.
 Kuṇika = Agâtasattu, 1.
 Kusâvatî, former name of Kusinârâ, 100, 248.
 Kusinârâ, where the Buddha died, 73, 100, 248.
 Kûrâgâra Hall at Vesâli, 59.
- Kakkavatti, ideal of, xviii-xx.
 Kâmpâ, a city, 99.
 Kandrâgupta, xix.
 Kaṅki, a Brâhman of Kosala, 167.
 Kâpâla Ketiya, 40, 58.
 Kbandava Brâhmans, 171.
 Kbandoka Brâhmans, 171.
 Kbanna, the penalty imposed upon, 112.
 — attains Nirvâna, 113.
 Kunda, the smith, of Pâvâ, 70-73, 83, 84.
 Kundaka, a mendicant, 82, 83.
- Lalita Vistara, quoted, 47, 75, 139, 209, 216, 218, 251.
 Life, future, virtue inspired by hope of is impure, 10, 222.
 Light of the world, 89.
 Liṅgavâsi, of Vesâli, 31, 131.
 Lineage of the Buddhist faith, 14.
 Love, duty of universal, 163.
- Love, the true path to union with God, 161.
 — how a Buddhist should love the world, 201, 273.
- Maddakukṣbi at Râgagaha, 56.
 Mahâ-Kassapa, the great disciple, 126-129.
 Mahâpadesâ, the four, 66-69.
 Mahâvana, at Vesâli, 59, 60.
 Makkhali, one of the Six Teachers, 106.
 Makura-bandhana, shrine of the Mallas, 124.
 Mâlâlâṅkāra-vatthu, the, xvi, xxxii.
 Mallas of Kusinârâ, 121-135.
 — of Pâvâ, 133, 135.
 Manasâkara, in Kosala, 167, 168.
 Mandârava flowers from heaven, 124.
 Mâra, 41, 53.
 Max Müller, Professor, 105, 180, 246.
 Milinda, king, xlviii.
 Mindful and thoughtful, doctrine of, 29, 38.
 Mirror of Truth, the so-called, 27.
 Monotheism, 164.
 Moriyas of Pippalavâna, a clan, 134, 135.
 Morris, Dr. Richard, 29, 221, 293.
 Muhammadanism, 163.
- Nâdika, near Patna, 24.
 Nâga Thera, 46.
 Nâgas, the race of, 135, 136.
 Nâlandâ, near Râgagaha, 12.
 Names (family, tribal, &c.), 1.
 Nanda, king of Magadha, xix.
 Nature of things, doctrine of, 59.
 Neraṅgara, river, 53.
 Nigantva, founder of the Gains, 106.
 Nikata, convert at Nâdika, 25, 26.
 Nirvâna, the Brethren not to be satisfied till they have attained, 7.
 — perception of, due to earnest thought, 9.
 — attainment of, dependent on oneself, 38.
 — consists of the seven jewels of the Law, 62.
 — is the rooting out of lust, bitterness, and delusion, 84.
 — the Supreme Goal of the higher life, 110.
 — how the gods can attain to it, 163.

- Nirvāṇa, emancipation of heart and mind, 218.
 — is the cessation of the *Samkhāras*, 241.
 — is one side of Arahatsip, 243.
Nissaṅka Malla, xlv.
Nivaranā, hindrances, 182.
 Noble Ones, the, 182, 272, 295, 298.
 Nymphs included under *devatā*, 45.
- Oldenberg, Dr., xi, 139.
Opasāda in Kosala, 167.
 Order, the Buddhist, description of, 27.
- Parables :—
 The city guard and the cat, 14.
 Blind leading the blind, 173.
 The man in love, 175.
 The staircase up to nothing, 177.
 Praying to the further bank, 179.
 The man bound on the bank, 180.
 The man veiled on the bank, 182.
 The skilful musician, 201, 270.
 The hen and her chickens, 233.
- Patikkā-samuppāda*, 209.
Pātimokkha, quoted, 101.
 — referred to, 188, 210.
Patna. See *Pāraliputta*.
Pāraligāma, on the Ganges, 15-22.
Pāraliputta, prophecy concerning, xv, 18.
Pāvā, last journey of the Buddha to, 70.
Pāvārika, grove at Nālanda, 12.
 Penetrability of matter, 214.
 Pentecost, day of, 141.
 Pilgrimage, the four places of, 90.
Pipphalavana, name of a place, 134.
Pischel, Professor, 75, 102.
Piraka, lateness of the word, 67.
Pirakas and the New Testament, 165, 166.
Pokkharasāti, a Brāhman, 167.
 Positions of mastery, the eight, 49, 50.
 Probation before entering the Order, 109.
Pubbe-nivāsa-ñāna, 209, 215.
 Public assemblies of a clan, 3.
Pukkusa, the young Mallian, 75-82.
 — name of a caste, 75.
Pūrāṇa-Kassapa, one of the Six Teachers, 106.
- Rāgagaha*, 1-12, 56, 99.
Rāmagāma, 132, 135.
- Rapti river, 167.
 Realists, European and Buddhist, 49.
 Rebirth, four kinds of, 25, 26.
 Rest house, public, in a village, 15, 25.
 Ritualism condemned, 10.
 — various kinds of, 199.
 Robbers' Cliff, 56.
- Sabbath day, the Buddhist, 251.
Sahaka, a Bhikkhu, 163.
Sakadāgamin, 25, 26.
Sāketa, a town, 99.
Sakka, king of the gods, 113, 142, 264.
*Sākya*s, the clan, 131.
Sāla trees, the twin, 85.
Sālba, native of Nādika, 25.
 — the Thera, 164.
Samādhi, 11, 145.
*Samana-brāhman*s, 105.
 Samson and sun-myths, 245.
Samgharakkhita Thera, story of, 46.
Samkhāras, the Confections, 242.
Samyaganas, the ten, 222.
Santuttha, convert at Nādika, 25.
Sanḡaya, one of the Six Teachers, 106.
Saṇḡā, sevenfold, 9.
Sappasonḍika Cave at Rāgagaha, 56.
Sārandada, name of a shrine, 4, 40.
Sāriputta, 1, 12-14.
Satippaṭṭhānā, 14, 29, 38.
Sattambaka Ketiyā, 40.
Sattapanni Cave at Rāgagaha, 56.
Sāvattthi, on the Rapti, 99, 167, 168.
Senart's 'Légende du Bouddha', xix, 245.
 Service Hall, 5, 60.
 Service, religious, how conducted among Buddhists, 16-18.
 Seven classes of gods, 154.
 Seven conditions of welfare, 2-7.
 Seven jewels of the Law, 20, 61-63.
 Seven sacred places at Rāgagaha, 56, 57.
 Seven sacred places at Vesālī, 40, 58.
 Seven Treasures of a king of kings, 63, 251.
 Seven wondrous gems, 249.
 Sevenfold higher wisdom, 9, 14, 211.
 Shows of various kinds, 192.
Silas, the three, 188-200.
Sitavana, grove, 56.
 Sorrow, cause of, &c., 23, 24.
 Soul, early Buddhist doctrine as to, 162, 165, 299.
 Spells, 196, 199.

- Spirits. See *Devatā*.
 Spiritualism, 208.
 Storehouse of waters beneath the earth, 130.
 Subhadda, the barber, xi, 127.
 — the last convert, 103-111.
 — convert at *Nādika*, 25, 26.
 Subhaddā, the Queen of Glory, 240, 241, 276.
 Subhūti Unnānsē, xxxi.
 Sudatta, convert at *Nādika*, 25.
 Sugātā, convert at *Nādika*, 25.
 Sukhavatīvyūha, quoted, 246, 249.
 Sunidha, minister, 18, 19, 21.
 Sun-myths, 244, 245.
 Susunāga, xvi.
 Tapoda, grove at *Rāgagaha*, 56.
 Tāranātha, quoted, xix.
 Tārukkha, a Brāhman, 167.
 Tāvātimsa angels, 18, 32.
 Teviggā-vakkhagotta Sutta, 159, 209.
 Textile fabrics of various kinds, 193.
 Theism, 163.
 Thirst, or craving. See the Noble Truths.
 Thirty-Three, the Great. See *Tāvātimsa*.
 Thunder-cloud, name of the sun-horse, 255, 274.
 Thūpa. See *Dāgaba*.
 Tittiriya Brahmins, 171.
 Todeyya, a Brāhman, 167.
 Tope. See *Dāgaba*.
 Transfiguration of the Buddha, 82.
 Truth, nature of the Buddhist, 27.
 Truths, the Four Noble, 23, 24, 148-150.
 Tudigama, in Kosala, 168.
 Tuttha, convert at *Nādika*, 25, 26.
 Udena *Ketiya*, 40.
 Ukkattā, in Kosala, 168.
 Upatissa = Sāriputta, 1.
 Upāvāna, a mendicant, 87.
 Upavattana, at *Kusinārā*, 85.
 Uposatha, the Sabbath day, 251.
 — name of the solar elephant, 254.
 Uttara-sisakam, 85.
 Vaggians, 1-4.
 Valāhaka, name of the sun-horse, 255, 274.
 Vāmadeva, Vedic poet, 172.
 Vāmaka, Vedic poet, 172.
 Vanishing away, 21, 22, 118.
 Vāssettā, a young Brāhman, 168-203.
 — a Vedic poet, 172.
 Vāsettās, epithet of the Mallas, 121.
 Vassa, season of, 34.
 Vassakāra, Brāhman, 2-4, 18, 19, 21.
 Vebhāra Mount, at *Rāgagaha*, 56.
 Vedehi-putto, 1.
 Vedic images adopted by the Buddhists, 141, 245.
 Vedic poets, 172.
 Veḷuriya, a kind of gem, 256.
 Vesāli, xvi, 28, 40, 58, 64.
 Vessāmitta, a Vedic poet, 172.
 Veṭṭadīpa, a Brāhman village, 132.
 Videha, 1.
 Vimokkhā, the eight, 51, 52, 213.
 Virtue, description of Buddhist, 10.
 Vissakamma, the god (Vulcan), 265.
 Vulture's Peak, 1, 55.
 Wheel of the Law, 140, 141, 153.
 Wisdom, the sevenfold higher, 9.
 — its details, 306.
 — possessed by the Buddhas, 14.
 Witchcraft, 208.
 Women, 43, 53, 91, 98, 103, 257.
 Word of the Buddhas enduring for ever, 233.
 Writing, introduction of into India, xxii.
 Yamataggi, a Vedic poet, 172.
 Yātrāmullē Unnānsē, xxxi.
 Zoysa, Mudaliyar de, xxxi.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 23, 24. The 'nobles' (khattiyas) should come before the 'Brâhmans,' as in III, 21, and in the Teviggâ Sutta I, 19. The sentiment of I, 24 recurs in a passage given by Mr. Beal from the Chinese in the 'Indian Antiquary,' IV, 96.
- II, 31. 'Went out from the monastery' (vihâra). There is no mention of a vihâra in the previous sections. The following conversation seems therefore to have been originally recorded in some other connection.
 - III, 20. Add at the end, 'These, Ânanda, are the eight causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.'
 - V, 10 (note p. 88). The passage here quoted from Buddhaghosa, about angels on the point of a gimlet, recurs in the Aṅguttara Nikâya, Duka Nipâta.
 - V, 52. The words 'who was not a believer' should be in brackets. They are inserted to give the full force of the word paribbâgako, as the translation 'mendicant' might convey the impression that Subhadda was a Buddhist mendicant.
 - VI, 26. Compare Gâtaka I, 60, line 17.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.										
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	. . .		क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ك	𐤊	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .		ख	𐬖	𐬖	خ	خ	𐤋	kh	
3 Media	g	. . .		ग	𐬔	𐬔	گ	گ	𐤌		
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .		घ	𐬚	𐬚	ق	ق	𐤍		
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .									
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	. . .		ङ	{ 𐬢 (ng) }						
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .		ह	𐬨	𐬨	ه	ه	𐤎	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	. . .									
9 " asper faucalis	ʰ	. . .									
10 " lenis faucalis	ʰ	. . .									
11 " asper fricatus		ʰ									
12 " lenis fricatus		ʰ									
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis		k	. . .	च	𐬑	𐬑	چ	چ	𐤐	k	
14 " aspirata		kh	. . .	छ	𐬒	𐬒	خ	خ	𐤑	kh	
15 Media		g	. . .	ज	𐬓	𐬓	ج	ج	𐤒		
16 " aspirata		gh	. . .	झ	𐬔	𐬔	ق	ق	𐤓		
17 " Nasalis		ñ	. . .	ञ	𐬕	𐬕	ن	ن	𐤔		

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Fehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬚 𐬚 init.	و	ي	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬚	ع	ش	ش		
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬥	ت	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬦				ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬧	د	د	د		
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	ن	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬩	ل	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬪	س	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2		s (ʃ)								
35 " lenis	z									
36 " asperimus 1		z (ʒ)								z
37 " asperimus 2		z (ʒ)								ʒh

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.						
	I Class.	II Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	li			ल	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	lī			ली	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			र	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			री	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		आ	...	...	...	...	...
17 " " " " " "	ei (xi)			इ	...	...	...	...	...
18 " " " " " "	oi (ōu)			उ	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		औ	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		आ	...	...	...	...	...
22 " " " " " "	eu (ēu)			ए	...	...	...	...	...
23 " " " " " "	ou (ōu)			उ	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			...	...	...	...	...	...

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
BERKELEY

Return to desk from which borrowed.
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

LIBRARY USE

FEB 12 1953

REC'D LD

JAN 14 1962

FEB 12 1953 LU

5 Oct '55 BC
DEC 9 1955 LU
5 Jul '56 PL

4 Aug '62

REC'D LD

AUG 4 1962

REC'D LD

DEC 17 1956
5 Dec '61 BP

27 Jul '65

REC'D

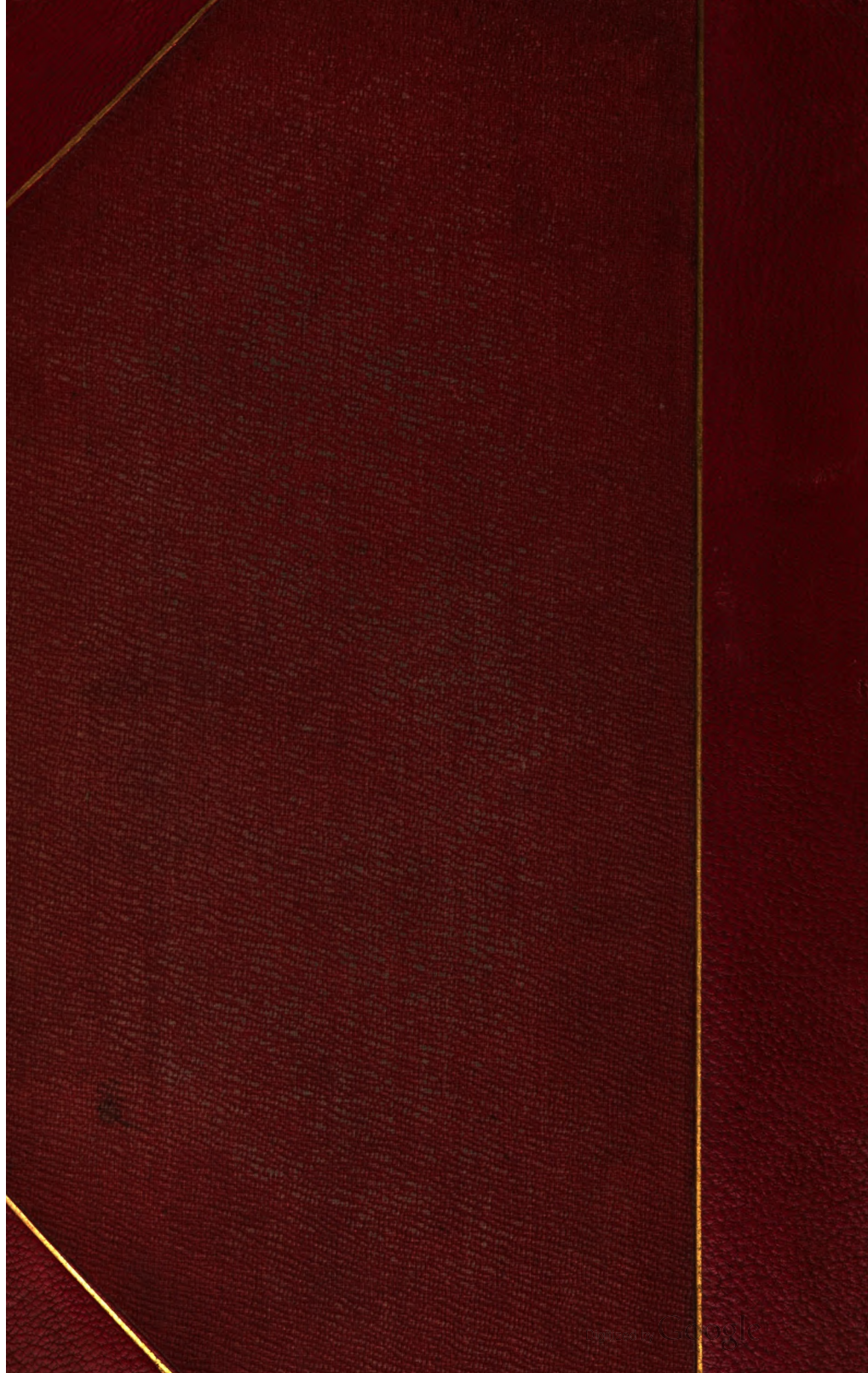
DEC 13 '65 -11 AM

LOAN DEPT.

LD 21-100m-7,'52 (A2528s16)476

YC 54593







This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

REESE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Class No.

685
M.946

V.19

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

London
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
7 PATERNOSTER ROW

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS.

COMPONENTS	MISCELLANEOUS ALPHABET.					Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.			II Class.									III Class.
Gutturales.													
1 Tenuis	k					क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh					ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g					ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	g	
4 " aspirata	gh					घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	gh	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q					ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	q	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)					ण	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	h, hs	
7 Spiritus asper	h					ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs	
8 " lenis	'					ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛		
9 " asper faucalis	ḥ					ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛		
10 " lenis faucalis	ḥ					ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛		
11 " asper fricatus						ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛		
12 " lenis fricatus						ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛		
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)													
13 Tenuis	k					क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
14 " aspirata	kh					ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
15 Media	g					ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	g	
16 " aspirata	gh					घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	gh	
17 " Nasalis	ṅ					ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	ṅ	

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init.	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(y')	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	श	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ש	s
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	z	...	...	𐬱	𐬱	ز	ز	ז	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬕	𐬕	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata	...	...	TH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬌	𐬌	د	د	ד	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬍	𐬍	ذ	ذ	ז	...
28 " assibilata	...	...	DH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬎	𐬎	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬏	𐬏	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	ळ	𐬐	𐬐	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	L	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	s (S)	स	𐬑	𐬑	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36 " asperimus 1	...	...	z (z)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2	...	...	z (z)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

FOR THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		f	th	d	dh	n	r	h	sh	...
38 Tenuis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
39 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 Media	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
42 Nasalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
44 " fricata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45 " diacritica	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47 " lenis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Labiales.		p	ph	b	bh	p	m	w	hw	f
48 Tenuis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
49 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50 Media	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52 Tenuissima	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54 Semivocalis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57 " lenis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58 Anusvāra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS.

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	III Class.									
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			ॐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ū			ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			री	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		आइ	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " " " "	ei (ēi)			ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)			औ	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		औ	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		आउ	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)			एउ	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)			औ	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā			आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			ई	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			औ	...	...	...	...	...	...

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XIX

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1883

[*All rights reserved*]

ES SE

THE
FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING

A LIFE OF BUDDHA

BY

ASVAGHOSHA BODHISATTVA

TRANSLATED FROM SANSKRIT INTO CHINESE

BY

DHARMARAKSHA, A.D. 420

AND FROM CHINESE INTO ENGLISH

BY

SAMUEL BEAL



Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1883

[All rights reserved]

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION	PAGE ix
------------------------	------------

BOOK I.

SECT.		
	1. The Birth	I
	2. Living in the Palace	20
	3. Disgust at Sorrow	29
	4. Putting away Desire	38
	5. Leaving the City	47

BOOK II.

6. The Return of <i>Khandaka</i>	59
7. Entering the Place (Wood) of Austerities	70
8. The General Grief of the Palace	81
9. The Mission to seek the Prince	94

BOOK III.

10. Bimbisâra Râga invites the Prince	111
11. The Reply to Bimbisâra Râga	119
12. Visit to Ârâḍa Udrarâma	131
13. Defeats Mâra	147
14. O-wei-san-pou-ti (Abhisambodhi)	156
15. Turning the Law-wheel	168

BOOK IV.

16. Bimbisâra Râga becomes a Disciple	180
17. The Great Disciple becomes a Hermit	192
18. Conversion of the 'Supporter of the Orphans and Destitute' (Anâthapindâda)	201
19. Interview between Father and Son	218

SECT.	PAGE
20. Receiving the <i>Getavana Vihâra</i>	230
21. Escaping the Drunken Elephant and Devadatta	241
22. The Lady Âmrâ (<i>Âmrâpâtî</i>) sees Buddha	249

BOOK V.

23. By Spiritual Power fixing his (Term of) Years	257
24. The Differences of the <i>Likkhavis</i>	268
25. <i>Parinirvâna</i>	277
26. <i>Mahâparinirvâna</i>	290
27. Praising <i>Nirvâna</i>	309
28. Division of the <i>Sarîras</i>	325

NOTES.

I. Comparative List of 17 Chapters of the Sanskrit and Chinese Copies of the <i>Buddhakarita</i>	340
II. Example of the Style of the Expanded <i>Sûtras</i> , as translated into Chinese	344
III. The same Title given to different Works	365
INDEX	373

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East	377
---	-----

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING been asked by the Editor of 'the Sacred Books of the East' to contribute to the series a volume from the Buddhist literature of China, I undertook, with some distrust, to translate from that language the Phû-yau-king, which is the second version of the Lalita Vistara, known in China, and dated A. D. 308.

After some months of rather disappointing work I found the text so corrupt and imperfect, and the style of the composition so inflated, that I gave up my task, having completed the translation of six chapters (kiouen) of the text, out of eight.

The editor being still desirous to have one book at least from the Chinese Tripiṭaka in his collection of translations (and more especially a translation of some Life of Buddha, the date of which could be fixed), kindly renewed his request, and proposed that the Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, which professed to be a translation of Āśvaghosha's *Buddha-carita*, made by an Indian priest called Dharmarakṣa (or Dharmākṣara), about the year 420 A. D., should be substituted for the work first selected.

This is the work here translated. The difficulties have been many, and the result can only be regarded as tentative. The text itself, and I have had only one Chinese text to work on, is in many places corrupt, and the style of the composition, especially in the metaphysical portions of it, is abstruse and technical. The original Sanskrit, I am told, differs considerably from the Chinese translation, and except in the restoration of proper names, in which the editor of these books has most readily helped me, the assistance derived from it has been very little. I offer the

result of my work, therefore, with some mistrust, and yet with this confidence, that due allowance will be made for imperfections in the preparation of a first translation of a text comprising nearly 10,000 lines of poetry, printed in the original without stops or notes of any sort, and in a difficult style of Chinese composition.

NORTHERN BUDDHISM.

This term is now well recognised. It is used to denote the Buddhism of Nepal, Thibet, China, Japan, and Mongolia, as distinguished from the Buddhism of Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam. The radical difference between the two schools is this, that Northern Buddhism is the system developed after contact with Northern tribes settled on the Indus, while the Southern school, on the contrary, represents the primitive form of the Buddhist faith as it came (presumably) from the hands of its founder and his immediate successors. We might, without being far wrong, denote the developed school as the Buddhism of the valley of the Indus, whilst the earlier school is the Buddhism of the valley of the Ganges. In China there is a curious mixture of the teaching of both schools. The books of the contemplative sect in Southern China are translations or accommodations from the teaching of men belonging to the South of India, whilst in the North we find the books principally followed are those brought by priests from the countries bordering on the Indus, and therefore representing the developed school of the later complex system.

Northern Buddhism, again, may be divided into two, if not three, distinct periods of development, or epochs. The earliest includes in it the period during which the teaching of the immediate followers of Buddha, who brought their books or traditions northward and there disseminated them, generally prevailed; this is called the teaching of the 'little vehicle' (Hīnayāna), or 'imperfect means of conveyance' (across the sea of sense). The second period is that during which the expanded form of belief denoted as the 'great

vehicle' (Mahāyāna) was accepted; here the radical idea is that the teaching of Buddha provides 'universal salvation' for the world. Thirdly, the 'indefinitely expanded' form, known as Vaipulya, which is founded on the idea of a universal nature, to which all living things belong, and which, by recovering itself in each case, secures for the subject complete restoration to the one nature from which all living things have wandered. This is evidently a form of pure Pantheism, and denotes the period when the distinctive belief of Buddhism merged into later Brahmanism, if indeed it did not originate it.

We cannot lay down any sharp line of division (either as to time or minute difference of doctrine) between these forms of thought as they are found in the books; but they may be traced back, through the teaching of the sects into which the system became separated, to the great schism of the primitive Buddhist church at Vaisālī, 100 years after the Nirvāṇa.

With respect to this schism the statement made in the *Dīpavamsa*¹ is this: 'The wicked Bhikkus, the Vaggiputtakas (i. e. the Vaisālī Buddhists), who had been excommunicated by the Theras, gained another party; and many people, holding a wrong doctrine, ten thousand, assembled and (also) held a council. Therefore this Dhamma Council is called the Great Council (Mahāsaṅgīti),' (Oldenberg's translation, p. 140.) Turning now to the Mahāsaṅghika version of the Vinaya, which was translated into Chinese by Fa-hien (circ. 420 A. D.), who brought it from Pāṭaliputra (chap. XXXVI), we read (K. 40, fol. 23 b), 'After the Nirvāṇa (Ni-pan, i. e. Nibbāna) of Buddha the Great Kāśyapa, collecting the Vinaya Piṭaka, was the (first) Great Master (Mahāsthavira), and his collection of the Dharmapiṭaka was in 80,000 divisions. After the death (mih to, destruction) of the great Kāśyapa the next master (lord) was Ānanda, who also held the Dharmapiṭaka in 80,000 (divisions). After him the honourable (lord) Mo-yan-tin (Madhyāntika) was chief, and he also held the Dharmapiṭaka in 80,000 (divisions). After him came

¹ The *Dīpavamsa*, an early historical record of Buddhism compiled in Ceylon between the beginning of the fourth and the first third of the fifth century A. D.

Sanavāsa (she-na-po-sa), who also held the Dharmapiṭaka in 80,000 (divisions). After him came Upagupta, of whom the lord of the world (Buddha) predicted that as "a Buddha without marks" (alakṣaṇako Buddha; see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 378, note 1) he should overcome Māra, which is related in the Avadānas (yin ün). This (master) could not hold the 80,000 divisions of the Dharmapiṭaka. After him there were five schools (the school of the "Great Assembly" being the first of the five) to which the following names were given: (1) Dharmaguptas, (2) Mahāsakas, (3) Kāśyapiyas, (4) Sarvāstivādas. This last is also called the school "that holds the existence of all," because it maintains the distinct nature of (things existing in) past, present, and future time. Each of these schools had its own president and distinctive doctrine. Because of this in the time of Aśoka, when the king was in doubt what was right and what was wrong, he consulted the priests as to what should be done to settle the matter. They replied, "The law (dharma) ought to be settled by the majority." The king said, "If it be so, let the matter be put to the vote (by lots or tokens of wood), and so let it be seen who is right (in the majority)." On this they cast lots, and our sect (i.e. the Mahāsaṅghikas) was in great preponderance. Therefore it is called the Mahāsaṅgīti or Great Assembly.'

From this it appears that the Mahāsaṅghikas, on their part, claimed to be the original portion of the Buddhist church, and that they regarded the four sects, whose names are given, to be heretical. The same colophon has a further notice respecting this subject. It states that 'There was in former times in Mid-India a wicked king who ruled the world. From him all the Sramanas fled, and the sacred books were scattered far and wide. This wicked king having died, there was a good king who in his turn requested the Sramanas to come back to their country to receive his protection (nurture). At this time in Pāṭaliputra there were 500 priests who wished to decide (matters of faith), but there was no copy of the Vinaya, or teacher who knew the Vinaya, to be found. They therefore sent forthwith to the Gṛtavana Vihāra to copy out the Vinaya in its original character, as

it had been handed down to that period. Fa-hien, when he was in the country of Magadha, in the town of Pāṭaliputra, in the temple of Asokarāga, in the Vihāra of the Southern Devarāga (Virūdhaka), copied out the Sanskrit (Fan) original and brought it back with him to P'ing kau, and in the twelfth year of the title I-hi (417 A. D.) [416 according to the cyclical characters] and the tenth month, he translated it.' Here we seem to have an obscure allusion to a first and second Asoka. Is it possible that the reference is to an actual council held at Pāṭaliputra in opposition to the orthodox assembly under Moggaliputta? The 500 priests who were sent to the Getavana might have represented the popular party, and being without a copy of their version of the Vinaya, they procured one from Srāvastī. This may or may not be so, and in the absence of further details we cannot give it much weight.

On examining the copy of the Vinaya alluded to by Fa-hien, viz. that belonging to the Mahāsaṅghikas, we find ample reason for adhering to the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, viz. 'that the members of the great congregation proclaimed a doctrine against the faith' (p. 139 op. cit.) The sections illustrating the Parāgika and other rules are of a gross and offensive character. The rules are illustrated by an abundance of tales or *gātakas* introduced in the text (this seems to favour the presence of a Northern element in the redaction). The account of the two councils differs from that found in the other copies of the Vinaya, and in the history of the second council at Vaisālī there is mention made only of one of the sins of the 'Vaggiputtakas,' viz. receiving money; but the council itself is called, according to this account, for the purpose of revising the canon. Now this seems to show that the Mahāsaṅghika school took its rise at this time, and that a redaction of the canon was prepared by that school distinct from that in common use. According to the statement found in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 'they composed other Suttas and another Vinaya' (p. 141, § 36). This is confirmed by an account which we have given us in a work belonging to the Vinaya class in the Chinese Tripitaka, called 'The Questions of Sāri-

putra' (Catalogue, case 48, miscellaneous). I thought this might be the work referred to in the edict of Asoka as the 'Questions of Upatissa,' but on examination it appears to be a production of the Mahāsaṅghika school, and not exclusively bearing on questions of the Vinaya. Perhaps it was written and named in opposition to the orthodox text alluded to in the edict. To exhibit the teaching of the school to which it belongs I will briefly allude to the earlier portion of this Sūtra. The scene is laid in Rāga-grīha, the question proposed by Sāriputra is, 'Who is the true disciple of Buddha, and who not?' Buddha replies, 'The true disciple is one who attends to and obeys the precepts, as the Bhikṣu Pao-sse, i. e. precious thing (Yasa), who hearing the statement of Buddha that all things (*samskāra*) were impermanent, immediately perceived the whole truth. The disciple who attends to the tradition of the church is also a true one, as the Bhikṣu who attended to Sāriputra's statement respecting Kāludāyi's drinking wine. Those, on the other hand, who neglect either the direct instruction of Buddha, or that of his successors—these are not true disciples.' Sāriputra then proceeds to ask what are the permissions and what the prohibitions made by Buddha in the rules of the Vinaya, especially in respect of food, as, for example, where Buddha forbids an early meal at the invitation of a villager, or where he permits the use of fish and other condiments. Buddha replies that these things must depend on circumstances, and that the rule of the true disciple is to follow the directions of the president of the church. For instance, after my Nirvāṇa (he proceeds) the great Kāśyapa will have authority equal to mine; after Kāśyapa, Ānanda; after Ānanda, Madhyāntika; after Madhyāntika, Sanakavāsa; after Sanakavāsa, Upagupta; after Upagupta there will be a Maurya (king) Ku-ko (Asoka), who will rule the world and extend the Scriptures (Dharmavinaya). His grandson will be called Pushyamitra (Fu-sha-mih-to-lo), who will succeed to the empire of the righteous king (or who will succeed directly to the empire of the king, or the royal estate). This one will ask his ministers what he must

do to gain an undying fame; and being told he must either patronise religion as his predecessor or persecute it, he will adopt the latter course, overthrow the pagodas (dâgobas), destroy the Scriptures, murder the people. Five hundred Arhats, however, will escape the persecution. Meantime the Scriptures being taken up to Maitreya, he will preserve them. At last the king and his army being destroyed (by a mountain cast on them), this line of kings will perish. Afterwards a righteous king will succeed, and Maitreya will send down 300 youths, born apparitionally among men, who will recover the law from the 500 Arhats, and go amongst men instructing them, so that once more the Scriptures, which had been taken to heaven by Maitreya, will be disseminated in the world. At this time the king of the country will divide the Dharmavinaya into many parts, and will build a stronghold in which to preserve them, and so make it difficult for those wishing to consult them, to do so. Then an old Bhikshu of good repute will write a remonstrance, and selecting such passages of the Vinaya as are in accordance with Kâśyapa's council, and known as the Vinaya of the 'Great Congregation' (will make them known); the other party will, on their part, include with these the false additions that have been since made. Thus will begin the contention and wrangling. At length the king will order the two schools to assemble, and the matter to be put to the vote, in this way,—taking a number of slips of wood, some black, the others white, he will say, 'let the adherents of the old school take the black slips, and the new school the white slips.' Then those taking the black slips will be myriads in number, those taking the white only hundreds. Thus there will be a separation. The old school will be called 'the Mahâsaṅghikas,' the new 'the school of the elders,' and hence also named 'the Ta-pi-lo' (Sthâvira (school)).

This obscure account tends at any rate to show that the original separation of the church, from which resulted the later schisms, began at the time of the Great Assembly at Vaisâlî. Whether we are to gather that a second and final separation took place afterwards when the good king was

reigning (Dharma-Aśoka?) is not certain, but it seems to be implied in this and the former record, and is in every respect probable. This would therefore account for the silence of the Northern school respecting the Council at Pāṭaliputra, and would fully explain why the Sthāvira school insists on that council as the charter, so to speak, of their orthodoxy.

LIVES OF BUDDHA.

There is no life of Buddha in the Southern school. Facts connected with his life are found in the different canonical books, and these being put together give an outline of his career, though there is no single work devoted to the account of his life. But there are many such works in the Chinese collection of books. Some of them still exist, others have been lost. The earliest of which we have any record was translated by *Ku-fa-lan* (Gobharāṇa) between A. D. 68 and A. D. 70. It was called the

(I) Fo-pen-hing-king 佛本行經

in five chapters. It is lost, but there are quotations from it found in Chinese Buddhist books which indicate its character. In the commentary, for example, of Taou-shih, who edited a life of Buddha by Wong pūh, there is frequent reference to a work, Pen-hing-king, which in all probability is the book under our present consideration. This we gather from a comparison of these quotations with the text of other works that bear a similar title. For instance, there is a book called Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king, which is stated to be a Chinese version of the Abhinishkramaṇa Sūtra, that is sometimes quoted as the Pen-hing-king, but the passages given by Taou-shih are not to be found in this work. Neither are they taken from the Pen-hing-king, written by Paou-Yun, nor are they to be found in the Pen-hing-king by Asvaghosha. We may justly argue therefore that the commentator, Taou-shih, in quoting from the Pen-hing-king, refers to the work translated by *Ku-fa-lan*, which is

now lost. If so, the book can have differed in no material point from the common legendary account of Buddha's early career. In § 8 the Pen-hing is quoted in reference to the selection of Buddha's birth-place; in § 11 the dream of Mâyâ at the conception of the child is referred to. In § 23 there is the history of Asita and his horoscope. In § 27 the trial in athletic sports. In § 29 the enjoyment of the prince in his palace for ten years. In § 31 the account of the excursion beyond the walls and the sights of suffering. In § 33 the interview with his father before his flight from the palace. In § 38 the act of cutting his hair with his sword and the intervention of Sakra. In § 39 his exchange of garments with the hunter. In § 40 his visit to the Rîshis in the snowy mountains. In § 41 the account of his six years' fast at Gayâ. In § 44 there is allusion to the Nâgas Kalika and Muñilinda. In § 46 the rice milk given by the two daughters of Sugâta. Here the quotations from the Pen-hing come to an end. We can scarcely doubt therefore that this work ended with the account of the supreme enlightenment of Buddha. It is said that the Fo-pen-hing was in five kiouen; it could not therefore have been a short abstract, but must have been a complete history of Buddha from his birth to the period of his victory over Mâra. It would thus correspond with what is termed the 'intermediate epoch,' in the Southern records. We may conclude therefore that such a life of Buddha was in circulation in India in a written form at or before the beginning of our era. It was brought thence by Ku-fa-lan, and translated into Chinese A. D. 67-70. M. Stanislas Julien, in the well-known communication found on p. xvii n. of the translation of the *Lalita Vistara* from Tibetan by M. Foucaux, speaks of this work as the first version of the *Lalita Vistara* into Chinese.

We have next to consider a work translated into Chinese by two Sramanas from India in the year A. D. 194, and named

(2) Siu-hing-pen-k'i-king.

修行本起經

[19]

b

This work belongs to case lxviii in my Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka, and is numbered 664 by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. It was translated by *Ku-ta-lih* (Mahâbâla) and *Kong-mang-tsiang*. As the title indicates, it is a brief memoir of Buddha's preparatory career (i. e. preparatory to his enlightenment), in two parts¹ and seven vargas. It is stated in the work, *Kao-săng-fu*, K. i, fol. 8, that this book was brought from Kapilavastu by the *Sramana* Dharma-phala (Tan-kwo). This is also repeated in the work *Lai-tai-san-pao*, K. iv, fol. 18. The opening scene therefore lies in Kapilavastu. Its language is sufficiently exaggerated, but not to that wearisome degree found in the later Sûtras. It begins with the nomination of Buddha by Dîpaṅkara, and ends with the defeat of Mâra under the tree of knowledge. It therefore includes both the distant and the intermediate epochs. I shall give the headings of the seven vargas, with some remarks on the character of the narrative.

Varga 1 (pp. 1-9). 'Exhibiting change.' The scene is laid in Kapilavastu, in the Nyagrodha Vihâra. Surrounded by a vast assembly of disciples, Buddha enquires of Maudgalyâyana, 'Can you for the sake of all living things² declare the origin of my career (pen k'i)?' On this Maudgalyâyana, addressing Buddha in the usual orthodox way, asks him to recite the history in virtue of his own inherent spiritual power. On this Buddha declares how he had been born during innumerable kalpas in every character of life for the sake of stemming the tide of lust and covetousness which engulfed the world, and by a life of continual progress through the exercise of the virtues of wisdom, patience, charity, &c. had arrived at the final condition of enlightenment. He then gives the history of his nomination when Dîpaṅkara was Buddha, and of his successive births until finally, after having been born as Vessantara, he occupied the Tushîta heaven, and thence descended to be

¹ Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 10.

² This is given in Chinese *Ta-sa-ho-kie*, which can only be restored to *Tasâ*. See Childers, sub voce.

born in Kapilavastu as the Bodhisattva about to accomplish his career as Buddha.

Varga 2. Bodhisattva descends as a spirit. In this section we find an account of Bodhisattva's conception. He descends under the form¹ of a white elephant, and is seen by Mâyâ in a dream: 'She beholds in the middle of heaven a white elephant resplendent with glory, and lighting up the world, accompanied by music and sounds of rejoicing, and whilst accompanying Devas scatter flowers and incense, the elephant approaches her, and for a moment hovers above the spot and disappears.' The dream is interpreted by the sooth-sayers as an exceedingly fortunate one, because 'it indicated the descent of a holy spirit (Shing-shin) into the womb.' The child born therefore would be either a wheel-turning flying-as-he-goes (fi-hing), universal monarch, or a Buddha 'born to save the world.' The queen from that moment leads a pure, uncontaminate life.

'Now on account of this conception,
Bearing as I do a Mahâsattva,
I give up all false, polluting ways,
And both in heart and body rest in purity.'

The kings of neighbouring countries bring their presents of gold, silver, jewels, and robes, and on the eighth day of the fourth month the child is born under an Asoka tree. The angels sing for joy, and thirty-two supernatural events indicate the nativity. We need not enumerate all these events; the first, however, is that the earth was greatly shaken, and all rough and hilly places became smooth. The fifteenth is, the star Pushya came down and appeared waiting on the prince. The last is that the tree spirit (i. e. the spirit residing in the tree under which the Bodhisattva was born) appearing from it as a man bowed his head in worship². We then have an account of Asita's visit and prediction. The

¹ Or, riding on a white elephant. The phrase in the Chinese is ambiguous. There is reason to suppose that the original thought was that the Bodhisattva was riding on an elephant, but was invisible as a spirit.

² Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xci, fig. 4.

varga concludes with the account of his superiority over his teachers.

Varga 3. The athletic contest. This section contains an account of the prince's marriage with Ku-i (Gopî) after the exhibition of his strength in fighting, wrestling, and archery. The prince in this account restores the elephant to life which Devadatta had killed, and is charged by Devadatta and his followers as being strengthened by Mâra (the devil) in doing the wonders he did. He marries Gopî, and with 60,000 attendant women dwells in his palace. But his heart is not at rest.

Varga 4. The excursion for observation. This is the usual account of the prince's visit to the garden and the sights he beheld. The charioteer is accompanied by 1000 other chariots and 10,000 cavalry. A Suddha Deva called Nandahara assumes the form of an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a Sramana successively, and thus determines the prince to leave the world (worldly life) and become an ascetic. In order to distract his mind the king requests the prince to attend a ploughing festival. Whilst thus engaged he beholds the suffering of the oxen, and the heat and toil of the men, and the countless insects being destroyed and devoured by the birds. Retiring under the shadow of a Gambu tree¹ he enters Dhyâna (profound meditation). The king hearing where he was proceeds to the spot, and observes the branches of the trees bent down² over the prince, and on approaching the horses bend their knees in reverence. The king and his retinue then return to the city. On entering the gate he is met by countless thousands of people with flowers and incense, whilst the soothsayers shout with joy, 'O king! live for ever!' The king enquiring the reason, the Brahmans tell him that to-morrow the seven treasures would appear, and the king would become a 'holy ruler' (a Kakravartin).

Varga 5. Leaving his home. The prince without ceasing

¹ Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xxv, fig. 1, where the three buildings represent the three palaces built for the prince.

² The leaves are bent down in the plate (op. cit.)

meditated on the joy of a contemplative life in the desert. Being now nineteen years old, he vowed on the seventh day of the fourth month to leave his home. In the middle of the night he was addressed by Ku-i his wife, who had been troubled by five dreams. Having appeased her, the gods determined, ere he composed himself again, to induce him to leave his home. They sent Ou-suh-man [is this *Wésamuna*? (Manual of Buddhism, p. 51)] to lull the people to sleep, whilst the Deva Nandahara causes all the women of the palace to appear in loathsome attitudes, &c. The prince beholding the sight, and regarding all things that exist 'as a phantom, a vision, a dream, an echo,' called his coachman to bring his horse, and accompanied by countless divine beings left the city. Leaving the city they fled on their way, till at morning light they had gone 480 lis, and arrived at the A-nu-ma country (the river Anavamâ or Anomâ; a Chinese note explains it as the 'ever-full'). Here he dismisses his attendant and sends him back with the horse and his jewels to Kapilavastu. Having cut off his hair, he proceeded to the Magadha country, and there has an interview with Bimbisâra râga. To the enquiry whence he came and what his title was, he replies, 'I come from Ka-wei (Kapila or Kavila) to the east of the fragrant mountains and north of the snowy mountains.' On this Bimbisâra asks him in haste, 'Surely you are not that celebrated Siddhârtha?' On his replying in the affirmative, the king bows down at his feet, and asks why one so richly endowed and so distinguished in his person was not a universal monarch, and why he had left his home. The prince replies that he had gone forth to seek deliverance from old age, disease, and death. On this follows a long series of lines (geyas), beginning, 'Suppose we could.' Finally Bodhisattva leaves the king and encounters Arâta and Kâlâma (i. e. Ârâla Kâlâma), but not satisfied with their teaching he again departs.

Varga 6. Six years' austerities. Bodhisattva goes forward and arrives at the valley (river-valley (*kuen*)) of Se-na. This valley was level and full of fruit trees, with no noxious insects or snakes. Here dwelt the *Rîshi* (Tao-sse) Se-na, with 500 followers. Here Bodhisattva took his

residence under a Sâla tree. The gods offer him nectar (sweet dew), but he receives it not, but vows to take one grain of millet (hemp) a day. When he had continued thus for six years, and reduced himself to the verge of death, the two daughters of Se-na have a dream, in which they see a lily having seven colours wither away ; there comes a man who waters it, and it revives, whilst other buds spring up on the face of the water. Awaking they ask their father to explain the dream, but neither he nor his followers can do so. On this Sakra descends under the form of a Brahmaârin, who explains the dream. The girls having prepared a dish of cream convey it to Bodhisattva ; he receives it, and his strength revives. Having washed his hands and flung the dish into the river, whence it is carried by a golden-winged bird to heaven, he proceeds to the Bodhi tree.

Varga 7. Defeats Mâra. Seated under the tree he causes a stream of light to proceed from between his eyes and to enter the dwelling of Mâra. Mâra, greatly disconcerted, knowing that the Bodhisattva if he fulfils his purpose will overthrow his power, resolves to oppose him. His son Sumati warns him against such an attempt, but Mâra, summoning his three daughters, acquaints them with his design. They robe themselves in their choicest attire, and with 500 attendants go to the spot where Bodhisattva was. They proceed to tempt him with lascivious offers. Bodhisattva with a word changes their appearance into that of old women. On this Mâra, enraged, summons the king of the demon spirits (kwei-shin) to assemble with eighteen myriads of others. They surround the tree for a distance of thirty-six yoganâs, and assuming every shape (lions, bears, tigers, elephants, oxen, horses, dogs, monkeys, &c.) they belch forth smoke and fire. Bodhisattva sits unmoved. Mâra then advances and endeavours to induce him to give up his purpose. Bodhisattva replies in loving words, and finally the entire host is dispersed. Buddha then arrives at perfect wisdom, the condition which neither Brahma nor any other being had yet attained, and so completes his purpose.

The following life of Buddha, although named in the catalogues, has not come under my notice :

(3) Siau-pen-k'i-king
 小本起經

in two kiouen ; translated by the *Sramana K'i-yau*, A. D. 196.

The next history of Buddha in point of the date of its translation is the

(4) Ta-tseu-sui-ying-pen-k'i-king.
 太子瑞應本起經

This is the work of an Upāsaka belonging to the Wu dynasty (222–264 A.D.), who came to China towards the end of the After-Han dynasty, and was a diligent translator. The work before us is a brief one, divided into two parts, without any subdivision into sections. The first part, which resembles the translation last noticed, takes us to the defeat of Māra. The second includes in it a description of Buddha's condition as the 'fully enlightened,' and also the conversion of the fire-worshipping Kāsyapas. With respect to his work of preaching, this book has the peculiarity of excluding all mention of the journey to Benares after the enlightenment. It makes the conversion of the five men take place near the Bodhi tree in Magadha, and omits all mention of Yasa, Sâriputra, or Maudgalyāyana. The account of the conversion of the Kāsyapas is full and circumstantial. It agrees in a marked way with the particulars given in the *Manual of Buddhism* (Spence Hardy, pp. 188–191). The illustrations of this event, given in the *Sanchi Sculptures* (plates xxiv, xxxi, xxxii, 1st ed.), show that it was a popular episode in the history of Buddha at the time of the completion of the *Sanchi Stûpa*. It is also given in the following pages in *Asvaghosha's* work, so that we cannot doubt this event formed part of the recognised work of Buddha as a teacher. This short life therefore includes in it the three portions known in the South as the distant, intermediate, and proximate epochs. The last named, however, differs materially from the more expanded account found in other books, and is in fact

confined to the labour of the conversion of the five men and the three Kâsyapa brothers.

We now come to the consideration of the life of Buddha known as the

(5) *Kung-pen-k'i-king.*

中本起經

This translation was made by the Sramaza Dharmaphala in conjunction with Kong-mang-tsiang, about the year 208 A.D. It was brought by Dharmaphala from Kapilavastu, and it is said to be extracted from the Dīrghāgama (the long Āgama), which is undoubtedly a primitive and, as we should say, a canonical work. This translation is in two parts, divided into 15 vargas.

Varga 1. Turning the wheel of the law. This section begins with Buddha's interview with Upaka, after he had attained enlightenment, and gives an account of the conversion of the five men.

Varga 2. Indicating changes. Contains the history of Yasa, and the conversion of his four friends (Fu-nai, Puṇya-git; Vimala; Kiu-yen-pih, Gavāmpati; Su-to, Subāhu).

Varga 3. The conversion of Kâsyapa.

Varga 4. Converts Bimbisāra rāga.

Varga 5. Conversion of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

Varga 6. Returns to his own country.

Varga 7. The history of Su-ta (i. e. Sudatta or Anāthapindada).

Varga 8. The history of the queen of Udyāna, king of Kausāmbī. She would not comply with the king's wishes, because it was a fast day.

Varga 9. Gautamī becomes a Bhikṣuṇī.

Varga 10. Inconstancy. Contains the history of Prasena-git's interview with Buddha, and of the minister who had lost his child.

Varga 11. Self-love. Contains the history of an interview with Prasena-git, and a sermon preached by Buddha on self-love.

Varga 12. Conversion of Mahākâsyapa (Agnidatta).

Varga 13. Conversion of Ambapālī.

Varga 14. Discussion with the Nirgranthas.

Varga 15. Buddha eats the food fit for horses¹.

It will be seen from the above summary, that so early at least as the end of the second century A.D. a life of Buddha, with the details above named, was in circulation in Kapilavastu.

The next life of Buddha, in point of date, is the second version of the Lalita Vistara, known in China as the

(6) Phô-yau-king.

普曜經

This was translated by the Indian priest Dharmaraksha, during the Western Tsin dynasty, about A.D. 300. It is in eight chapters, and belongs to the expanded class of Buddhist literature. The story of Buddha's life is here told from his birth to his death, but in the exaggerated and wearisome form peculiar to the works of this (expanded) school. It would seem as if the idea of merit attaching to the reproduction of every word of the sacred books had led the later writers, not only to reproduce the original, but to introduce, by an easy but tiresome method, the repetition of a simple idea under a multitude of verbal forms, and so secure additional merit².

There is another life of Buddha named in the Chinese Catalogues, translated A. D. 420 by Buddhahadra, who was a descendant of Amritodana, the uncle of Buddha. This life is named

(7) Kwo-hu-yin-ko-king.

過去因果經

It is in four kiouen. It has not come under my notice; but another translation of the same text, likewise in four kiouen, and made shortly after Buddhahadra by a native of Mid-India called Guṇabhadra (A.D. 436), is before me. This work is called

¹ See Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 52.

² To show the character of this style of composition we give at the end (Note II) a section from this Sûtra relating to the birth of Bodhisattva.

(8) Kwo-hu-hien-tsai-yin-ko-king.

過去現在因果經

It is not divided into sections, but each kiouen embraces a distinct portion of the history.

Kiouen I contains an account of Sumedhas and his nomination by Dīpaṅkara Buddha. It then proceeds to narrate the events attending the conception, incarnation, and early years of the Bodhisattva until his tenth year, and his superiority at school (p. 26).

Kiouen II begins with the martial contest and victory of Bodhisattva over his compeers, and ends with the flight from his palace at nineteen years of age (p. 27).

Kiouen III begins with Bodhisattva's interview with the different *Rishis*, and concludes with the conversion of the five men after Buddha's enlightenment (p. 34).

Kiouen IV begins with the conversion of Yasa and his father, and afterwards his fifty friends. It then gives in great detail the history of the Kāśyapas, and ends with an account of the gift of the *Getavana*. This life of Buddha is of a circumstantial character, and is full of interesting episodes.

The next memoir in point of time of translation is the history of Buddha as it occurs in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. I shall take as my example the *Vinaya* according to the *Mahīśāsaka* school. In the 15th and 16th chapters of this work is a brief life of Buddha. This copy of the *Vinaya* was brought from Ceylon by Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century (A.D. 414); it was not translated by him, but by Buddhagiva, a native of Cophene, A.D. 423 (see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 21), with the assistance of Tao-sing (*Ku-tao-sing*), a *Sramana* of Khoten.

In this life the order of events (and the precise words occasionally) agree with the *Pāli* of the *Mahāvagga*, as published by Oldenberg. It begins, however, with the history of the origin of the *Sākyas*, and in this it resembles the account in the *Manual of Buddhism*¹, except that in the Chinese the

¹ Spence Hardy, p. 130.

description of Ganta, the son of Ambā, is that he was contemptible and ugly, whilst in the Singhalese account he is described as lovely and well-favoured. After the complete enlightenment, Buddha sits in contemplation at the foot of different trees. Here there occurs a divergence from the Pāli, as it is in the interval of his remaining thus in contemplation that he visits the village of Senāpati, and gives to his daughter Sugâtā the two refuges in Buddha and the law. This is a curious statement, as it seems to imply that at that time the triple refuge was not known; in other words, that there was no Saṅgha, or Church.

The interview with Upaka is identical with the Pāli. The sermon at Benares and the conversion of the five men, the visit to and conversion of Bimbisāra, the conversion of Yasa and his friends, the visit to Uruvilva and the Kāśyapas, the conversion of Upatishya and Kolita—all this is as in the Southern account. The narrative then breaks off suddenly, and the rules of the Vinaya with respect to teacher and pupil &c. are introduced. This notice of Buddha's life, although not translated in China before the fifth century, must date back from the time when the Southern copy of the Vinaya, which Fa-hien brought from China, was first put together. The Mahāsāsika school was an offshoot from the Āryasthāvira branch of the Buddhist church, and in all probability was regarded in Ceylon as orthodox, in opposition to the Mahāsaṅghikas. It is curious that in the Mahāsaṅghika copy of the Vinaya which Fa-hien brought from Patna, and which he himself translated into Chinese, there is no section corresponding to the one just adduced, that is, this copy of the Vinaya contains no record of Buddha's life. This may be accounted for on the ground that the two redactions were made at different times and at places far apart. But yet it is curious that a copy of the Vinaya brought from Patna, and said to have been copied from an authentic original, should differ so widely from a copy found by the same person at the same time in Ceylon¹. This circumstance at any rate will

¹ Fa-hien, p. 144.

show the mixed character of Buddhist books in China, and the difficulty of classifying them in any distinct order.

We come now to notice a life of Buddha translated by a native Chinese priest. It is called the

(9) Fo-pen-hing-king
佛本行經

and was translated by Pao-yun, a companion of Fa-hien in his travels in India, about A. D. 420. It is in seven chapters, and composed in varying measures or verses of 4, 5 or 7 symbols to the line. We have no means of determining the name of the original work from which Pao-yun translated his book, but it evidently was not the *Buddha-karita-kāvya* of Asvaghosha. It resembles it in no particular, except that it is in verse. The contents of this work I have already given elsewhere (Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 100); so that there is no need to allude to it here at any length.

Nor need I refer, except to name it, to the Chinese version of the *Lalitā Vistara*. This translation was made by the *Sramāṇa Divākara* during the Tang dynasty. He was a native of Mid-India, and flourished in China A. D. 676. It is in 12 chapters and 27 sections. The headings of these chapters have been given elsewhere (Catalogue, pp. 18, 19). The contents of the Chinese version agree in the main with the Tibetan. It is named

(10) Fang-kwang-tai-śwang-yan-king.
方廣大莊嚴經

There is a life of Buddha translated by an Indian priest of Cophene, about A. D. 445, which is called

(11) Sāṅg-kia-lo-c'ha-sho-tsih-fo-hing-king.
僧伽羅剎所集佛行經

This appears to have been written by a priest called *Saṅgharaksha*, who was born in the kingdom of Su-lai, and came to Gandhāra when Kanishka flourished. This monarch is called in the text *Kien-to-ki-ni-wang*. The

symbols Kien-to correspond with the family title given elsewhere to Kanishka, viz. *Kan-tan*, i. e. *Kandana* or sandalwood (see the work *Tsah-pao-tsang-king* in the Indian Office Collection of Buddhist Books, kiouen vi, fol. 12 [Catalogue, case lxvi]). This Chinese title may probably correspond with the tribal name of Gushan, or perhaps (according to Oldenberg) with the title *Koiranos*, of the coins. But in any case *Saṅgharaksha* is said to have lived during the time of this monarch, and to have written the life of Buddha, which was afterwards translated into Chinese by *Saṅghabhadanta* (?). This work is in 5 kiouen; it comprises the usual stories from the birth of Buddha to the distribution of his relics after his death. There is at the end a curious story about *Asoka*, who reigned 100 years after the *Nirvāṇa*. He is said to have had a dream which induced him to assemble the *Bhikshus* in a convocation. He was told by them that there was in *Râgagriha* a casket on which there was a record enshrined, or a gold plate, which had been delivered by Buddha. On opening the casket a prophecy was found stating that in *Magadha*, in the city of *Râgagriha*, there were two householders whose two sons were called *Vigayamitra* and *Vasudatta*; of these the former, in consequence of his merit in giving a ball of earth to Buddha, should be born 100 years after as *Asoka râga* of the *Maurya* family. In consequence of this prophecy *Asoka* built 84,000 shrines for the relics of Buddha, obeying in this the direction of his dream, that he should cause the *saṃsāras* of the holy one to be everywhere diffused.

Another life of Buddha is one I have partly translated in the *Romantic History of Buddha*. It is called

(12) *Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king*
 佛本行集經

and was translated by *Gñānagupta* or *Gñānakūta* of the *Tsui* dynasty (circ. A. D. 588). It is said to be the same as the *Abhinishkramaṇa Sūtra*, but of this there is no positive evidence. It is in 60 kiouen, and embraces Buddha's history from the beginning to the time of the conversion of the *Kāśyapas* and others.

The following is the title of a life of Buddha, translated by Fă-khin of the Sung dynasty (began 960 A.D.), and named

(13) Fo-shwo-*lung*-hu-mo-ho-ti-king
佛說衆許摩訶帝經

which is, as it appears, a work of the Sammatiya school of Buddhism, corresponding with the Mahāvastu. The phrase 衆許 is used in the introductory chapter to denote Sammata, who was 'chosen by all' to be the first king; and 摩訶帝 is the Chinese form of Mahāvastu, 'the great (thing).' This memoir is in 2 vols. and 13 kiouen; it is very complete, agreeing in its details with the notices found in the Manual of Buddhism, and in Bigandet's Life of Godama. It was probably in the original a Pāli work.

The last version of the Lalita Vistara, known as the

(14) Shin-t'ung-yaou-hi-king,
神童遊戲經

has not come under my notice.

ASVAGHOSHA.

The most reliable of the lives of Buddha known in China is that translated in the present volume, the Buddha-*karita-kāvya*. It was no doubt written by the Bodhisattva Asvaghosha, who was the twelfth Buddhist patriarch, and a contemporary of Kanishka¹. Translators in China attribute both this book and the work which I have called the 'Sermons of Asvaghosha' (ta *kwang yǎn king lun*) to him, and there is no reason to question it. Kumāragīva, who translated the latter work, was too familiar with Indian subjects to be mistaken in this particular, and Dharmaraksha (we will employ this restoration of his name) was also a native of Mid-India, and deeply versed in Buddhist

¹ There is no absolute certainty about the date of Kanishka; it may probably be referred to the beginning of the latter half of the first century A. D. (see next page).

literature (he became a disciple at six years of age). Both these translators lived about A. D. 400.

I am told, however, by Mr. Rockhill, that Tārānātha, the Tibetan author, mentions three writers of the name of Asvaghosha, the 'great one,' the younger, and one who lived in the eighth century A. D. This latter, who was also called Çura, could not be the Asvaghosha of our text, as the translation of the work dates from the fifth century. And as of the other two, one was called 'the great' and the other 'the younger,' it admits of little question that the Bodhisattva would be the former. But in the Chinese Catalogues, so far as I have searched, there is no mention made of more than one writer called by this name, and he is ever affirmed to have been a contemporary of Kanishka. In the book *Tsah-pao-tsang-king*, for instance (kiouen vi), there are several tales told of the *Kandan* 'Kanika' or 'Kanishka,' in one of which (fol. 13) Asvaghosha is distinctly named as his religious adviser, and he is there called 'the Bodhisattva;' so that, according to evidence derived from Chinese sources, there seems no reason to doubt that the author of the book I have here translated was living at and before the time of the Scythian invasion of Magadha under the *Kandan* king Kanishka. With respect to the date of this monarch we have no positive evidence; the weight of authority sides with those who place him at the beginning of the Saka period, i. e. A. D. 78. It is therefore possible that the emissaries who left China A. D. 64 and returned A. D. 67 may have brought back with them some knowledge of the work of Asvaghosha called *Fo-pen-hing*, or of the original then circulating in India, on which Asvaghosha founded his poem. It is singular at least that the work of Asvaghosha is in five chapters as well as that translated by *Ku-fa-lan*. In any case we may conclude that as early as about A. D. 70, if not before, there was in India a work known as *Buddhaḥarita* (*Fo-pen-hing*).

As to the origin of such a work, it seems likely to have sprung from an enlargement of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. We know that the record of the history of Buddha's last

days was extant under this title from early times, and nothing would be simpler than the gradual enlargement of such a record, so as to include in it not only his last days, but his work throughout his life. Each district in which Buddha taught had probably its own recollections on this point, and to any zealous writer the task of connecting these several histories would be an easy one. Such a man was Asvaghosha. Brought up in Central India, travelling throughout his life as a preacher and musician, and finally a follower of Kanishka through his Northern campaigns; such a man would naturally be led to put together the various tales or traditions he had gathered as to the birth and life of his great master, and connect them with the already recognised account of his end or last days on earth. The detailed account of Buddha's death, recorded in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, finds a place at the end of the present work; this account being well known to Asvaghosha, there can be no difficulty in understanding how he came to write an entire poem on the subject of the master's life and death.

I am told by Professor Max Müller that the Sanskrit versions of the *Buddhaḥarita* break off at the end of *varga* 17, that is, after the account of the conversion of the great Kāśyapa. Whether this is accidental, or whether it indicates the original extent of the poem, I have no means of judging. One thing is certain, that at the time when the translation was made by Dharmaraksha (viz. about A.D. 420), the work was of the size of the present volume. There is no *à priori* reason for supposing the later portion to have been added by a writer subsequent to Asvaghosha. A poem does not easily admit of 'a continuation' by another author; nor can we think that a distinguished writer like Asvaghosha would omit in his biography the account of the death of his hero, especially as the materials were at hand, and the dramatic effect of the poem would be undoubtedly increased by the addition of such a popular record. It seems therefore more natural to suppose that the Sanskrit MSS. are incomplete copies of the original, and that the Chinese version before us is in

fact a translation of the entire poem as it came from its author's hands.

There is little to add, with respect to the history of Asvaghosha, to the few notices I have given elsewhere (Abstract, &c., p. 95 sqq.) One or two allusions to him will be found in the work of Wong pûh (Shing tau ki, §§ 186 and 190). These only confirm the general tradition that he was originally a distinguished Brahman and became a convert to Buddhism¹. The *Buddha-karita* contains sufficient proof of his acquaintance with and hostility to Brahmanical teaching, and the frequent discussions found therein relative to the non-existence of 'I' (an individual self) illustrate the record contained in § 190 of the work (Shing tau) named above, 'that Vira, a writer of *Sâstras* (Lun sse), a disciple of Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, wrote a treatise in 100 gâthâs on the subject of "non-individuality" (wou 'ngo lun), which the heretics were unable to gainsay.' With reference to this doctrine of the non-existence of the individual subject, it is not possible in such a work as this to say much. I shall be glad to place on record, however, my belief that in Buddhism this question is much more than a speculative question of philosophy. It touches the skirt of the highest moral truth. For the individual self in Buddhism is the evil or carnal self, the origin of sorrow. This, the Buddhist says (at least as I read his confession of faith), does not exist; the evil self is not a separate reality, it is the delusion of 'sense;' it is 'nothing.' Destroy this idea of self and there will be light. If we regard the question thus, it assumes a form more interesting and vital than that of any philosophical enquiry. As I said above, it touches the skirt of the highest truth; and in this approach to truth lies the power of the Buddhist doctrine.

THE FAITHFULNESS OF CHINESE TRANSLATIONS.

It is wonderful to look through the large collection of Buddhist books translated into Chinese from the dialects

¹ Mr. Rockhill has kindly given me an extract from a Tibetan work, *Mañ-gus-fmûlantantra*, in which Asvaghosha is identified with *Mâtrigâta* or *Mâtrigita*, concerning whom, see Abstract, &c., p. 141.

of India, principally by Indian or Indo-Scythian priests. I use this last expression to indicate the nationality of those translators who came to China from Cabul and regions north of the Indus. For 600 years and more a succession of Buddhist teachers and preachers followed one another from India and Central Asia towards China with little interruption. The result is, that the Buddhist Tripiṭaka (canon) as we have it in that country is a collection of translations without connection of parts, denoting the Buddhism of India and neighbouring countries, in every period of its development. Hence side by side with the early teaching of the faith found in such books as the Dharma-pada (Tan poh), we have the gross form of Tantra worship contained in the 'Dhāraṇī of *Kandā*,' *Kandā* being in fact the same as Kālī or Durgā or *Gagatmātri*. Nevertheless this collection of translations is a most important one. Its importance has yet to be realised. To the student of Buddhism it is an inexhaustible mine of wealth. And to the student of history some knowledge of it is indispensable.

The question presents itself, therefore, can we rely on the truthfulness of the work done by these men in China? To this question only a qualified answer can be given; we may rely on the work of men of known ability. And in other cases we may test the work done by comparison with the originals. We should have no reluctance, I think, in accepting the translations of men like Kumāragīva, to whom both Chinese and Sanskrit must have been familiar, and whose work may be tested by comparison with Sanskrit texts. And if he may be trusted, so may others also who worked with him or in his time. Amongst these was Dharmarakṣa, the translator of the *Buddhacarita* of this volume. He was a man of Mid-India, and became a disciple at six years of age, and daily recited 10,000 words of Scripture. At first he belonged to the school of the lesser development, and was well acquainted with the discourses of the five Vidyās. Afterwards he became a follower of the greater development. He arrived in China in the year 412 A.D. and worked at translations till A.D. 454. Now

we can hardly suppose that a man of such natural gifts as Dharmaraksha could have laboured for forty-two years at translations, without being worthy of trust. Moreover we find that Kumâragîva was working at this period in China, and that he translated the work of Asvaghosha called *Ta-kwang-yan-king-lun*, which appears to be related to the *Ta-kwang-yan-king*, another name for the *Life of Buddha* (*Lalita Vistara*). Is it likely that the two translators were unknown to one another?

It is true, indeed, that I have not been able to test the translation of Dharmaraksha by comparison with the Sanskrit. As I understand Professor Max Müller, the Sanskrit text is not always easy to interpret, and differs in many places from the Chinese version. Sometimes it is possible to see how it happened that the Chinese translator misunderstood the text before him. Sometimes it would seem that he omitted intentionally whole passages which would be either unintelligible or uninteresting to Chinese readers. As there is some prospect of the Sanskrit text of Asvaghosha's work being published, we may hope to arrive in time at something like certainty on the point under consideration.

But with respect to the trustworthiness of Chinese translations in general, it depends, as I said before, on the character of the individual scholar. There is no reason at all why a Brahman should not have become familiar with Chinese, and when we add to this the extraordinary facilities afforded the Buddhist missionaries in China for executing their work, in the way I mean of royal patronage and able coadjutors, there is no reason to suspect the result of their labours. Yet doubtless there are many unreliable versions of sacred texts to be found. Every zealous Upâsaka who came to China was not thereby duly qualified for the work of translation; and as a rule we should be cautious in attaching entire credence to the literary labours of such persons.

ASVAGHOSHA'S STYLE.

The Chinese priest I-tsing says that the hymns used in the Buddhist church during his visit to India were composed and arranged by Asvaghosha (Nan-hae, § 32). There can be little doubt that he was a musician as well as poet. He travelled about, we are told, with a body of musicians, and was the means of converting many persons of distinction by his skill (Abstract, &c., p. 97). The work before us gives proof of his poetical talent. In translating his verses, even from the Chinese, an impulse to follow in his poetical vein has been felt. But the requirements of a literal translation forbid any such diversion. Nevertheless the reader will observe many passages that would have easily allowed a more 'flowery diction.' The passage in verse 629 and following verses is very touching—the consuming grief of Yasodharā until 'her breath grew less and sinking thus, she fell upon the dusty ground.' The account of Buddha's enlightenment in verse 1166 and following is also striking: 'Thus did he complete the end of self, as fire goes out for want of grass; thus he had done what he would have men do; he first had found the way of perfect knowledge. He finished thus the first great lesson; entering the great *Rishi's* house, the darkness disappeared, light burst upon him; perfectly silent and at rest, he reached the last exhaustless source of truth; lustrous with all wisdom the great *Rishi* sat, perfect in gifts, whilst one convulsive throe shook the wide earth.'

There are many passages throughout the poem of great beauty; there is much also that is dry and abstruse, yet we cannot doubt that in that day and among these people the 'great poem' of Asvaghosha must have had considerable popularity. Hence the translations of it are numerous; it must have tested Dharmaraksha's powers to have turned it into Chinese. There is also a Tibetan copy of it; and whether it was originally composed in Sanskrit or not, we know that there are now various editions of it in that language. I do not pretend to have

found the author's meaning in all cases; the Chinese is not easy; but in the main drift of the poem I have followed my text as faithfully and literally as possible. The concluding portion of the last section, as it seems to support the idea of only one Asoka, first fierce and then gentle, or religious, is, to say the least, a curious passage. But we may not attach too much weight to an isolated statement of this sort; there may have been reasons more than we know of why the orthodox tradition of the Dharma-Asoka, the patron of the Theravâdi school, should have been ignored by a friend of Kanishka. But in any case the evidence is too slight to build upon; we can only say that in Asvaghosha's time it had become usual to put the Council of Pâṭaliputra out of sight, and to regard the Theravâdi school as one opposed to the generally received traditions of the North.

I cannot conclude this Introduction without expressing my thanks to Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, who kindly suggested emendations of my translation of some passages at the beginning of the work, and also to Professor Max Müller, to whom I am indebted for the restoration of many of the proper names that occur throughout the text.

S. BEAL.

THE RECTORY, WARK,
NORTHUMBERLAND,
Feb. 4, 1883.

FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING.

FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING.

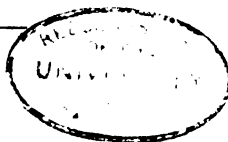
A METRICAL VERSION

OF THE

LIFE OF BUDDHA BY MA-MENG-PU-SA.

(ASVAGHOSHA BODHISATTVA.)

KIOUEN I.



VARGA 1. THE BIRTH.

(There was) a descendant of the Ikshvâku¹ (family), an invincible² Sâkya monarch, pure in mind (mental gifts) and of unspotted virtue, called therefore 'Pure-rice' (Suddhodana). 1

Joyously revered by all men (or, 'beings'), as the new moon (is welcomed by the world), the king indeed (was) like the heaven-ruler Sakra³, his queen like (the divine) Saṅgī. 2

Strong and calm of purpose as the earth, pure in mind as the water-lily, her name, figuratively assumed, Mâyâ, she was in truth incapable of class-comparison. 3

¹ The Ikshvâku (sugar-cane) family of Potala. Suddhodana was the father of the Bodhisattva.

² Wou-shing; this is the equivalent for the Agitavati (river). But it here refers to the Sâkyas, as a race of Kakravartin monarchs.

³ Or, like Sakra, king of Devas, the husband of Saṅgī.

On her in likeness as the heavenly queen descended the spirit and entered her womb. A mother, but free from grief or pain, (she was) without any false or illusory¹ mind. 4

Disliking the clamorous ways of the world, (she remembered) the excellent garden of Lumbint, a pleasant spot, a quiet forest retreat, (with its) trickling fountains, and blooming flowers and fruits. 5

Quiet and peaceful, delighting in meditation, respectfully she asked the king for liberty to roam therein; the king, understanding her earnest desire, was seized with a seldom-felt anxiety (to grant her request). 6

He commanded his kinsfolk, within and without (the palace), to repair with her to that garden shade; and now the queen Mâyâ knew that her time for child-bearing was come. 7

She rested calmly on a beautiful couch, (surrounded by) a hundred thousand female attendants; (it was) the eighth day of the fourth moon, a season of serene and agreeable character. 8

Whilst she (thus) religiously observed² the rules of a pure discipline, Bodhisattva was born from her right side, (come) to deliver the world, constrained by great pity, without causing his mother pain or anguish. 9

As king Yu-liu³ was born from the thigh, as king Pi-t'au⁴ was born from the hand, as king Man-to⁵

¹ Here there seems to be a play on the word wan 幻, which is the equivalent for Mâyâ or illusion. The Sanskrit text reads Mâyâ-pagatâ-iva Mâyâ, i. e. Mâyâ without deceit.

² Or, (the season for) religiously observing the rules of abstinence.

³ Aurva.

⁴ Prîthu, born from the arm of Vena.

⁵ Mândhâtî.

was born from the top of the head, as king Kia-k'ha¹ was born from the arm-pit, 10

So also was Bodhisattva on the day of his birth produced from the right side; gradually emerging from the womb, he shed in every direction the rays of his glory. 11

As one (born) from recumbent space², and not through the gates of life, through countless kalpas, practising virtue, self-conscious he came forth to life, without confusion. 12

Calm and collected, not falling headlong (was he born), gloriously manifested, perfectly adorned, sparkling with light he came from the womb³, as when the sun first rises (from the East). 13

(Men) indeed regarded⁴ his exceeding great glory, yet their sight remained uninjured: he allowed them to gaze, the brightness of his person concealed for the time, as when we look upon the moon in the heavens. 14

His body, nevertheless, was effulgent with light, and like the sun which eclipses the shining of the lamp, so the true gold-like beauty of Bodhisattva shone forth and was diffused everywhere. 15

Upright and firm and unconfused in mind, he deliberately took seven steps⁵, the soles of his feet

¹ Kakshivat. These names are supplied from the Sanskrit text.

² This may also be translated 'as one who falls from space,' i.e. miraculously born from space.

³ He passed from the womb to be born. The idea seems to be that though conceived in the womb, he was born supernaturally from the side.

⁴ Kwan-tsai, weighed and considered.

⁵ These seven steps are frequently figured by seven lotus-marks. I-tsing refers to such marks at Nālanda, where Buddha walked seven steps, forward and backward; they are also figured on the

resting evenly upon the ground as he went, his foot-marks remained bright as seven stars. 16

Moving like the lion, king of beasts, and looking earnestly towards the four quarters, penetrating to the centre the principles of truth, he spake thus with the fullest assurance: 17

‘This birth is in the condition of a Buddha¹; after this I have done with renewed birth; now only am I born this once, for the purpose of saving all the world.’ 18

And now from the midst of heaven there descended two streams of pure water, one warm, the other cold, and baptized his head², causing refreshment to his body. 19

And now he is placed in the precious palace hall, a jewelled couch for him to sleep upon, and the heavenly kings with their golden flowery hands hold fast the four feet of the bed. 20

Meanwhile the Devas in space, seizing their jewelled canopies, attending, raise in responsive harmony their heavenly songs, to encourage him to accomplish his perfect purpose³. 21

Then the Nāga-rāgas filled with joy, earnestly desiring to show their reverence for the most excellent law⁴, as they had paid honour to the former Buddhas, now went to meet Bodhisattva; 22

cloth held by the attendants at the birth of Bodhisattva. See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate lxxv, figure 2, middle scene.

¹ This birth is a Buddha-birth.

² He was thus consecrated to be a king; see Childers, Pāli Dict., sub *Abhisiñhāti*; also Eitel, Handbook, sub *Mūrdhābhishikta*.

³ Inviting him to perfect the way of Buddha.

⁴ That is, ‘to advance the cause of true religion.’

They scattered before him Mandâra flowers, rejoicing with heartfelt joy to pay such religious homage; (and so, again,) Tathâgata having appeared in the world, the Suddha¹ angels rejoiced with gladness; 23

With no selfish or partial joy, but for the sake of religion they rejoiced, because creation², engulfed in the ocean of pain, was now to obtain perfect release. 24

Then the precious Mountain-râga, Sume(ru)³, firmly holding this great earth⁴ when Bodhisattva appeared in the world, was swayed by the wind of his perfected merit. 25

On every hand the world was greatly shaken, as the wind drives the tossing boat; so also the minutest atoms of sandal perfume, and the hidden sweetness of precious lilies, 26

Floated on the air and rose through space and then commingling came back to earth; so again the garments of Devas descending from heaven touching the body, caused delightful thrills of joy; 27

The sun and moon with constant course redoubled the brilliancy of their light, whilst in the world the

¹ The Suddha-vâsas, 'beings dressed in pure garments.' A class of heavenly beings, supposed to take peculiar interest in the religious welfare of men.

² 'Creation,' in the sense of 'all that lives.'

³ Sumeru, written also Sumē and Meru. The primeval mountain; the Alborz, Atlas, or Olympus of other tribes. It is explained as 'the high, or resplendent, mountain.' On it was the heaven of the gods (the thirty-three gods).

⁴ It would seem from this that the original idea of Sumeru was 'the mountain of Heaven;' the visible heaven, or firmament, which 'firmly holds the earth.'

fire's gleam of itself prevailed without the use of fuel. 28

Pure water, cool and refreshing from the springs, flowed here and there, self-caused; in the palace all the waiting women were filled with joy at such an unprecedented event. 29

Proceeding all in company, they drink and bathe themselves; in all arose calm and delightful thoughts; countless inferior Devas (bhûtas), delighting in religion, like clouds assembled. 30

In the garden of Lumbini, filling the spaces between the trees, rare and special flowers, in great abundance, bloomed out of season. 31

All cruel and malevolent kinds of beings, together conceived a loving heart; all diseases and afflictions among men without a cure applied, of themselves were healed. 32

The various cries and confused sounds of beasts were hushed and silence reigned; the stagnant water of the river-courses flowed apace, whilst the polluted streams became clear and pure. 33

No clouds gathered throughout the heavens, whilst angelic music, self-caused, was heard around; the whole world of sentient creatures enjoyed peace and universal tranquillity. 34

Just as when a country visited by desolation, suddenly obtains an enlightened ruler, so when Bodhi-sattva was born, he came to remove the sorrows of all living things. 35

Mâra¹, the heavenly monarch, alone was grieved and rejoiced not. The Royal Father (Suddhodana)

¹ Mâra, the king of the world of desire. According to the Buddhist theogony he is the god of sensual love. He holds the

beholding his son¹, strange and miraculous², as to his birth, 36

Though self-possessed and assured in his soul, was yet moved with astonishment and his countenance changed, whilst he alternately weighed with himself the meaning (of such an event), now rejoiced and now distressed. 37

The queen-mother beholding her child, born thus contrary to laws of nature, her timorous woman's heart was doubtful; her mind through fear, swayed between extremes: 38

Not distinguishing the happy from the sad portents, again and again she gave way to grief³; and now the aged women of the world, (of the 'long night'⁴) in a confused way supplicating heavenly guidance, 39

Implored the gods to whom their rites were paid, to bless the child; (cause peace to rest upon the royal child.) Now there was at this time in the grove, a certain soothsayer⁵, a Brahman, 40

Of dignified mien and wide-spread renown, famed for his skill and scholarship: beholding the signs⁶, his

world in sin. He was the enemy of Buddha, and endeavoured in every way to defeat him. He is also described as the king of death.

¹ Beholding his 'born son,' or 'begotten son.'

² K'i-teh, truly unique (Williams' Dict.) Mi tsang yau, unseen before, miraculous.

³ The text seems to point to alternately recurring hope and grief.

⁴ The text here is difficult. I take *Khang-suh* to be equal to *Khang-yê*, which is a frequent expression to denote the 'long night' of transmigration or ignorance. If this be not so, then *Khang-suh* may be simply 'aged.'

⁵ *Khi Siang*, a discerner of signs or portents.

⁶ That is, either the signs on the child's body, or the occurrences attending his birth.

heart rejoiced, and he exulted at the miraculous event. 41

Knowing the king's mind to be somewhat perplexed, he addressed him (thus) with truth and earnestness, 'Men born in the world, chiefly desire to have a son the most renowned¹; 42

'But now the king, like the moon when full, should feel in himself a perfect joy, having begotten an unequalled² son, (for by this the king) will become illustrious among his race; 43

'Let then his heart be joyful and glad, banish all anxiety and doubt, the spiritual omens that are everywhere manifested indicate for your house and dominion a course of continued prosperity³. 44

'The most excellently endowed child now born will bring deliverance to the entire world⁴, none but a heavenly teacher has a body such as this⁵, golden colour'd, gloriously resplendent. 45

'One endowed with such transcendent marks, must reach the state of "Samyak⁶-Sambodhi," or if he be induced to engage in worldly delights, then he must become a universal monarch⁷; 46

¹ Or, a most victorious son; or, a son most renowned.

² K'i-teh, truly unique; strange or wonderful; (p. 7, n. 2.)

³ Increasing or advancing prosperity.

⁴ Must assuredly save the world.

⁵ A body, such a masterpiece.

⁶ K'ing-hsio, perfect illumination, Samyak-Sambuddha; or, as in the text.

⁷ A wheel-turning monarch. A monarch like the sun 'that flies as he goes;' the old conceit of a king of the age of gold^a; the expectation of peace and prosperity resulting from the universal authority of such a righteous king, is an old, perhaps a primitive, one. The *Kakravartin* is the eastern form of the myth.

^a That is, probably, 'a golden (wheel) king.'

‘Everywhere recognised as the ruler of the great earth, mighty in his righteous government, as a monarch ruling the four empires¹, uniting under his sway all other rulers; 47

‘As among all lesser lights, the sun’s brightness is by far the most excellent. But if he seek a dwelling among the mountain forests, with single heart searching for deliverance², 48

‘Having arrived at the perfection of true wisdom, he will become illustrious³ throughout the world; for as mount Sumeru is monarch among all mountains, 49

‘Or, as gold is chief among all precious things, or, as the ocean is supreme among all streams⁴, or, as the moon is first among the stars, or, as the sun is brightest of all luminaries, 50

‘So Tathâgata, born in the world, is the most eminent⁵ of men; his eyes clear and expanding⁶, the lashes both above and below moving with the lid, 51

‘The iris of the eye of a clear blue colour⁷, in shape like the moon when half full, such characteristics as these, without contradiction, foreshadow the most excellent condition of perfect (wisdom).’ 52.

¹ The four empires, that is, the four continents or quarters of the world.

² Deliverance, that is, from sin; or sorrow the result of sin (moksha).

³ Shine universally; as the light of the sun.

⁴ The ocean is always in Buddhist works, as in Homer, associated with ‘flowings.’ The expression in the Chinese, liu-hai, corresponds exactly with *ᾠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα*.

⁵ The most worshipful.

⁶ Widening more and more.

⁷ Of a deep purple or violet colour.

At this time the king addressed the twice-born¹,
‘If it be as you say, with respect to these miraculous signs, that they indicate such consequences, 53

‘Then no such case has happened with former kings, nor down to our time has such a thing occurred.’ The Brahman addressed the king thus,
‘Say not so; for it is not right; 54

‘For with regard to renown and wisdom, personal celebrity, and worldly substance, these four things indeed are not to be considered according to precedent or subsequence; 55

‘But whatever is produced according to nature², such things are liable to the law of cause and effect: but now whilst I recount some parallels let the king attentively listen; 56

‘*Bhrîgu*, *Ângira*³ (*Ângiras*?), these two of *Rîshi* family⁴, having passed many years apart from men, each begat an excellently-endowed son, 57

• ‘*Brîhaspati* with *Sukra*, skilful in making royal treatises, not derived from former families (or, tribes); 58

‘*Sârasvata*, the *Rîshi*, whose works⁵ have long disappeared, begat a son, *Po-lo-sa*⁶, who compiled illustrious *Sûtras*⁷ and *Shâstras*; 59

¹ That is, the Brahman; wearing the twice-born thread.

² Or, whatever is born according to the nature of things.

³ I restore these names according to the Sanskrit text, supplied by Professor Max Müller.

⁴ That is, belonging to the *Rîshi* tribe; in other words, ‘these two *Rîshis*.’

⁵ Or, it may, perhaps more correctly, be rendered ‘separated by a long period from *Sûtras* or *Shâstras*,’ or, when these works had long been lost.

⁶ Is this *Parâsara*, the reputed father of *Vyâsa*? (see Max Müller’s *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 479.)

⁷ Illustrious *Sûtras* (*Ming King*) may possibly refer to the *Vedas*, but the five *vidyâs* are also called by this name (*Jul. II*, 73).

‘That which now we know and see, is not therefore dependent on previous connection; Vyâsa, the *Rîshi*, the author of numerous treatises, 60

‘After his death had among his descendants, Poh-mi (*Vâlmîki*), who extensively collected *Gâthâ* sections; Atri, the *Rîshi*, not understanding the sectional treatise on medicine, 61

‘Afterwards begat Âtreya, who was able to control diseases; the twice-born *Rîshi* Kusi (*Kusika*), not occupied with heretical treatises, 62

‘Afterwards (begat) *Kia-ti-na râga*, who thoroughly understood heretical systems; the sugar-cane monarch¹, who began his line, could not restrain the tide of the sea, 63

‘But *Sagara-râga*, his descendant, who begat a thousand royal sons, he could control the tide of the great sea so that it should come no further. 64

‘*Ganaka*, the *Rîshi*, without a teacher acquired power of abstraction. All these, who obtained such renown, acquired powers of themselves²; 65

‘Those distinguished before, were afterwards forgotten; those before forgotten, became afterwards distinguished³; kings like these and godlike *Rîshis* have no need of family inheritance, 66

‘And therefore the world need not regard those going before or following. So, mighty king! is it with you, you should experience true joy of heart, 67

‘And because of this joy should banish for ever doubt or anxiety.’ The king hearing the words

¹ That is, the first of the *Ikshvâku* monarchs who reigned at *Potala* (*Tatta*) at the mouth of the *Indus*.

² Or, were born by their own power.

³ Or, the former were better, the later inferior; the former inferior, the later better.

of the seer was glad, and offered him increased gifts¹. 68

‘Now have I begotten a valiant (excellent) son (he said), who will establish a wheel authority, whilst I, when old and grey-headed, will go forth to lead a hermit’s life², 69

‘So that my holy king-like son may not give up the world and wander through mountain forests.’ And now near the spot within the garden, there was a *Rishi*, leading the life of an ascetic³; 70

His name was Asita, wonderfully skilful in the interpretation of signs; he approached the gate of the palace; the king (beholding him) exclaimed, ‘This is none other but Brahmadeva, 71

‘Himself enduring penance from love of true religion, these two characteristics⁴ so plainly visible as marks of his austerities.’ Then the king was much rejoiced; 72

And forthwith he invited him within the palace, and with reverence set before him entertainment, whilst he, entering the inner palace, rejoiced only (in prospect of) seeing the royal child. 73

Although surrounded by the crowd of court-ladies, yet still he was as if in desert solitude; and now they place a preaching throne and pay him increased honour and religious reverence, 74

As Antideva *râga* revered the priest *Vasishtha*. Then the king addressing the *Rishi*, said, ‘Most fortunate am I, 75

‘Great *Rishi*! that you have condescended to

¹ Or, extended his religious offerings.

² Leaving my home will practise a pure (Brahman) life.

³ Practising austerities.

⁴ That is, ‘purity’ and ‘penance.’

come here to receive from me becoming gifts and reverence; I pray you therefore enter on your exhortation.' 76

Thus requested and invited the *Rishi* felt unutterable joy, and said, 'All hail, ever victorious monarch! possessed of all noble (virtuous) qualities¹, 77

'Loving to meet the desires of those who seek, nobly generous in honouring the true law, conspicuous as a race for wisdom and humanity, with humble mind you pay me homage, as you are bound. 78

'Because of your righteous deeds in former lives², now are manifested these excellent fruits; listen to me, then, whilst I declare the reason of the present meeting. 79

'As I was coming on the sun's way³, I heard the Devas in space declare that the king had born to him (begotten) a royal son, who would arrive at perfect intelligence⁴; 80

'Moreover I beheld such other portents⁵, as have

¹ The Chinese symbol 'teh' properly means 'virtue,' as in the title of Laou Tseu's work, *Tau-teh-king*. But in Buddhist books it generally corresponds with the Sanskrit *guṇa*, in the sense of a 'quality' or 'characteristic.'

² The expression *suh kkih* points to conduct in former conditions of existence. It properly means 'a night's rest' or 'a lodging one night' (Williams), but in Buddhist books it commonly refers to abodes or conditions of life, occupied during the night (long night) of transmigration.

³ Following the way of the sun.

⁴ Complete the way of true wisdom (Sambodhi or Sambuddha).

⁵ Such miraculous portents going before. It would seem from Asita's description that he came from the East following the sun, and as he came he saw before him miraculous portents.

constrained me now to seek your presence; desiring to see the Śākya monarch who will erect the standard of the true law.' 81

The king hearing the *Rishi's* words was fully assured; escaping from the net of doubt, he ordered an attendant to bring the prince, to exhibit him to the *Rishi*. 82

The *Rishi*, beholding the prince, the thousand-rayed wheel on the soles of his feet, the web-like filament between his fingers¹, between his eyebrows the white² wool-like prominence, 83

His privy parts hidden as those of the horse, his complexion bright and lustrous; seeing these wonderful birth-portents, the seer wept and sighed deeply. 84

The king beholding the tears of the *Rishi*, thinking of his son, his soul was overcome, and his breath fast held his swelling heart. Thus alarmed and ill at ease, 85

Unconsciously he arose from his seat, and bowing his head at the *Rishi's* feet he addressed him in these words, 'This son of mine, born thus wonderfully, 86

'Beautiful in face, and surpassingly graceful, little different from the gods in form, giving promise of superiority in the world, ah! why has he caused thee grief and pain? 87

'Forbid it, that my son should die! (should be short-lived!)—(the thought) creates in me grief and

¹ Or, his fingers and his toes.

² That is, the *ūrṇā*. This white wool-like mark seems to have been derived in the first instance from the circle of hair on the forehead of the bull. Moschus describes the bull that carried off Europa as having this 'silver white circle' on his forehead.

anxiety; that one athirst, within reach of the eternal draught¹, should after all reject and lose it! sad indeed! 88

'Forbid it, he should lose his wealth and treasure! dead to his house! lost to his country! for he who has² a prosperous son in life, gives pledge that his country's weal is well secured; 89

'And then, coming to die, my heart will rest content, rejoicing in the thought of offspring surviving me; even as a man possessed of two eyes, one of which keeps watch, while the other sleeps; 90

'Not like the frost-flower of autumn, which though it seems to bloom, is not a reality. A man who, midst his tribe and kindred, deeply loves a spotless son, 91

'At every proper time in recollection of it has joy; O! that you would cause me to revive³!' The *Rîshi*, knowing the king-sire to be thus greatly afflicted at heart, 92

Immediately addressed the Mahârâga: 'Let not the king be for a moment anxious! the words I have spoken to the king, let him ponder these, and not permit himself to doubt; 93

'The portents now are as they were before, cherish

¹ The 'eternal draught' or 'sweet dew' of Ambrosia. This expression is constantly used in Buddhist writings. It corresponds with the Pâli *amataṃ*, which Childers explains as the 'drink of the gods.'

² Or, if I have.

³ This sloka may be translated otherwise thus: 'A man among all his kindred loves deeply a spotless^a son; at this time, in recollection thereof, speaking, cause me to revive;' or the latter lines may still be rendered, 'in memory of what you said before, cause me now, by speaking as before, to revive.'

^a Wou-kwo-tseu; either 'a faultless son' or 'nothing beyond his son.'

then no other thoughts! But recollecting I myself am old, on that account I could not hold my tears; 94

‘For now my end is coming on. But this son of thine will rule the world, born for the sake of all that lives¹! this is indeed one difficult to meet with; 95

‘He shall give up his royal estate, escape from the domain of the five desires², with resolution and with diligence practise austerities, and then awakening, grasp the truth. 96

‘Then constantly, for the world’s sake (all living things), destroying the impediments of ignorance and darkness, he shall give to all enduring light, the brightness of the sun of perfect wisdom. 97

‘All flesh submerged in the sea of sorrow; all diseases collected as the bubbling froth; decay and age like the wild billows; death like the engulfing ocean; 98

‘Embarking lightly in the boat of wisdom he will save the world from all these perils, by wisdom stemming back the flood. His pure teaching like to the neighbouring shore, 99

‘The power of meditation, like a cool lake, will be enough for all the unexpected birds; thus deep and full and wide is the great river of the true law; 100

‘All creatures parched by the drought of lust may freely drink thereof, without stint; those

¹ This line may be also rendered ‘because he has done with birth, therefore he is born.’ The text is full of such double-meanings.

² The five desires, or five appetites of sight, smell, taste, hearing, and touch.

enchained in the domain of the five desires, those driven along by many sorrows, 101

'And deceived amid the wilderness of birth and death, in ignorance of the way of escape, for these Bodhisattva has been born in the world, to open out a way of salvation¹. 102

'The fire of lust and covetousness, burning with the fuel of the objects of sense, (on the flames) he has caused the cloud of his mercy to rise, so that the rain of the law may extinguish them. 103

'The heavy gates of gloomy unbelief, fast kept by covetousness and lust, within which are confined all living things, he opens and gives free deliverance. 104

'With the tweezers of his diamond wisdom he plucks out the opposing principles of lustful desire. In the self-twined meshes of folly and ignorance all flesh poor and in misery, helplessly (lying), 105

'The king of the law has come forth, to rescue these from bondage. Let not the king in respect of this his son encourage in himself one thought of doubt or pain; 106

'But rather let him grieve on account of the world, led captive by desire, opposed to truth; but I, indeed, amid the ruins of old age and death, am far removed from the meritorious condition of the holy one², 107

'Possessed indeed of powers of abstraction, yet

¹ The word 'salvation' corresponds to the Sanskrit *moksha*, deliverance or escape. The garden of Lumbini is sometimes called the 'garden of deliverance,' because Mâyâ was there delivered of her child.

² Or, removed from an opportunity of reaping merit by the teaching of the holy one.

not within reach of the gain he will give, to be derived from his teaching as the Bodhisattva; not permitted to hear his righteous law, 108

‘My body worn out, after death, alas! (destined) to be born as a Deva¹ still liable to the three calamities (old age, decay, and death), (therefore I weep).’ The king and all his household attendants, hearing the words of the *Rishi*, 109

Knowing the cause of his regretful sorrow, banished from their minds all further anxiety: ‘And now (the king said) to have begotten this excellent son, gives me rest at heart; 110

‘But that he should leave his kingdom and home, and practise the life of an ascetic, not anxious to ensure the stability of the kingdom, the thought of this still brings with it pain.’ 111

At this time the *Rishi*, turning to the king with true words, said, ‘It must be even as the king anticipates, he will surely arrive at perfect enlightenment.’ 112

Thus having appeased every anxious heart among the king’s household, (the *Rishi*) by his own inherent spiritual power ascended into space and disappeared. 113

At this time *Suddhodana rāga*, seeing the excellent marks (predictive signs) of his son, and, moreover, hearing the words of *Asita*, certifying that which would surely happen, 114

Was greatly affected with reverence to the child, he redoubled measures for its protection, and (was

¹ The condition of the highest Deva, according to Buddhism, does not exempt him from re-birth; subject to the calamities incident on such a renewal of life.

filled) with constant thought; (moreover) he issued decrees through the empire, to liberate all captives in prison, 115.

According to the custom when a (royal) son was born, giving the usual largess, in agreement with the directions of the Sacred Books, and extending his gifts to all; (or, all these things he did completely). 116

The child¹ when ten days old, (his father's) mind being now quite tranquil, he announced a sacrifice to all the gods, and prepared to give liberal offerings to all the religious bodies; 117

Srâmanas and Brâhmanas invoked by their prayers a blessing from the gods, whilst he bestowed gifts on the royal kinspeople and the ministers and the poor within the country; 118

The women who dwelt in the city or the villages, (all those who needed) cattle or horses or elephants or money, each, according to his necessities, was liberally supplied; 119

Then selecting by divination a lucky time, they took the child back to his own palace, with a double-feeding white-pure-tooth², carried in a richly-adorned chariot (cradle), 120

With ornaments of every kind and colour round his neck; shining with beauty, exceedingly resplendent with unguents. The queen embracing

¹ 'Shing-tseu,' the born or begotten child.

² I am unable to translate this line except literally, 'two-feeding white pure ivory (or, tooth),' 'rh fan pih tsing 'nga. [I am informed, however, by Professor Max Müller that it refers to the 'elephant.' The elephant is called dvipa, the twice-drinker, corresponding to 'rh fan (for 'rh yin), the double-feeder (drinker), in the Chinese.]

him in her arms, going around, worshipped the heavenly spirits. 121

Afterwards she remounted her precious chariot, surrounded by her waiting women; the king, with his ministers and people, and all the crowd of attendants, leading the way and following, 122

Even as the ruler of heaven, Sakra, is surrounded by crowds of Devas; as Mahesvara, when suddenly his six-faced child was born, 123

Arranging every kind of present, gave gifts, and asked for blessings; so now the king, when his royal son was born, made all his arrangements in like manner; 124

So Vaisravana, the heavenly king, when Nalakûvara¹ was born, surrounded by a concourse of Devas, was filled with joy and much gladness; 125

So the king, now the royal prince was born, in the kingdom of Kapila, his people and all his subjects were likewise filled with joy. 126

VARGA 2. LIVING IN THE PALACE.

And now in the household of Suddhodana râga, because of the birth of the royal prince, his clansmen and younger brethren (namesakes), with his ministers, were all generously disposed, 127

Whilst elephants, horses and chariots and the wealth of the country and precious² vessels, daily increased and abounded, being produced wherever requisite³; 128

¹ Na-lo-kiu-po. Nalakûvara was the son of Vaisravana.

² Vessels of the seven precious (substances).

³ According to occasion in abundance produced. The expression 'tsah' may either refer to variety or number. Thus the

So too countless hidden treasures came of themselves from the earth. From the midst of the pure snowy mountains, a wild herd of white elephants, 129

Without noise, of themselves, came; not curbed by any, self-subdued, every kind of colour'd¹ horse, in shape and quality surpassingly excellent, 130

With sparkling jewelled manes and flowing tails, came prancing round, as if with wings; these too, born in the desert, came at the right time, of themselves. 131

A (herd of) pure-colour'd, well-proportioned cows, fat and fleshy, and remarkable for beauty, giving fragrant and pure milk with equal flow, came together in great number² at this propitious time: 132

Enmity and envy gave way to peace; content and rest prevailed on every side, whilst there was closer union amongst the true of heart, discord and variance were entirely appeased; 133

The gentle air distilled a seasonable rain, no crash of storm or tempest was heard, the springing seeds, not waiting for their time, grew up apace and yielded abundant increase; 134

The five cereals grew ripe with scented grain, soft and glutinous, easy of digestion; all creatures big with young, possessed their bodies in ease and their frames well-gathered; 135

All men, even those who had not received the seeds of instruction derived from the four holy

convocation of the Arhats at Vaisâli is called 'tsah'; a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes or tales is called by the same name.

¹ Or, every kind of party-colour'd horse.

² Like the clouds.

ones¹; all these, throughout the world, born under the control of selfish appetite, without any thought for others' goods, 136

Had no proud, envious longings; no angry, hateful thoughts. All men and women² were grave (profound) as the first man of the age (kalpa). 137

All the temples of the gods and sacred shrines, the gardens, wells, and fountains, all these like things in heaven, produced of themselves, at the proper time, (their several adornments). 138

There was no famishing hunger, the soldiers' weapons were at rest, all diseases disappeared; throughout the kingdom all the people were bound close in family love and friendship; 139

Piously affectioned they indulged in mutual pleasures, there were no impure or polluting desires, they sought their daily gain righteously, no covetous money-loving spirit prevailed, 140

But with religious purpose they gave liberally; there was no thought of any reward (return), but all practised the four rules of purity; and every hateful thought was suppressed and destroyed. 141

Even as in days gone by, Manu rāga begat a child (called) 'Brilliancy of the Sun,' on which there prevailed through the country great prosperity, and all wickedness came to an end; 142

¹ This seems to mean that those who had not received benefit from the teaching of the four previous Buddhas, that even these were placable and well-disposed.

² This is a difficult verse, it may be translated literally thus, 'All learned women (or, all the wives of sages) were profoundly grave as the first man of the kalpa.' Whether it refers to the docility of the otherwise quarrelsome women, or to their gravity and learning, it is not easy to say.

So now the king having begotten a royal prince, these marks of prosperity were seen ; and because of such a concourse of propitious signs, the child was named Siddhârtha¹. 143

And now his royal mother, the queen Mâyâ, beholding her son born under such circumstances, beautiful as a child of heaven, adorned with every excellent distinction, 144

From excessive joy which could not be controlled died, and was born in heaven². Then Pragâpatî Gautamî, beholding the prince, like an angel, 145

With beauty seldom seen on earth, seeing him thus born and now his mother dead, loved and nourished him as her own child ; and the child regarded her as his mother. 146

So as the light of the sun or the moon, little by little increases, the royal child also increased each day in every mental excellency and beauty of person ; 147

(His body exhaled) the perfume of priceless sandal wood, (decorated with) the famed Gambunâda gold (gems) ; divine medicines (there were) to preserve him in health, glittering necklaces upon his person ; 148

The members of tributary states, hearing that

¹ The description here given of the peace and content prevailing in the world on the birth of Bodhisattva (and his name given to him in consequence) resembles the account of the golden age in classic authors.

² Mâyâ is generally stated to have died after seven days from the birth of her child. But here the context seems to require a longer interval, as he was ten days old when taken to the temple. Mâyâ was born in the Trayastîmas Heaven, or the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. The legend states that Buddha after his enlightenment proceeded there to convert her.

the king had an heir born to him, sent their presents and gifts of various kinds, oxen, sheep, deer, horses, and chariots, 149

Precious vessels and elegant ornaments, fit to delight the heart of the prince; but though presented with such pleasing trifles, the necklaces and other pretty ornaments, 150

The mind (nature) of the prince was unmoved, his bodily frame small indeed, but his heart established; his mind at rest within its own high purposes¹, was not to be disturbed by glittering baubles. 151

And now he was brought to learn the useful arts, when lo! once instructed (at one hearing) he surpassed his teachers. His father, the king, seeing his exceeding talent, and his deep purpose to have done with the world and its allurements, 152

Began to enquire as to the names of those in his tribe who were renowned for elegance and refinement. Elegant and graceful, and a lovely maiden, was she whom they called Yasodharâ; 153

In every way fitting to become a consort for the prince; and to allure by pleasant wiles his heart. The prince with a mind so far removed (from the world), with qualities so distinguished, and with so charming an appearance, 154

Like the elder son of Brahmadeva, Sanatkumâra (She-na Kiu-ma-lo); the virtuous damsel, lovely and refined, gentle and subdued in manner; 155

Majestic like the queen of heaven, constant ever,

¹ His mind resting on its high and excellent purpose; so at least the expression K'ai, domain or precinct, may sometimes be rendered. It means, 'within the limits of its own high excellent (purpose).'

cheerful night and day, establishing the palace in purity and quiet, full of dignity and exceeding grace, 156

Like a lofty hill rising up in space¹; or as a white autumn cloud; warm or cool according to the season; choosing a proper dwelling according to the year, 157

Surrounded by a return of singing women, who join (their voices) in harmonious heavenly concord, without any jarring or unpleasant sound, exciting (in the hearers) forgetfulness of worldly cares. 158

As the heavenly Gandharvas² of themselves in their beauteous palaces (cause) the singing women to raise heavenly strains, the sounds of which and their beauty ravish both eyes and heart; 159

(So) Bodhisattva dwelt in his lofty palace, with music such as this. The king his father, for the prince's sake, dwelt purely in his palace, practising every virtue; 160

Delighting³ in the teaching of the true law, he⁴ put away from him every evil companion, (that) his heart might not be polluted by lust; regarding inordinate desire as poison, 161

Keeping his passion and his body in due control, destroying and repressing all trivial thoughts, desiring to enjoy virtuous conversation, loving⁵ instruction (fit) to subdue the hearts of men, 162

¹ That is, rising from the earth above other hills.

² Gandharvas, heavenly musicians; muses.

³ With nobleness of purpose (*gin*) loving the transforming power of the true law. That is, leading a religious life.

⁴ That is, as I understand it, the king himself, for his son's sake, devoted himself to piety.

⁵ Or, by means of loving instruction subduing men's hearts; or, by love, teaching to subdue men's hearts.

Aiming to accomplish the conversion of unbelievers; removing all schemes of opposition¹ (from whatever source they came), by the enlightening power of his doctrine, aiming to save the entire world; (thus he desired) that the body of people should obtain rest; 163

Even as we desire to give peace to our children, so did he long to give rest to the world². He also attended to his religious duties (sacrificing by fire to all the spirits), with clasped hands adoring the moon (drinking the moon's brightness); 164

Bathing his body in the waters of the Ganges; cleansing his heart in the waters of religion, performing his duties with no private aim, but regarding his child and the people at large, 165

Loving righteous conversation³, righteous words with loving (aim), loving words with no mixture of falsehood, true words imbued by love, 166

And yet withal so modest and self-distrustful, unable on that account to speak as confident of truth; loving to all, and yet not loving the world, with no thought of selfishness or covetous desire, 167

Aiming to restrain the tongue and in quietness to find rest from wordy contentions, not seeking in the

¹ Or, every kind of doctrine (magical art) that opposed religion.

² Or, (he said) like as I desire rest for my child, so &c.

³ This and the whole of the context is obscure; the account evidently refers to Suddhodana; the line which I have translated 'loving righteous conversation' may be rendered 'loving conversation (or, converse), opposing a want of truth or righteousness (i),' or, 'loving an absence of all unrighteousness in conversation.' The next line, which is evidently in contrast with the previous one, may be translated, 'Righteous words, opposed to an absence of love.' The next line is, 'Loving words, opposed to that which is not true.' And then follows, 'Truthful words, opposed to that which is not love.'

multitude of religious duties to condone for a worldly principle in action¹; 168

But aiming to benefit the world, by a liberal and unostentatious charity; the heart without any contentious thought, but resolved by goodness to subdue the contentious, 169

Composing the one², whilst protecting the seven, removing the seven, guarding and adjusting the five, reaching to the three, by having learned the three, knowing the two, and removing the two; 170

Desiring to mortify the passions, and to destroy every enemy of virtue, not multiplying coarse or unseemly words, but exhorting to virtue in the use of courteous language, 171

Full of sympathy and ready charity, pointing out and practising the way of mutual dependence, receiving and understanding the wisdom of spirits and *Rishis*, crushing and destroying every cruel and hateful thought; 172

Thus his fame and virtue were widely renowned, (and yet himself) finally (or, for ever) separate from the ties of the world, showing the ability of a master builder, laying a good foundation of virtue, an example for all the earth; 173

So a man's heart composed and at rest, his limbs and all his members will also be at ease. And now

¹ I would rather translate these two lines thus, 'Not regarding so much the assemblies convoked for sacrificing to the gods, as excelling in the merit (happiness) of separation from worldly things;' or the word 'sse' may mean 'sacrifice' itself (as *ποιέω* in Greek), and then it would be 'excelling in merit without sacrifice.'

² These four lines are enigmatical. They perhaps have some reference to the teaching of the seven *Rishis*, or the number seven may refer to the 'seven passions.'

the son of Suddhodana, and his virtuous wife Yasodharâ, 174

As time went on, growing to full estate, their child Râhula was born; and then Suddhodana râga considered thus, 'My son, the prince, having a son born to him, 175

'The affairs of the empire will be handed down in succession, and there will be no end to its righteous government; the prince having begotten a son, will love his son as I love him¹, 176

'And no longer think about leaving his home as an ascetic, but devote himself to the practice of virtue; I now have found complete rest of heart, like one just born to heavenly joys.' 177

Like as in the first days of the kalpa, Rîshi-kings by the way in which (they walked), practising pure and spotless deeds, offered up religious offerings, without harm to living thing, 178

And illustriously prepared an excellent karma, so the king excelling in the excellence of purity², in family and excellency of wealth, excelling in strength and every exhibition of prowess, 179

Reflected the glory of his name through the world, as the sun sheds abroad his thousand rays. But now, being the king of men (or, a king among men), he deemed it right to exhibit his son's (prowess), 180

For the sake of his family and kin, to exhibit him; to increase his family's renown, his glory spread so high as even to obtain the name of 'God begotten;' and having partaken of these heavenly joys, 181

¹ Or, loving his son, and loving me also.

² We have here a succession of lines in which there is a play on the word 'excellency' (shing), or 'victorious' (gina).

Enjoying the happiness of increased wisdom; understanding the truth, by his own righteousness derived from previous hearing of the truth; the reward of previous acts, widely known¹. 182

Would that this might lead my son (he prayed) to love his child and not forsake his home; the kings of all countries, whose sons have not yet grown up, 183

Have prevented them exercising authority in the empire, in order to give their minds relaxation, and for this purpose have provided them with worldly indulgences, so that they may perpetuate the royal seed; 184

So now the king, having begotten a royal son, indulged him in every sort of pleasure; desiring that he might enjoy these worldly delights, and not wish to wander from his home in search of wisdom; 185

In former times the Bodhisattva kings, although their way (life) has been restrained (severe), have yet enjoyed the pleasures of the world, and when they have begotten a son, then separating themselves from family ties, 186

Have afterwards entered the solitude of the mountains, to prepare themselves in the way of a silent recluse. 187

VARGA 3. DISGUST AT SORROW².

Without are pleasant garden glades, flowing fountains, pure refreshing lakes, with every kind of

¹ These verses are very obscure, and can only be understood by comparison with the Sanskrit.

² In this section we have an account of the excursion of the royal prince without the precincts of the palace, and the sights which affected his mind with a desire to leave the world.

flower, and trees with fruit, arranged in rows, deep shade beneath. 188

There, too, are various kinds of wondrous birds, flying and sporting in the midst, and on the surface of the water the four kinds of flowers, bright colour'd, giving out their floating scent; 189

Minstrel maidens¹ cause their songs, and chorded music, to invite the prince. He, hearing the sounds of singing, sighs for the pleasures of the garden shades, 190

And cherishing within these happy thoughts², he dwelt upon the joys of an outside excursion; even as the chained elephant ever longs for the free desert wilds. 191

The royal father, hearing that the prince would enjoy to wander through the gardens, first ordered all his attendant officers to adorn and arrange them, after their several offices: 192

To make level and smooth the king's highway, to remove from the path all offensive matter, all old persons, diseased or deformed, all those suffering through poverty or great grief, 193

So that his son in his present humour might see nothing likely to afflict his heart. The adornments being duly made, the prince was invited to an audience; 194

The king seeing his son approach, patted his head and looking at the colour of his face, feelings of sorrow and joy intermingled, bound him. His mouth willing to speak, his heart restrained. 195

(Now see) the jewel-fronted gaudy chariot; the four equally-pacing, stately horses; good-tempered

¹ Otherwise, singing-women.

² Or, thoughts of happiness.

and well-trained; young and of graceful appearance; 196

Perfectly pure and white, and draped with flowery coverings. In the same chariot stands the (stately) driver; the streets were scattered over with flowers; precious drapery fixed on either side of the way, 197

With dwarfed trees lining the road, costly vessels employed for decoration, hanging canopies and variegated banners, silken curtains, moved by the rustling breeze, 198

Spectators arranged on either side of the path. With bodies bent and glistening eyes, eagerly gazing, but not rudely staring, as the blue lotus flower (they bent) drooping in the air, 199

Ministers and attendants flocking round him, as stars following the chief of the constellation¹; all uttering the same suppressed whisper of admiration, at a sight so seldom seen in the world; 200

Rich and poor, humble and exalted, old and young and middle-aged, all paid the greatest respect, and invoked blessings on the occasion: 201

So the country-folk and the town-folk, hearing that the prince was coming forth, the well-to-do not waiting for their servants, those asleep and awake not mutually calling to one another, 202

The six kinds of creatures not gathered together and penned, the money not collected and locked up, the doors and gates not fastened, all went pouring along the way on foot; 203

The towers were filled and the mounds by the trees, the windows and the terraces along the streets; with bent body fearing to lift their eyes, carefully

¹ As stars following the constellation-king.

seeing that there was nothing about them to offend, 204

Those seated on high addressing those seated on the ground, those going on the road addressing those passing on high, the mind intent on one object alone ; so that if a heavenly form had flown past, 205

Or a form entitled to highest respect, there would have been no distraction visible, so intent was the body and so immovable the limbs. And now beautiful as the opening lily, 206

He advances towards the garden glades, wishing to accomplish the words of the holy prophet (*Rishi*). The prince seeing the ways prepared and watered, and the joyous holiday appearance of the people, 207

(Seeing too) the drapery and the chariot pure, bright, shining, his heart exulted greatly and rejoiced. The people (on their part) gazed at the prince, so beautifully adorned, with all his retinue, 208

Like an assembled company of kings (gathered) to see a heaven-born prince. And now a Deva-râga of the Pure abode, suddenly appears by the side of the road ; 209

His form changed into that of an old man, struggling for life, his heart weak and oppressed. The prince seeing the old man, filled with apprehension, asked his charioteer, 210

‘What kind of man is this? his head white and his shoulders bent, his eyes bleared and his body withered, holding a stick to support him along the way. 211

‘Is his body suddenly dried up by the heat, or has he been born in this way?’ The charioteer, his heart much embarrassed, scarcely dared to answer truly, 212

Till the pure-born (Deva) added his spiritual power, and caused him to frame a reply in true words: 'His appearance changed, his vital powers decayed, filled with sorrow, with little pleasure, 213

'His spirits gone, his members nerveless, these are the indications of what is called "old age." This man was once a sucking child, brought up and nourished at his mother's breast, 214

'And as a youth full of sportive life, handsome, and in enjoyment of the five pleasures; as years passed on, his frame decaying, he is brought now to the waste of age.' 215

The prince greatly agitated and moved, asked his charioteer another question and said, 'Is yonder man the only one afflicted with age, or shall I, and others also, be such as he?' 216

The charioteer again replied and said, 'Your highness also inherits this lot, as time goes on, the form itself is changed, and this must doubtless come, beyond all hindrance: 217

'The youthful form must wear the garb of age, throughout the world, this is the common lot.' Bodhisattva, who had long prepared the foundation of pure and spotless wisdom, 218

Broadly setting the root of every high quality, with a view to gather large fruit in his present life, hearing these words respecting the sorrow of age, was afflicted in mind, and his hair stood upright. 219

Just as the roll of the thunder and the storm alarm and put to flight the cattle; so was Bodhisattva affected by the words; shaking with apprehension, he deeply sighed; 220

Constrained at heart because of the pain of 'age;'

with shaking head and constant gaze, he thought upon this misery of decay; what joy or pleasure can men take (he thought), 221

In that which soon must wither, stricken by the marks of age; affecting all without exception; though gifted now with youth and strength, yet not one but soon must change and pine away. 222

The eye beholding such signs as these before it, how can it not be oppressed by a desire to escape¹? Bodhisattva then addressed his charioteer, 'Quickly turn your chariot and go back, 223

'Ever thinking on this subject of old age approaching, what pleasures now can these gardens afford, the years of my life like the fast-flying wind; turn your chariot, and with speedy wheels take me to my palace.' 224

And so his heart keeping in the same sad tone, (he was) as one who returns to a place of entombment; unaffected by any engagement or employment, so he found no rest in anything within his home. 225

The king hearing of his son's sadness urged (his companions) to induce him again to go abroad, and forthwith incited his ministers and attendants to decorate the gardens even more than before. 226

The Deva then caused himself to appear as a sick man; struggling for life, he stood by the wayside, his body swollen and disfigured, sighing with deep-drawn groans, 227

His hands and knees contracted and sore with disease, his tears flowing as he piteously muttered (his petition). The prince asked his charioteer, 'What sort of man, again, is this?' 228

¹ How can a man not (desire) to remove it (i. e. old age) as a hateful thing?

Replying he said, 'This is a sick man. The four elements all confused and disordered, worn and feeble, with no remaining strength, bent down with weakness, looking to his fellow-men for help.' 229

The prince hearing the words thus spoken, immediately became sad and depressed in heart, and asked, 'Is this the only man afflicted thus, or are others liable to the same (calamity)?' 230

In reply he said, 'Through all the world, men are subject to the same condition; those who have bodies must endure affliction, the poor and ignorant, as well as the rich and great.' 231

The prince, when these words met his ears, was oppressed with anxious thought and grief; his body and his mind were moved throughout, just as the moon upon the ruffled tide. 232

'Placed thus in the great furnace of affliction, say! what rest or quiet can there be! Alas! that worldly men, (blinded by) ignorance and oppressed with dark delusion, 233

'Though the robber sickness may appear at any time, yet live with blithe and joyous hearts!' On this, turning his chariot back again, he grieved to think upon the pain of sickness. 234

As a man beaten and wounded sore, with body weakened, leans upon his staff, so dwelt he in the seclusion of his palace, lone-seeking, hating worldly pleasures. 235

The king hearing once more of his son's return, asked anxiously the reason why, and in reply was told—'he saw the pain of sickness.' The king in fear like one beside himself, 236

Roundly blamed the keepers of the way; his heart constrained, his lips spoke not; again he

increased the crowd of music women, the sounds of merriment twice louder than aforetime, 237

If by these sounds and sights (the prince) might be gratified; and indulging worldly feelings, might not hate his home. Night and day the charm of melody increased, but his heart was still unmoved by it. 238

The king himself then went forth to observe everything successively, and to make the gardens even yet more attractive, selecting with care the attendant women, that they might excel in every point of personal beauty; 239

Quick in wit and able to arrange matters well, fit to ensnare men by their winning looks; he placed additional keepers along the king's way, he strictly ordered every offensive sight to be removed, 240

And earnestly exhorted the illustrious coachman, to look well and pick out the road as he went. And now that Deva of the pure abode, again caused the appearance of a dead man; 241

Four persons carrying the corpse lifted it on high, and appeared (to be going on) in front of Bodhisattva; the surrounding people saw it not, but only Bodhisattva and the charioteer; 242

(Once more) he asked, 'What is this they carry? with streamers and flowers of every choice description, whilst the followers are overwhelmed with grief, tearing their hair and wailing piteously.' 243

And now the gods instructing the coachman, he replied and said, 'This is a "dead man," all his powers of body destroyed, life departed; his heart without thought, his intellect dispersed; 244

'His spirit gone, his form withered and decayed; stretched out as a dead log; family ties broken

—all his friends who once loved him, clad in white
cerements, 245

‘Now no longer delighting to behold him, remove
him to lie in some hollow ditch (tomb).’ The prince
hearing the name of DEATH, his heart constrained
by painful thoughts, 246

He asked, ‘Is this the only dead man, or does the
world contain like instances?’ Replying thus he said,
‘All, everywhere, the same; he who begins his life
must end it likewise; 247

‘The strong and lusty and the middle-aged,
having a body, cannot but decay (and die).’ The
prince now harassed and perplexed in mind; his body
bent upon the chariot leaning-board, 248

With bated breath and struggling accents, stam-
mered thus, ‘Oh worldly men! how fatally deluded!
beholding everywhere the body brought to dust,
yet everywhere the more carelessly living; 249

‘The heart is neither lifeless wood nor stone, and
yet it thinks not “all is vanishing!”’ Then turning,
he directed his chariot to go back, and no longer
waste his time in wandering. 250

How could he, whilst in fear of instant death, go
wandering here and there with lightened heart!
The charioteer remembering the king’s exhortation
feared much nor dared go back; 251

Straightforward then he pressed his panting steeds,
passed onward to the gardens, (came to) the groves
and babbling streams of crystal water, the pleasant
trees, spread out with gaudy verdure, 252

The noble living things and varied beasts so
wonderful, the flying creatures and their notes
melodious, all charming and delightful to the eye
and ear, even as the heavenly Nandavana. 253

VARGA 4. PUTTING AWAY DESIRE.

The prince on entering the garden, the women came around to pay him court; and to arouse in him thoughts frivolous; with ogling ways and deep design, 254

Each one setting herself off to best advantage; or joining together in harmonious concert, clapping their hands, or moving their feet in unison, or joining close, body to body, limb to limb; 255

Or indulging in smart repartees, and mutual smiles; or assuming a thoughtful saddened countenance, and so by sympathy to please the prince, and provoke in him a heart affected by love. 256

But all the women beheld the prince, clouded in brow, and his godlike body not exhibiting its wonted signs of beauty; fair in bodily appearance, surpassingly lovely¹, 257

All looked upwards as they gazed, as when we call upon the moon Deva to come²; but all their subtle devices³ were ineffectual to move Bodhi-sattva's heart. 258

At last commingling together they join and look astonished and in fear, silent without a word. Then there was a Brahmaputra, whose name was called Udâyi⁴ (Yau-to-i). 259

(He) addressing the women, said, 'Now all of

¹ Surpassingly adorned or magnificent.

² Or, as when the moon Deva (first) comes.

³ In every way practising subtle devices (upâya).

⁴ There is mention of Udâyi in the Fo-pen-hing-tsa-h-king, chap. XIV. See also note 1, p. 124, Romantic History of Buddha.

you, so graceful and fair, (see if you cannot) by your combined power hit on some device; for beauty's power is not for ever. 260

'Still it holds the world in bondage, by secret ways and lustful arts; but no such loveliness in all the world (as yours), equal to that of heavenly nymphs¹; 261

'The gods beholding it would leave their queens, spirits and *Rishis* would be misled by it; why not then the prince, the son of an earthly king²? why should not his feelings be aroused? 262

'This prince indeed, though he restrains his heart and holds it fixed³, pure-minded, with virtue uncontaminated, not to be overcome by power of women; 263

'(Yet) of old there was Sundarī (Su-to-li) able to destroy the great *Rishi*, and to lead him to indulge in love, and so degrade his boasted eminence⁴; 264

'Undergoing long penance, Gautama fell likewise (by the arts of) a heavenly queen; Shing-kü, a *Rishi* putra, practising lustful indulgences according to fancy⁵, (was lost). 265

'The Brahman *Rishi* Visvāmitra (Pi-she-po), living religiously⁶ for ten thousand years, deeply

¹ In appearance equal to Devis.

² Or, what then is man (to do), though son of a king, that his feelings should not be aroused?

³ Holding his will, though firmly fixed.

⁴ And bend his head beneath her feet.

⁵ The phrase which ends this line is obscure. It may be rendered thus, 'Shing-kü, the *Rishi* putra, practised lustful ways, beside the flowings of the fountain.' [See a similar case, Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, p. 259.] The Sanskrit text is as follows: '*Rishyasringa*, the son of a Muni, unlearned with women.'

⁶ Practising religious rules, or, preparing a religious life.

ensnared by a heavenly queen, in one day was completely shipwreck'd in faith¹; 266

'Thus those enticing women, by their power, overcame the Brahman ascetics; how much more may ye, by your arts, overpower (the resolves) of the king's son; 267

'Strive therefore after new devices², let not the king fail in a successor to the throne; women, altho' naturally weak³, are high and potent in the way of ruling men. 268

'What may not their arts accomplish in promoting in men a lustful (impure) desire?' At this time all the attendant women, hearing throughout the words of Udâyi, 269

Increasing their powers of pleasing, as the quiet horse when touched by the whip, went into the presence of the royal prince, and each one strove in the practice of every kind of art, 270

(They) joined in music and in smiling conversation, raising their eyebrows, showing their white teeth, with ogling looks, glancing one at the other, their light drapery exhibiting their white bodies, 271

Daintily moving with mincing gait, acting the part of a bride as if coming gradually nearer⁴, desiring to promote in him a feeling of love, remembering the words of the great king⁵, 272

¹ Completely ruined. The name of the queen was *Ghrîtâhî*.

² The Chinese 'fong pien' denotes the use of 'means to an end;' generally it can be rendered 'expedients.'

³ Or, the nature of women although weak.

⁴ So I understand the passage, as if a coy wife gradually approached her husband.

⁵ Who the great king is I do not find, but I take the two lines following to be a quotation. [The great king was probably the father of Buddha.]

‘With dissolute form and slightly clad, forgetful of modesty and womanly reserve.’ The prince with resolute heart was silent and still, with unmoved face (he sat); 273

Even as the great elephant-dragon, whilst the entire herd moves round him¹; so nothing could disturb or move his heart, dwelling in their midst as in a confined room². 274

Like the divine Sakra, around whom all the Devis assemble, so was the prince as he dwelt in the gardens; (the maidens) encircling him thus; 275

Some arranging their dress, others washing their hands or feet, others perfuming their bodies with scent, others twining flowers for decoration, 276

Others making strings for jewelled necklets, others rubbing or striking their bodies, others resting, or lying, one beside the other, others, with head inclined, whispering secret words, 277

Others engaged in common sports, others talking of amorous things, others assuming lustful attitudes, striving thus to move his heart; 278

But Bodhisattva, peaceful and collected, firm as a rock, difficult to move, hearing all these women’s talk, unaffected either to joy or sorrow, 279

Was driven still more to serious thought, sighing to witness such strange conduct, and beginning to understand the women’s design, by these means to disconcert his mind, 280

‘Not knowing that youthful beauty soon falls, destroyed by old age and death, fading and perishing! This is the great distress! What ignor-

¹ Or, surrounded by the entire herd.

² That is, cramped in the midst of the encircling crowd of girls.

ance and delusion (he reflected) overshadow their minds, 281

‘Surely they ought to consider old age, disease, and death, and day and night stir themselves up to exertion, whilst this sharp double-edged sword hangs over the neck. What room for sport or laughter, 282

‘Beholding those (monsters) old age, disease, and death? A man who is unable to resort to this inward knowledge, what is he but a wooden or a plaster man, what heart-consideration in such a case! 283

‘Like the double tree that appears in the desert, with leaves and fruit all perfect and ripe, the first cut down and destroyed, the other unmoved by apprehension, 284

‘So it is in the case of the mass of men, they have no understanding either!’ At this time Udâyi came to the place where the prince was, 285

And observing his silent and thoughtful mien, unmoved by any desire for indulgence (the five desires), he forthwith addressed the prince, and said, ‘The Mahârâga, by his former appointment¹, 286

‘Has selected me to act as friend to his son; may I therefore speak some friendly words? an enlightened friendship (or, friend) is of three sorts, that which removes things unprofitable, 287

‘Promotes that which is real gain, and stands by a friend in adversity. I claim the name of

¹ This passage is obscure; literally it is ‘former—seeing—command.’

"enlightened friend," and would renounce all that is magisterial, 288

'But yet not speak lightly or with indifference. What then are the three sources of advantage? listen, and I will now utter true words, and prove myself a true and sincere adviser. 289

'When the years are fresh and ripening, beauty and pleasing qualities in bloom, not to give proper weight to woman's influence, this is a weak man's policy (body)¹. 290

'It is right sometimes to be of a crafty mind, submitting to those little subterfuges, which find a place in the heart's undercurrents, and obeying what those thoughts suggest, 291

'In way of pleasures to be got from dalliance, this is no wrong in woman's (eye)! even if now the heart has no desire, yet it is fair to follow such devices; 292

'Agreement (acquiescence) is the joy of woman's heart, acquiescence is the substance (the full) of true adornment; but if a man reject these overtures, he's like a tree deprived of leaves and fruits; 293

'Why then ought you to yield and acquiesce? that you may share in all these things. Because in taking, there's an end of trouble—no light and changeful thoughts then worry us— 294

'For pleasure is the first and foremost thought of all, the gods themselves cannot dispense with it. Lord Sakra was drawn by it to love the wife of Gautama the *Rishi*; 295

'So likewise the *Rishi* Agastya, through a long

¹ 'This is the character of non-victorious men.' Again there is a play on the word 'Shing' a *Gina*. The Sanskrit renders it 'rudeness.' The Chinese *fi-shing-gin* may also mean coarse or unpolished.

period of discipline¹, practising austerities, from hankering after a heavenly queen (Devī), lost all reward of his religious endeavours, 296

‘The *Rishi* *Br̥haspati*, and *Kandradeva* putra; the *Rishi* *Parāśara*, and *Kavaṇḍigara* (Kia-pin-*ke-lo*)²: 297

‘All these, out of many others, were overcome by woman’s love. How much more then, in your case, should you partake in such pleasant joys; 298

‘Nor refuse, with wilful heart, to participate in the worldly delights, which your present station, possessed of such advantages, offers you, in the presence of these attendants.’ 299

At this time the royal prince, hearing the words of his friend Udāyi, so skilfully put, with such fine distinction, cleverly citing worldly instances, 300

Answered thus to Udāyi: ‘Thank you for having spoken sincerely to me, let me likewise answer you in the same way, and let your heart suspend its judgment whilst you listen; 301

‘It is not that I am careless about beauty, or am ignorant of (the power of) human joys, but only that I see on all the impress of change; therefore my heart is sad and heavy; 302

‘If these things were sure of lasting, without the ills of age, disease, and death, then would I too take my fill of love; and to the end find no disgust or sadness; 303

‘If you will undertake to cause these women’s beauty not after-while to change or wither, then, though the joy of love may have its evil, still it might hold the mind in thralldom; 304

(‘To know that other) men grow old, sicken, and

¹ ‘Kang-yê,’ the long night.

² The Sanskrit text has, ‘Vasishṭha begat Kapiṇḍalāda.’

die, would be enough to rob such joys of satisfaction; yet how much more in their own case (knowing this) would discontentment fill the mind; 305

‘(To know) such pleasures hasten to decay, and their bodies likewise; if, notwithstanding this, men yield to the power of love, their case indeed is like the very beasts. 306

‘And now you cite the names of many *Rishis*, who practised lustful ways in life; their cases likewise cause me sorrow, for in that they did these things, they perished. 307

‘Again, you cite the name of that illustrious king, who freely gratified his passions, but he, in like way, perished in the act; know, then, that he was not a conqueror (*Gina*); 308

‘With smooth words to conceal an intrigue, and to persuade one’s neighbour to consent, and by consenting to defile his mind; how can this be called a just device? 309

‘It is but to seduce one with a hollow lie,—such ways are not for me to practise; or, for those who love the truth and honesty; for they are, forsooth, unrighteous ways, 310

‘And such a disposition is hard to reverence; shaping one’s conduct after one’s likings, liking this or that, and seeing no harm in it, what method of experience is this! 311

‘A hollow compliance, and a protesting heart, such method is not for me to follow; but this I know, old age, disease, and death, these are the great afflictions which accumulate, 312

‘And overwhelm me with their presence; on these I find no friend to speak, alas! alas! *Udāyi*! these, after all, are the great concerns; 313

‘The pain of birth, old age, disease, and death; this grief is that we have to fear; the eyes see all things falling to decay, and yet the heart finds joy in following them; 314

‘But I have little strength of purpose, or command; this heart of mine is feeble and distraught, reflecting thus on age, disease, and death. Distracted, as I never was before; 315

‘Sleepless by night and day, how can I then indulge in pleasure? Old age, disease, and death consuming me, their certainty beyond a doubt, 316

‘And still to have no heavy thoughts, in truth my heart would be a log or stone.’ Thus the prince, for Uda’s sake, used every kind of skilful argument, 317

Describing all the pains of pleasure; and not perceiving that the day declined. And now the waiting women all, with music and their various attractions, 318

Seeing that all were useless for the end, with shame began to flock back to the city; the prince beholding all the gardens, bereft of their gaudy ornaments, 319

The women all returning home, the place becoming silent and deserted, felt with twofold strength the thought of impermanence. With saddened mien going back, he entered his palace; 320

The king, his father, hearing of the prince, his heart estranged from thoughts of pleasure, was greatly overcome with sorrow, and like a sword it pierced his heart. 321

Forthwith assembling all his council, he sought of them some means to gain his end; they all replied, ‘These sources of desire are not enough to hold and captivate his heart.’ 322

VARGA 5. LEAVING THE CITY.

And so the king increased the means for gratifying the appetite for pleasure; both night and day the joys of music wore out the prince, opposed to pleasure; 323

Disgusted with them, he desired their absence, his mind was weaned from all such thoughts, he only thought of age, disease, and death; as the lion wounded by an arrow. 324

The king then sent his chief ministers, and the most distinguished of his family, young in years and eminent for beauty, as well as for wisdom and dignity of manners, 325

To accompany, and rest with him, both night and day, in order to influence the prince's mind. And now within a little interval, the prince again requested the king that he might go abroad. 326

Once more the chariot and the well-paced horses were prepared, adorned with precious substances and every gem; and then with all the nobles, his associates, surrounding him, he left the city gates: 327

Just as the four kinds of flower¹, when the sun shines, open out their leaves, so was the prince in all his spiritual splendour; effulgent in the beauty of his youth time; 328

As he proceeded to the gardens from the city, the road was well prepared, smooth, and wide, the trees were bright with flowers and fruit, his heart was joyous, and forgetful of its care. 329

¹ It may be a description of some particular flower, 'four-seed (kind)-flower.'

Now by the roadside as he beheld the ploughmen, plodding along the furrows, and the writhing worms, his heart again was moved with piteous feeling, and anguish pierced his soul afresh ; 330

To see those labourers at their toil, struggling with painful work, their bodies bent, their hair dishevelled, the dripping sweat upon their faces, their persons fouled with mud and dust ; 331

The ploughing oxen, too, bent by the yokes, their lolling tongues and gaping mouths ; the nature of the prince, loving, compassionate, his mind conceived most poignant sorrow, 332

And nobly moved to sympathy, he groaned with pain ; then stooping down he sat upon the ground, and watched this painful scene of suffering ; reflecting on the ways of birth and death ! 333

‘ Alas ! he cried, for all the world ! how dark and ignorant, void of understanding ! ’ And then to give his followers chance of rest, he bade them each repose where’er they list ; 334

Whilst he beneath the shadow of a Gambu tree, gracefully seated, gave himself to thought. He pondered on the fact of life and death, inconstancy, and endless progress to decay. 335

His heart thus fixed without confusion, the five desires (senses) covered and clouded over, lost in possession of enlightenment and insight, he entered on the first pure state of ecstasy. 336

All low desire removed, most perfect peace ensued ; and fully now in Samādhi (he saw) the misery and utter sorrow of the world ; the ruin wrought by age, disease, and death ; 337

The great misery following on the body’s death ; and yet men not awakened to the truth ! oppressed

with others' suffering (age, disease, and death), this load of sorrow weigh'd his mind ; 338

'I now will seek (he said) a noble law, unlike the worldly methods known to men, I will oppose disease and age and death, and strive against the mischief wrought by these on men.' 339

Thus lost in tranquil contemplation, (he considered that) youth, vigour, and strength of life, constantly renewing themselves, without long stay, in the end fulfil the rule of ultimate destruction ; 340

(Thus he pondered) without excessive joy or grief, without hesitation or confusion of thought, without dreaminess or extreme longing, without aversion or discontent, 341

But perfectly at peace, with no hindrance, radiant with the beams of increased illumination. At this time a Deva of the Pure abode, transforming himself into the shape of a Bhikshu, 342

Came to the place where the prince was seated ; the prince with due consideration rose to meet him, and asked him who he was. In reply he said, 'I am a Shâman, 343

'Depressed and sad at thought of age, disease, and death, I have left my home to seek some way of rescue, but everywhere I find old age, disease, and death, all (things) hasten to decay and there is no permanency ; 344

'Therefore I search for the happiness of something that decays not, that never perishes, that never knows beginning, that looks with equal mind on enemy and friend, that heeds not wealth nor beauty, 345

'The happiness of one who finds repose alone in

solitude, in some unfrequented dell, free from molestation, all thoughts about the world destroyed, dwelling in some lonely hermitage, 346

‘Untouched by any worldly source of pollution, begging for food sufficient for the body.’ And forthwith as he stood before the prince, gradually rising up he disappeared in space. 347

The prince with joyful mind, considering, recollected former Buddhas, established thus in perfect dignity of manner; with noble mien and presence, as this visitor. 348

Thus calling things to mind with perfect self-possession, he reached the thought of righteousness, and by what means it can be gained. Indulging thus for length of time in thoughts of religious solitude, 349

He now suppressed his feelings and controlled his members, and rising turned again towards the city. His followers all flocked after him, calling him to stop and not go far from them, 350

But in his mind these secret thoughts so held him, devising means by which to escape from the world, that tho’ his body moved along the road, his heart was far away among the mountains; 351

Even as the bound and captive elephant, ever thinks about his desert wilds. The prince now entering the city, there met him men and women, earnest for their several ends; 352

The old besought him for their children, the young sought something for the wife, others sought something for their brethren; all those allied by kinship or by family, 353

Aimed to obtain their several suits, all of them joined in relationship dreading the pain (expectation)

of separation. And now the prince's heart was filled with joy, as he suddenly heard those words 'separation and association.' 354

'These are joyful sounds to me,' he said, 'they assure me that my vow shall be accomplished.' Then deeply pondering the joy of 'snapped relationship,' the idea of Nirvâna, deepened and widened in him¹, 355

His body as a peak of the Golden Mount, his shoulder like the elephant's, his voice like the spring-thunder, his deep-blue eye like that of the king of oxen, 356

His mind full of religious thoughts (aims), his face bright as the full moon, his step like that of the lion king, thus he entered his palace, 357

Even as the son of Lord Sakra (or, Sakra-putra) his mind reverential, his person dignified, he went straight to his father's presence, and with head inclined, enquired, 'Is the king well?' 358

Then he explained his dread of age, disease, and death, and sought respectfully permission to become a hermit. 'For all things in the world' (he said), 'though now united, tend to separation;' 359

Therefore he prayed to leave the world; desiring to find 'true deliverance.' His royal father hearing the words 'leave the world,' was forthwith seized with great heart-trembling, 360

Even as the strong wild elephant shakes with his weight the boughs of some young sapling; going forward, seizing the prince's hands, with falling tears, he spake as follows: 361

¹ Literally, 'deeply widened the mind of Nirvâna (Ni-pan).'

‘Stop! nor speak such words, the time is not yet come for “a religious life,” you are young and strong, your heart beats full, to lead a religious life frequently involves trouble, 362

‘It is rarely possible to hold the desires in check, the heart not yet estranged from their enjoyment; to leave your home and lead a painful ascetic life, your heart can hardly yet resolve on such a course; 363

‘To dwell amidst the desert wilds or lonely dells, this heart of yours would not be perfectly at rest, for though you love religious matters, you are not yet like me in years; 364

‘You should undertake the kingdom’s government, and let me first adopt ascetic life; but to give up your father and your sacred duties, this is not to act religiously; 365

‘You should suppress this thought of “leaving home,” and undertake your worldly duties, find your delight in getting an illustrious name, and after this give up your home and family.’ 366

The prince, with proper reverence and respectful feelings, again besought his royal father; but promised if he could be saved from four calamities, that he would give up the thought of ‘leaving home;’ 367

If he would grant him life without end, no disease, nor undesirable old age, and no decay of earthly possessions; then he would obey and give up the thought of ‘leaving home.’ 368

The royal father then addressed the prince, ‘Speak not such words as these, for with respect to these four things, who is there able to prevent them, or say nay to their approach; 369

‘Asking such things as these (four things), you would provoke men’s laughter! But put away this thought of “leaving home,” and once more take yourself to pleasure.’ 370

The prince again besought his father, ‘If you may not grant me these four prayers, then let me go I pray, and leave my home. O! place no difficulties in my path; 371

‘Your son is dwelling in a burning house, would you indeed prevent his leaving it! To solve a doubt is only reasonable, who could forbid a man to seek its explanation? 372

‘Or if he were forbidden, then by self-destruction he might solve the difficulty, in an unrighteous way: and if he were to do so, who could restrain him after death?’ 373

The royal father, seeing his son’s mind so firmly fixed that it could not be turned, and that it would be waste of strength to bandy further words or arguments, 374

Forthwith commanded more attendant women, to provoke still more his mind to pleasure; day and night (he ordered them) to keep the roads and ways, to the end that he might not leave his palace; 375

(He moreover ordered) all the ministers of the country to come to the place where dwelt the prince, to quote and illustrate the rules of filial piety, hoping to cause him to obey the wishes of the king. 376

The prince, beholding his royal father bathed with tears and o’erwhelmed with grief, forthwith returned to his abode, and sat himself in silence to consider; 377

All the women of the palace, coming towards him, waited as they circled him, and gazed in silence on his beauteous form. They gazed upon him not with furtive glance, 378

But like the deer in autumn brake looks wistfully at the hunter; around the prince's straight and handsome form, (bright) as the mountain of true gold (Sumeru), 379

The dancing women gathered doubtingly, waiting to hear him bid them sound their music; repressing every feeling of the heart through fear, even as the deer within the brake; 380

Now gradually the day began to wane, the prince still sitting in the evening light, his glory streaming forth in splendour, as the sun lights up Mount Sumeru; 381

Thus seated on his jewelled couch, surrounded by the fumes of sandal-wood, the dancing women took their places round; then sounded forth their heavenly (Gandharva) music, 382

Even as Vaisaman (Vaisravana) produces every kind of rare and heavenly sounds. The thoughts which dwelt within the prince's mind entirely drove from him desire for music, 383

And tho' the sounds filled all the place, they fell upon his ear unnoticed. At this time the Deva of the Pure abode, knowing the prince's time was come, 384

The destined time for quitting home, suddenly assumed a form and came to earth, to make the shapes of all the women unattractive, so that they might create disgust, 385

And no desire arise from thought of beauty. Their half-clad forms bent in ungainly attitudes,

forgetful in their sleep, their bodies crooked or supine, the instruments of music lying scattered in disorder ; 386

Leaning and facing one another, or with back to back, or like those beings thrown into the abyss, their jewelled necklets bound about like chains, their clothes and undergarments swathed around their persons ; 387

Grasping their instruments, stretched along the earth, even as those undergoing punishment at the hands of keepers (eunuchs), their garments in confusion, or like the broken kani flower (poppy?) ; 388

Or some with bodies leaning in sleep against the wall, in fashion like a hanging bow or horn, or with their hands holding to the window-frames, and looking like an outstretched corpse ; 389

Their mouths half opened or else gaping wide, the loathsome dribble trickling forth, their heads uncovered and in wild disorder, like some unreasoning madman's ; 390

The flower wreaths torn and hanging across their face, or slipping off the face upon the ground ; others with body raised as if in fearful dread, just like the lonely desert (?) bird ; 391

Or others pillowed on their neighbour's lap, their hands and feet entwined together, whilst others smiled or knit their brows in turn, some with eyes closed and open mouth, 392

Their bodies lying in wild disorder, stretched here and there, like corpses thrown together. And now the prince seated, in his beauty, looked with thought on all the waiting women ; 393

Before, they had appeared exceeding lovely, their laughing words, their hearts so light and gay, their

forms so plump and young, their looks so bright ; but now, how changed ! so uninviting and repulsive. 394

And such is woman's disposition ! how can they, then, be ever dear, or closely trusted ; such false appearances ! and unreal pretences ; they only mad-den and delude the minds of men. 395

And now (he said), 'I have awakened to the truth ! Resolved am I to leave such false society.' At this time the Deva of the Pure abode descended and approached, unfastening the doors. 396

The prince, too, at this time rose and walked along, amid the prostrate forms of all the women ; with difficulty reaching to the inner hall, he called to *Kandaka*, in these words, 397

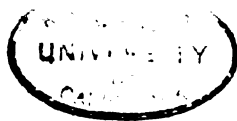
'My mind is now athirst and longing for the draught of the fountain of sweet dew, saddle then my horse, and quickly bring it here. I wish to reach the deathless city ; 398

'My heart is fixed beyond all change, resolved I am and bound by sacred oath ; these women, once so charming and enticing, now behold I altogether loathsome ; 399

'The gates, which were before fast-barred and locked, now stand free and open ! these evidences of something supernatural, point to a climax of my life.' 400

Then *Kandaka* stood reflecting inwardly, whether to obey or not the prince's order, without informing his royal father of it, and so incur the heaviest punishment. 401

The Devas then gave spiritual strength ; and unperceived the horse equipped came round, with even pace ; a gallant steed, with all his jewelled trappings for a rider ; 402



High-maned, with flowing tail, broad-backed, short-haired and ear'd, with belly like the deer's, head like the king of parrots, wide forehead, round and claw-shaped nostrils, 403

Breath like the dragon's, with breast and shoulders square, true and sufficient marks of his high breed. The royal prince, stroking the horse's neck, and rubbing down his body, said, 404

'My royal father ever rode on thee, and found thee brave in fight and fearless of the foe; now I desire to rely on thee alike! to carry me far off to the stream (ford) of endless life, 405

'To fight against and overcome the opposing force of men, the men who associate in search of pleasure, the men who engage in the search after wealth, the crowds who follow and flatter such persons; 406

'In opposing sorrow, friendly help is difficult (to find), in seeking religious truth there must be rare enlightenment, let us then be knit together thus as friends; then, at last, there will be rest from sorrow. 407

'But now I wish to go abroad, to give deliverance from pain; now then, for your own sake it is, and for the sake of all your kind, 408

'That you should exert your strength, with noble pace, without lagging or weariness.' Having thus exhorted him, he bestrode his horse, and grasping the reins, proceeded forth; 409

The man like the sun shining forth from his tabernacle (sun-palace-streams), the horse like the white floating cloud (the white cloud-pile), exerting himself but without exciting haste, his breath concealed and without snorting; 410

Four spirits (Devas) accompanying him, held up

his feet, heedfully concealing (his advance), silently and without noise; the heavy gates fastened and barred (locked), the heavenly spirits of themselves caused to open; 411

Reverencing deeply the virtuous (sinless) father, loving deeply the unequalled son, equally affected with love towards all the members of his family (these Devas took their place). 412

Suppressing his feelings, but not extinguishing his memory, lightly he advanced and proceeded beyond the city, pure and spotless as the lily flowers which spring from the mud; 413

Looking up with earnestness at his father's palace, he announced his purpose—unwitnessed and unwritten—'If I escape not birth, old age, and death, for evermore I pass not thus along;' 414

All the concourse of Devas, the space-filling Nâgas and spirits followed joyfully and exclaimed Well! well! (sâdhu), in confirmation of the true words (he spoke); 415

The Nâgas and the company of Devas acquired a condition of heart difficult to obtain, and each with his own inherent light led on the way shedding forth their brightness. 416

Thus man and horse both strong of heart went onwards, lost to sight, like streaming stars, but ere the eastern quarter flashed with light, they had advanced three yoganâs. 417

KIOUEN II.

VARGA 6. THE RETURN OF KANDAKA¹.

And now the night was in a moment gone, and sight restored to all created things, (when the royal prince) looked thro' the wood, and saw the abode of Po-ka, the *Rishi*; [the hermitage of the Bhârgavides, see Burnouf, Introduction to Ind. Bud. p. 385]; 418

The purling streams so exquisitely pure and sparkling, and the wild beasts all unalarmed at man, caused the royal prince's heart to exult. Tired, the horse² stopped of his own will, to breathe. 419

'This, then,' he thought, 'is a good sign and fortunate, and doubtless indicates divine approval³.' And now he saw belonging to the *Rishi*, the various vessels⁴ used for (asking) charity; 420

And (other things) arranged by him in order, without the slightest trace of negligence. Dis-mounting then he stroked his horse's head, and cried, 'You now have borne me (well)!' 421

¹ There was a tower erected on the spot where Bodhisattva dismissed his coachman. See Fah-hien, p. 92. The distance given by Aśvaghosha, viz. three yoganās, or about twenty miles, is much more probable than the eight hundred lī, given in later accounts as the length of Bodhisattva's journey. Compare Fah-hien p. 92, note 2.

The name 'Kanna' may perhaps be more properly restored to 'Kandaka.'

² The text here seems to require the alteration of 形 into 馬.

³ Mi-tsang-li, not-yet-advantage; or, unheard of, or miraculous, profit.

⁴ 'Ying' is often used for 'a proper measure vessel,' i. e. an alms dish.

With loving eyes he looked at *Kandaka*, (eyes) like the pure cool surface of a placid lake (and said), 'Swift-footed! like a horse in pace, yea! swift as any light-winged bird, 422

'Ever have you followed after me when riding, and deeply have I felt my debt of thanks, but not yet had you been tried in other ways; I only knew you as a man true-hearted, 423

'My mind now wonders at your active powers of body; these two I now begin to see (are yours); a man may have a heart most true and faithful, but strength of body may not too be his; 424

'Bodily strength and perfect honesty of heart, I now have proof enough are yours. (To be content) to leave¹ the tinselled world, and with swift foot to follow me, 425

'Who would do this but for some profit, if without profit to his kin², who would not shun it? but you, with no private aim, have followed me, not seeking any present recompense; 426

'As we nourish and bring up a child, to bind together and bring honour to a family; so we also reverence and obey a father, to gain (obedience and attention) from a begotten son; 427

'In this way all think of their own advantage; but you have come with me disdaining profit; with many words I cannot hold you here, so let me say in brief to you, 428

'We have now ended our relationship; take, then, my horse and ride back again; for me, during the

¹ To reject and leave. 捨 for 捐.

² It may also be, 'to himself and kin.'

long night past¹, that place I sought to reach now I have obtained.' 429

Then taking off his precious neck-chain, he handed it to *Kandaka*, 'Take this,' he said, 'I give it you, let it console you in your sorrow;' 430

The precious² jewel in the tire that bound his head, bright-shining, lighting up his person, taking off and placing in his extended palm, like the sun which lights up *Sumeru*, 431

He said, 'O *Kandaka*! take this gem, and going back to where my father is, take the jewel and lay it reverently³ before him, to signify my heart's relation to him; 432

'And then, for me, request the king to stifle every fickle feeling of affection, and say that I, to escape from birth and age and death, have entered on the wild (forest)⁴ of painful discipline, 433

'Not that I may get a heavenly birth, much less because I have no tenderness of heart, or that I

¹ The long night is the dark passage of continued transmigration, or change; the sense is, that Bodhisattva having sought for the condition of being, or life, he now has reached through a succession of previous births, the relationship or connection with his charioteer as master and man, is at an end.

² The head-jewel, or *kūṭā-māni*. This crest-jewel is figured in various ways in Buddhist art; as a rule it may be taken to indicate 'the highest' (the head), and in this form it is placed on the head of the figures of Buddha (in Ceylon); and is found at Sanchi and Amarāvati as an object of reverence; it symbolises the supreme authority of Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha.

³ Or, holding the jewel, worship reverently at the king's feet.

⁴ The 'forest of mortification,' i.e. the place where mortification was to be endured. For an account of Bodhisattva's penance (six years' penance [*Shadvarshika-vrata*]), see Rājendralāla Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, p. 26.

cherish any cause of bitterness, but only that I may escape this weight of sorrow ; 434

‘The accumulated long-night¹ weight of covetous desire (love), I now desire to ease the load (cause a break), so that it may be overthrown for ever ; therefore I seek the way (cause) of ultimate escape ; 435

‘If I should obtain emancipation, then shall I never need to put away my kindred², to leave my home, to sever ties of love. O ! grieve not for your son ! 436

‘The five desires of sense beget the sorrow³ ; those held by lust themselves induce the sorrow ; my very ancestors, victorious kings, thinking (their throne) established and immovable, 437

‘Have handed down to me their kingly wealth ; I, thinking only on religion, put it all away ; the royal mothers at the end of life their cherished treasures leave for their sons, 438

‘Those sons who covet much such worldly profit ; but I rejoice to have acquired religious wealth ; if you say that I am young and tender, and that the time for seeking wisdom is not come, 439

‘You ought to know that to seek true religion, there never is a time not fit ; impermanence and fickleness⁴, the hate of death, these ever follow us, 440

‘And therefore I (embrace) the present day, con-

¹ The ‘long night’ of previous life.

² As, for instance, in the *Vessantara Gâtaka* (birth), in which Bodhisattva gave up home, children, and wife, in pursuance of religious perfection.

³ The five desires are the root of sorrow.

⁴ This line may also be rendered, ‘impermanence, no fixed condition, this !’

vinced that now is time to seek religion¹. With such entreaties as the above, you must make matters plain on my behalf; 441

‘But, pray you, cause my father not to think longingly after me; let him destroy all recollection of me², and cut out from his soul the ties of love; 442

‘And you, grieve not³ because of what I say, but recollect to give the king my message.’ *Kandaka* hearing respectfully the words of exhortation, blinded and confused through choking sorrow, 443

With hands outstretched did worship; and answering the prince, he spoke, ‘The orders that you give me, will, I fear, add grief to grief, 444

‘And sorrow thus increased will deepen, as the elephant who struggles into deeper mire. When the ties of love are rudely snapped, who, that has any heart, would not grieve! 445

‘The golden ore may still by stamping be broken up, how much more the feelings choked with sorrow⁴! the prince has grown up in a palace⁵, with every care bestowed upon his tender person, 446

‘And now he gives his body to the rough and thorny forest; how will he be able to bear a life of privation⁶? When first you ordered me to equip your steed, my mind was indeed sorely troubled, 447

¹ Convinced (resolved) that this is the time to seek the practice of the law, i. e. to engage in the work of religion.

² Let him destroy all recollection of me as a form, or, a living person: this does not forbid him to recollect the office and dignity of *Bodhisattva*.

³ Or, let not slip my words.

⁴ How much rather, may the heart be broken, choked with sorrow!

⁵ Concealed or kept securely in his palace.

⁶ *Fu-hing*; the practice of austerities, or mortification.

‘ But the heavenly powers urged me on, causing me to hasten the preparation (of the horse¹), but what is the intention that urges the prince, to resolve thus to leave his secure palace? 448

‘ The people of Kapilavastu, and all the country afflicted with grief; your father, now an old man, mindful of his son, loving him moreover tenderly²; 449

‘ Surely this determination to leave your home, this is not according to duty; it is wrong, surely, to disregard father and mother,—we cannot speak of such a thing with propriety! 450

‘ Gotamī, too, who has nourished you so long, fed you with milk when a helpless child, such love as hers cannot easily be forgotten; it is impossible surely to turn the back on a benefactor; 451

‘ The highly gifted (virtuous) mother of a child, is ever respected by the most distinguished families³; to inherit distinction⁴ and then to turn round, is not the mark of a distinguished man: 452

‘ The illustrious child of Yasodharā, who has inherited a kingdom, rightly governed, his years now gradually ripening, should not thus go away from and forsake his home; 453

‘ But though he has gone away from his royal father, and forsaken his family and his kin, forbid it

¹ To hasten on the decoration, i.e. the harnessing, of the horse.

² Or, thinking his son beloved and in security.

³ Illustrious families or tribes are strong, or able, to wait upon or respect. There seems to be a play here on two words: first, shing, illustrious or distinguished, alluding to the Sākya as a race of Ginas or conquerors; secondly, neng, able, alluding to the origin of the word Sākya, i.e. able.

⁴ To obtain ‘distinction;’ still referring to the word shing; also in the next lines. Consult also p. 28, note 2 supra.

he should still drive me away, let me not depart from the feet of my master ; 454

‘My heart is bound to thee, as the heat is (bound up¹) in the boiling water ; I cannot return without thee to my country ; to return and leave the prince thus, in the midst of the solitude of the desert², 455

‘Then should I be like Sumanta³ (Sumantra), who left and forsook Râma ; and now if I return alone to the palace, what words can I address to the king ? 456

‘How can I reply to the reproaches of all the dwellers in the palace with suitable words ? Therefore let the prince rather tell me, how I may truly⁴ describe, 457

‘And with what device, the disfigured body, and the merit-seeking condition of the hermit ! I am full of fear and alarm, my tongue can utter no words ; 458

‘Tell me then what words to speak ; but who is there in the empire will believe me ? If I say that the moon’s rays are scorching, there are men, perhaps, who may believe me ; 459

‘But they will not believe that the prince, in his conduct, will act without piety ; (for) the prince’s heart is sincere and refined ; always actuated with pity and love to men. 460

‘To be deeply affected with love, and yet to

¹ Or, my heart is bound to thee, or cherishes thee, as the fire embraces the vessel set over it.

² I have here inverted the order of the lines, to bring out the sense.

³ Sumantra, the minister and charioteer of Dasaratha (Râmâyana II, 14, 30).

⁴ The order of these lines is again inverted, as they are complicated in the original. The word ‘hu,’ which I have translated ‘truly,’ may mean ‘dumbly,’ or, ‘unfeelingly.’

forsake (the object of love), this surely is opposed to a constant mind. O then, for pity's sake! return to your home, and thus appease my foolish longings.' 461

The prince having listened to *Kandaka*, pitying his grief expressed in so many words, with heart resolved and strong in its determination, spoke thus to him once more, and said: 462

'Why thus on my account do you feel the pain of separation? you should overcome this sorrowful mood, it is for you to comfort yourself; 463

'All creatures, each in its way, foolishly arguing that all things are constant, would influence me to-day not to forsake my kin and relatives; 464

'But when dead and come to be a ghost, how then, let them say, can I be kept? My loving mother when she bore me, with deep affection painfully carried me, 465

'And then when born she died, not permitted to nourish me. One alive, the other dead, gone by different roads, where now shall she be found? 466

'Like as in a wilderness on some high tree all the birds living with their mates assemble in the evening and at dawn disperse, so are the separations of the world; 467

'The floating clouds rise (like) a high mountain, from the four quarters they fill the void, in a moment again they are separated and disappear; so is it with the habitations of men; 468

'People from the beginning have erred thus, binding themselves in society and by the ties of love, and then, as after a dream, all is dispersed; do not then recount the names of my relatives; 469

'For like the wood which is produced in spring,

gradually grows and brings forth its leaves, which again fall in the autumn-chilly-dews—if the different parts of the same body are thus divided— 470

‘How much more men who are united in society! and how shall the ties of relationship escape rending? Cease therefore your grief and expostulation, obey my commands and return home; 471

‘The thought of your return alone will save me, and perhaps after your return I also may come back. The men of Kapilavastu, hearing that my heart is fixed, 472

‘Will dismiss from their minds all thought of me, but you may make known my words, “when I have escaped from the sad ocean of birth and death, then afterwards I will come back again; 473

“But I am resolved, if I obtain not my quest, my body shall perish in the mountain wilds.”’ The white horse hearing the prince, as he uttered these true and earnest words, 474

Bent his knee and licked his foot, whilst he sighed deeply and wept. Then the prince with his soft and glossy palm, (fondly) stroking the head of the white horse, 475

(Said), ‘Do not let sorrow rise (within), I grieve indeed at losing you, my gallant steed¹—so strong and active, your merit now has gained its end²; 476

‘You shall enjoy for long a respite from an evil birth³, but for the present take as your reward⁴

¹ Or, my gentle horse!

² This merit, or, meritorious deed, is now completed.

³ The idea is, that the horse, in consequence of the merit he has acquired by bearing the prince from his home, shall enjoy henceforward a higher state of existence.

⁴ ‘A superior reward now, for the present,’ or, ‘a better reward than that I now bestow,’ viz. the jewels &c.

these precious jewels and this glittering sword, and with them follow closely after *Kandaka*.' 477

The prince then drawing forth his sword, glancing in the light as the dragon's eye, (cut off) the knot of hair with its jewelled stud¹, and forthwith cast it into space; 478

Ascending upwards to the firmament, it floated there as the wings of the phoenix; then all the Devas of the *Trayastrimsa*² heavens seizing the hair, returned with it to their heavenly abodes; 479

Desiring always to adore the feet (offer religious service), how much rather now possessed of the crowning locks, with unfeigned piety do they increase their adoration, and shall do till the true law has died away. 480

Then the royal prince thought thus, 'My adornments now are gone for ever, there only now remain these silken garments, which are not in keeping with a hermit's life.' 481

Then the Deva of the Pure abode, knowing the heart-ponderings of the prince, transformed himself into a hunter's likeness, holding his bow, his arrows in his girdle, 482

His body girded with a *Kashâya*³ colour'd robe, thus he advanced in front of the prince. The prince

¹ That is, the '*kûdâ manî*,' or hair ornament. This ornament is represented at Sanchi and Bharhut (plates xxx and xvi respectively ['Tree and Serpent Worship' and 'The Stûpa of Bharhut']). In the former plate the figure on the upper floor with the women is probably Mâra seeing Bodhisattva fulfilling his purpose).

² That is, the heaven of the thirty-three gods supposed to be on the top of Sumeru.

³ *Kashâya*, the dark colour of the ground, adopted as the colour for their robes by the Buddhists.

considering **this** garment of his, the colour of the ground, **a** fitting pure attire, 483

Becoming to the utmost the person of a *Rishi*, not fit for¹ a hunter's dress, forthwith called to the hunter, as he stood before him, in accents soft, and thus addressed him : 484

'That dress of thine belikes me much, as if it were not **foul**², and this my dress I'll give thee in exchange, so please thee.' 485

The hunter then addressed the prince, 'Although I ill can spare (am not unattached to) this garment, which I use as a disguise among the deer, that alluring them within reach I may kill them, 486

'Notwithstanding, as it so pleases you, I am now willing to bestow it in exchange for yours.' The hunter having received the sumptuous dress, took again his heavenly body. 487

The prince and *Kandaka*, the coachman, seeing this, thought deeply³ thus, 'This garment is of no common character, it is not what a worldly man has worn ;' 488

And in (the prince's) heart great joy arose, as he regarded the coat with double reverence, and forthwith giving all the other things⁴ to *Kandaka*, he himself was clad in it, of *Kashâya* colour ; 489

¹ This may also be translated, 'a suitable colour for one who is the opposite of, i.e. opposed to the occupation of, a hunter.'

² That is, as if it were pure ; there is a play on the expression 'not foul' or 'impure,' meaning that the dress was itself of a dark or impure colour, and that the occupation of the hunter made it more so.

³ Thought 'deeply ;' the expression 奇持想 means 'rare,' or, 'seldom-felt thought.'

⁴ That is, as I understand it, giving the remaining articles of his dress to *Kandaka*.

Then like the dark and lowering cloud¹, that surrounds the disc of the sun or moon, he for a moment gazed, scanning his steps (way), then entered on the hermit's grot; 490

Kandaka following him with (wistful) eyes, his body disappeared, nor was it seen again. 'My lord and master now has left his father's house, his kinsfolk and myself (he cried), 491

'He now has clothed himself in hermit's garb², and entered the painful³ forest;' raising his hands he called on Heaven, o'erpowered with grief he could not move; 492

Till holding by the white steed's neck, he tottered forward on the homeward road, turning again and often looking back, his steps (body) going on, his heart back-hastening, 493

Now lost in thought and self-forgetful, now looking down to earth, then raising up his drooping (eye) to heaven, falling at times and then rising again, thus weeping as he went, he pursued his way homewards. 494

VARGA 7. ENTERING THE PLACE (WOOD) OF AUSTERITIES.

The prince having dismissed *Kandaka*, as he entered the *Rishis'* abode, his graceful body brightly

¹ I have supposed that 絳 is for 降. The robe is represented as the cloud surrounding the bright person of Bodhisattva.

² He now has put on a dark-colour'd robe.

³ The painful forest; that is, the forest or wood where painful mortification is practised. 苦行林.

shining, lit up on every side the forest 'place of suffering;' 495

Himself gifted with every excellence (Siddhārtha), according to his gifts, so were they reflected. As the lion, the king of beasts, when he enters among the herd of beasts, 496

Drives from their minds all thoughts of common things¹, as now they watch the true form of their kind², so those *Rishi* masters assembled there, suddenly perceiving the miraculous portent³, 497

Were struck with awe and fearful gladness⁴, as they gazed with earnest eyes and hands conjoined. The men and women too, engaged in various occupations, beholding him, with unchanged attitudes, 498

Gazed as the gods look on king Sakra, with constant look and eyes unmoved; so the *Rishis*, with their feet fixed fast, looked at him even thus; 499

Whatever in their hands they held, without releasing it, they stopped and looked; even as the ox when yoked to the wain, his body bound, his mind also restrained; 500

So also the followers of the holy *Rishis*, each called the other to behold the miracle. The peacocks and the other birds with cries commingled flapped their wings; 501

¹ That is, expels the recollection of all inferior shapes or forms.

² 'The true form of their kind,' I here take 道 to be equal to the 'way of birth.'

³ 'The miracle,' 未曾有.

⁴ 'Fearful gladness,' 驚喜.

The Brahma-kârins holding the rules of deer¹, following the deer wandering through mountain glades, (as the) deer coarse of nature, with flashing eyes [shen shih], regard (or see) the prince with fixed gaze; 502

So following the deer, those Brahma-kârins intently gaze likewise, looking at the exceeding glory of the Ikshvâku. As the glory of the rising sun 503

Is able to affect the herds of milch kine, so as to increase the quantity of their sweet-scented milk, so those Brahma-kârins, with wondrous joy, thus spoke one to the other: 504

'Surely this is one of the eight Vasu Devas²;' others, 'this is one of the two Āsvins³;' others, 'this is Mâra⁴;' others, 'this is one of the⁵ Brahmakâyikas;' 505

Others, 'this is Sûryadeva⁶ or Kandradeva, coming down; are they not seeking here a sacrifice which is their due? Come let us haste to offer our religious services!' 506

The prince, on his part, with respectful mien addressed to them polite salutation. Then Bodhisattva, looking with care in every direction on the Brahma-kârins occupying the wood, 507

¹ Is this a name of a sect of Brahman ascetics? holding-deer-rules.

² 八婆藪 the eight Vasus.

³ 二阿濕波.

⁴ Literally, 'the sixth Mâra,' i. e. 'Mâra of the sixth heaven,' or Mâra who rules over the six heavens of the Kâmaloka.

⁵ 梵迦夷天.

⁶ The sun Devaputra, or the moon Devaputra.

Each engaged in his religious duties, all desirous of the delights of heaven, addressed the senior Brahmacārin, and asked him as to the path of true religion¹. 508

'Now having but just come here, I do not yet know the rules of your religious life. I ask you therefore for information, and I pray explain to me what I ask.' 509

On this that twice-born (Brahman) in reply explained in succession all the modes of painful discipline, and the fruits expected as their result. 510

(How some ate) nothing brought from inhabited places (villages)², (but) that produced from pure water, (others) edible roots and tender twigs, (others) fruits and flowers fit for food, 511

Each according to the rules of his sect, clothing and food in each case different, some living amongst bird-kind, and like them capturing and eating food; 512

Others eating as the deer the grass (and herbs); others living like serpents, inhaling air; others eating nothing pounded in wood or stone; some eating with two teeth, till a wound be formed; 513

Others, again, begging their food and giving it in charity, taking only the remnants for themselves; others, again, who let water continually drip on their heads and those who offer up with fire; 514

¹ Or, 'an aged Brahmacārin:.' here we have the expression 'Khang suh,' 長宿, for 'aged' (as before).

² Literally, 'opposed to village coming out,' or, 'that which comes out of (所出) villages.'

Others who practise water-dwelling like fish¹; thus there are (he said) Brahma^karins of every sort, who practise austerities, that they may at the end of life obtain a birth in heaven, 515

And by their present sufferings afterwards obtain peaceable fruit. The lord of men², the excellent master, hearing all their modes of sorrow-producing penance, 516

Not perceiving any element of truth in them, experienced no joyful emotion in his heart; lost in thought, he regarded the men with pity, and with his heart in agreement his mouth thus spake: 517

‘Pitiful indeed are such sufferings! and merely in quest of a human or heavenly reward³, ever revolving in the cycle of birth or death, how great your sufferings, how small the recompence! 518

‘Leaving your friends, giving up honourable position; with a firm purpose to obtain the joys of heaven, although you may escape little sorrows, yet in the end involved in great sorrow; 519

‘Promoting the destruction of your outward form, and undergoing every kind of painful penance, and yet seeking to obtain another birth; increasing and prolonging the causes of the five desires, 520

‘Not considering that herefrom (result repeated) birth and death, undergoing suffering and, by that, seeking further suffering; thus it is that the world of men, though dreading the approach of death, 521

¹ That is, as I understand it, *Rishis* who live in water like fish. In the former case the ‘air-inhaling snake *Rishi*’ would be *Rishis* who endeavour to live on air like the boa.

² ‘The lord of two-footed creatures,’ i.e. of men.

³ *Gin-tien po*; if it had been *tien-gin po*, it would have simply meant ‘a heavenly reward.’

‘Yet strive after renewed birth; and being thus born, they must die again. Altho’ still dreading (the power of) suffering, yet prolonging their stay in the sea of pain: 522

‘Disliking from their heart their present kind of life, yet still striving incessantly after other life; enduring affliction that they may partake of joy; seeking a birth in heaven, to suffer further trouble; 523

‘Seeking joys, whilst the heart sinks with feebleness. For this is so with those who oppose right reason; they cannot but be cramped and poor at heart. But by earnestness and diligence, then we conquer. 524

‘Walking in the path of true wisdom, letting go both extremes¹, we then reach ultimate perfection; to mortify the body, (if) this is religion,² then to enjoy rest, is something not resulting from religion. 525

‘To walk religiously and afterwards to receive happiness, this is to make the fruit of religion something different from religion; but bodily exercise is but the cause of death, strength results alone from the mind’s intention; 526

¹ This line, which (with the following ones) is obscure, may be literally translated, ‘a double letting-go, eternal Nirvâna,’ where Nirvâna is in the original 無爲. The two extremes are worldly life and ascetic life.

² The word 法, like dharma, is difficult to translate. It may mean here either ‘religion’ or ‘something formal;’ but the idea of the whole verse seems to be this, ‘if suffering pain is a part of religion, then to enjoy rest is different from religion, therefore to practise religious austerities with the view of afterwards obtaining rest, is to make the fruit of religion something different from, or opposed to, religion itself.’

‘If you remove (from conduct) the purpose of the mind, the bodily act is but as rotten wood; wherefore, regulate the mind, and then the body will spontaneously go right. 527

‘(You say that) to eat pure things is a cause of religious merit, but the wild beasts and the children of poverty ever feed on these fruits and medicinal herbs; these then ought to gain much religious merit. 528

‘But if you say that the heart being good then bodily suffering is the cause of further merit, (then I ask) why may not those who walk (live) in ease, also possess a virtuous heart? 529

‘If joys are opposed to a virtuous heart, a virtuous heart may also be opposed to bodily suffering; if, for instance, all those heretics profess purity because they use water (in various ways), 530

‘Then those who thus use water among men, even with a wicked mind (karma), yet ought ever to be pure. But if righteousness is the groundwork of a *Rishi*’s purity, then the idea of a sacred spot as his dwelling, 531

‘Being the cause of his righteousness (is wrong). What is revered, should be known and seen¹. Reverence indeed is due to righteous conduct, but let it not redound to the place (or, mode of life).’ 532

Thus speaking at large on religious questions, they went on till the setting sun. He then beheld their rites in connection with sacrifice to fire, the drilling (for sparks) and the fanning into flame, 533

¹ This is, as it seems, the meaning of the line, or it may be rendered, ‘What is esteemed of weight ought to be seen in the world.’

Also the sprinkling of the butter libations, also the chanting of the mystic prayers, till the sun went down. The prince considering these acts, 534

Could not perceive the right reason of them, and was now desirous to turn and go. Then all those Brahmaçârins came together to him to request him to stay; 535

Regarding with reverence the dignity of Bodhisattva, very desirous, they earnestly besought him : 'You have come from an irreligious place, to this wood where true religion flourishes, 536

'And yet, now, you wish to go away; we beg you, then, on this account, to stay.' All the old Brahmaçârins, with their twisted hair and bark clothes, 537

Came following after Bodhisattva, asking him as a god¹ to stay a little while. Bodhisattva seeing these aged ones following him, their bodies worn with macerations, 538

Stood still and rested beneath a tree; and soothing them, urged them to return. Then all the Brahmaçârins, young and old, surrounding him, made their request with joined hands: 539

'You who have so unexpectedly arrived here, amid these garden glades so full² of attraction, why now are you leaving them and going away, to seek perfection in the wilderness? 540

'As a man loving (long) life, is unwilling to let go his body, so we are even thus; would that you would stop awhile. 541

¹ The original is 小留神; probably 神 is for 住.

² I am not sure whether I understand the original, or whether there is not a mistake in the text, which is 妙文滿.

‘This is a spot where Brahmans and *Rishis* have ever dwelt, royal *Rishis* and heavenly *Rishis*, these all have dwelt within these woods. The places on the borders of the snowy mountains, 542

‘Where men of high birth¹ undergo their penance, those places are not to be compared to this. All the body of learned masters from this place have reached heaven; 543

‘All the learned *Rishis* who have sought religious merit, have from this place and northwards (found it), those who have attained a knowledge of the true law, and gained divine wisdom come not from southwards; 544

‘If you indeed see us remiss and not earnest enough, practising rules not pure, and on that account are not pleased to stay, 545

‘Then we are the ones that ought to go; you can still remain and dwell here, all these different Brahmanas² ever desire to find companions in their penances. 546

‘And you, because you are conspicuous for your religious earnestness, should not so quickly cast away their society: if you can remain here, they will honour you as god Sakra, 547

‘Yea! as the Devas pay worship to *Bṛihaspati*² (or, *Virudhakapati*).’ Then Bodhisattva answered the Brahmanas and told them what his desires were: 548

‘I am seeking for a true method of escape, I desire solely to destroy all mundane influences; but you, with strong hearts, practise your rules as ascetics, 549

¹ Tsang-*khang gin*, 增長人.

² Pi-lai-ho.

‘And pay respectful attention to such visitors as may come. My heart indeed is moved with affection towards you, for pleasant conversation is agreeable to all, those who listen are affected thereby; 550

‘And so hearing your words, my mind is strengthened in religious feeling; you indeed have all paid me much respect, in agreement with the courtesy of your religious profession; 551

‘But now I am constrained to depart, my heart grieves thereat exceedingly, first of all, having left my own kindred, and now about to be separated from you. 552

‘The pain of separation from associates, this pain is as great as the other, it is impossible for my mind not to grieve, as it is not to see others’ faults¹. 553

‘But you, by suffering pain, desire earnestly to obtain the joys of birth in heaven; whilst I desire to escape from the three worlds, and therefore I give up what my reason (mind) tells me must be rejected². 554

‘The law which you practise, you inherit from the deeds of former teachers, but I, desiring to destroy all combination (accumulation), seek a law which admits of no such accident. 555

‘And therefore I cannot in this grove delay for a longer while in fruitless discussions.’ At this time all the Brahmacārins, hearing the words spoken by Bodhisattva, 556

¹ This and the previous line might perhaps be better rendered thus, ‘A joyless life (absence of joy) is opposed to my disposition, moreover (it is my disposition) not to observe the faults of others.’

² Literally, the form (body) turning from them even as (而) the mind rejects (非); or may it be rendered, ‘the body giving up, though the mind is still perverse.’

Words full of right reason and truth, very excellent in the distinction of principles, their hearts rejoiced and exulted greatly, and deep feelings of reverence were excited within them. 557

At this time there was one Brahma~~h~~arin, who always slept in the dust, with tangled hair and raiment of the bark of trees, his eyes bleared (yellow), preparing himself in an ascetic practice (called) 'high-nose¹.' 558

This one addressed Bodhisattva in the following words: 'Strong in will! bright in wisdom! firmly fixed in resolve to escape (pass beyond) the limits of birth, knowing that in escape from birth there alone is rest, 559

'Not affected by any desire after heavenly blessedness, the mind set upon the eternal destruction of the body (bodily form), you are indeed miraculous in appearance, (as you are) alone in the possession of such a mind. 560

'To sacrifice to the gods, and to practise every kind of austerity, all this is designed to secure a birth in heaven, but here there is no mortification of selfish desire, 561

'There is still a selfish personal aim; but to bend the will to seek final escape, this is indeed the work of a true teacher, this is the aim of an enlightened master; 562

'This place is no right halting-place for you, you ought to proceed to Mount Pinda (Pândava), there dwells a great Muni, whose name is A-lo-lam (Arâda Râma). 563

'He only has reached the end (of religious aims), the most excellent eye (of the law). Go therefore

¹ I.e. raising his nose to look up at the sun.

to the place where he dwells, and listen there to the true exposition of the law. 564

'This will make your heart rejoice, as you learn to follow the precepts of his system. As for me, beholding the joy of your resolve, and fearing that I shall not obtain rest, 565

'I must once more let go (dismiss) those following me, and seek other disciples; straighten my head (nose) and gaze with my full eyes; anoint my lips and cleanse my teeth, 566

'Cover my shoulders and make bright my face, smooth my tongue and make it pliable. Thus, O excellently marked, sir! fully drinking (at the fountain of) the water you give (glorious water)¹, 567

'I shall escape from the unfathomable depths. In the world nought is comparable to this, that which old men and *Rishis* have not known, that shall (I)² know and obtain.' 568

Bodhisattva having listened to these words, left the company of the *Rishis*, whilst they all, turning round him to the right, returned to their place. 569 ✓

VARGA 8. THE GENERAL GRIEF OF THE PALACE.

Kandaka leading back the horse, opening the way for his heart's sorrow, as he went on, lamented and wept: unable to disburthen his soul. 570

First of all with the royal prince, passing along the road for one night, but now dismissed and ordered

¹ This line and the context, again, is obscure. Perhaps 醃水 is a mistake for 甘水, which latter expression may mean the 'sweet dew' (*amrita*) of Bodhisattva's doctrine.

² Or, that (you know) and will obtain.

to return. As the darkness of night closed on him, 571

Irresolute he wavered in mind. On the eighth day approaching the city, the noble horse pressed onwards, exhibiting all his qualities of speed ; 572

But yet hesitating as he looked around and beheld not the form of the royal prince ; his four members bent down with toil, his head and neck deprived of their glossy look, 573

Whinnying as he went on with grief, he refused night and day his grass and water, because he had lost his lord, the deliverer of men. Returning thus to Kapilavastu, 574

The whole country appeared withered and bare, as when one comes back to a deserted village ; or as when the sun hidden behind Sumeru causes darkness to spread over the world. 575

The fountains of water sparkled no more, the flowers and fruits were withered and dead, the men and women in the streets seemed lost in grief and dismay. 576

Thus *Kandaka* with the white horse went on sadly and with slow advance, silent to those enquiring, wearily progressing as when accompanying a funeral ; 577

So they went on, whilst all the spectators seeing *Kandaka*, but not observing the royal *Sākya* prince, raised piteous cries of lamentation and wept ; as when the charioteer returned without *Râma*. 578

Then one by the side of the road, with his body bent, called out to *Kandaka* : ‘ The prince, beloved of the world, the defender of his people, 579

‘ The one you have taken away by stealth, where

dwells he now?' *Kandaka*, then, with sorrowful heart, replied to the people and said: 580

'I with loving purpose followed after him whom I loved; 'tis not I who have deserted the prince, but by him have I been sent away; (by him) who now has given up his ordinary adornments, 581

'And with shaven head and religious garb, has entered the sorrow-giving grove.' Then the men hearing that he had become an ascetic, were oppressed with thoughts of wondrous boding (unusual thoughts); 582

They sighed with heaviness and wept, and as their tears coursed down their cheeks, they spake thus one to the other: 'What then shall we do (by way of expedient)?' 583

Then they all exclaimed at once, 'Let us haste after him in pursuit; for as when a man's bodily functions fail, his frame dies and his spirit flees, 584

'So is the prince our life, and he our life gone, how shall we survive? This city, perfected with slopes and woods; those woods, that cover the slopes of the city, 585

'All deprived of grace, ye lie as *Bharata* when killed!' Then the men and women within the town, vainly supposing the prince had come back, 586

In haste rushed out to the heads of the way, and seeing the horse returning alone, not knowing whether he (the prince) was safe or lost, began to weep and to raise every piteous sound; 587

(And said, 'Behold!') *Kandaka* advancing slowly with the horse, comes back with sighs and tears; surely he grieves because the prince is lost.' And thus sorrow is added to sorrow! 588

Then like a captive warrior is drawn before the

king his master, so did he enter the gates with tears, his eyes filled so that he said nought. 589

Then looking up to heaven he loudly groaned; and the white horse too whined piteously; then all the varied birds and beasts in the palace court, and all the horses within the stables, 590

Hearing the sad whinnying of the royal steed, replied in answer to him, thinking 'now the prince has come back.' But seeing him not, they ceased their cries! 591

And now the women of the after-palace, (hearing the cries of the horses, birds, and beasts,) their hair dishevelled, their faces wan and yellow, their forms sickly to look at, their mouths and lips parched, 592

Their garments torn and unwashed, the soil and heat not cleansed from their bodies, their ornaments all thrown aside, disconsolate and sad, cheerless in face, 593

Raised their bodies, without any grace, even as the feeble (little) morning star (or stars of morning); their garments torn and knotted, soiled like the appearance of a robber, 594

Seeing *Kandaka* and the royal horse shedding tears instead of the hoped-for return, they all, assembled thus, uttered their cry, even as those who weep for one beloved just dead; 595

Confused and wildly they rushed about, as a herd of oxen that have lost their way. *Mahâpragâpati Gôtamî*, hearing that the prince had not returned, 596

Fell fainting on the ground, her limbs entirely deprived of strength, even as some mad tornado wind crushes the golden-colour'd *plantain* tree; 597

And again, hearing that her son had become a recluse, deeply sighing and with increased sadness

she thought, 'Alas! those glossy locks turning to the right, each hair produced from each orifice, 598

'Dark and pure, gracefully shining, sweeping the earth when loose¹, or when so determined, bound together in a heavenly crown, and now shorn and lying in the grass! 599

'Those rounded shoulders and that lion step! Those eyes broad as the ox-king's, that body shining bright as yellow gold; that square breast and Brahma voice; 600

'That you! possessing all these excellent qualities, should have entered on the sorrow-giving forest; what fortune now remains for the world, losing thus the holy king of earth? 601

'That those delicate and pliant feet, pure as the lily and of the same colour, should now be torn by stones and thorns; O how can such feet tread on such ground! 602

'Born and nourished in the guarded palace, clad with garments of the finest texture, washed in richly-scented water, anointed with the choicest perfumes, 603

'And now exposed to chilling blasts and dews of night, O! where during the heat or the chilly morn can rest be found! Thou flower of all thy race! Confessed by all the most renowned! 604

'Thy virtuous qualities everywhere talked of and exalted, ever revered, without self-seeking! why hast thou unexpectedly brought thyself upon some morn to beg thy food for life! 605

'Thou who wert wont to repose upon a soft and

¹ This description of the prince's hair seems to contradict the head arrangement of the figures of Buddha, unless the curls denote the shaven head of the recluse.

kingly couch, and indulge in every pleasure during thy waking hours, how canst thou now endure the mountain and the forest wilds, on the bare grass to make thyself a resting-place!' 606

Thus thinking of her son—her heart was full of sorrow, disconsolate she lay upon the earth. The waiting women raised her up, and dried the tears from off her face, 607

Whilst all the other courtly ladies, overpowered with grief, their limbs relaxed, their minds bound fast with woe, unmoved they sat like pictured-folk. 608

And now Yasodharâ, deeply chiding, spoke thus to *Kandaka*: 'Where now dwells he, who ever dwells within my mind? 609

'You two went forth, the horse a third, but now two only have returned! My heart is utterly o'erborne with grief, filled with anxious thoughts, it cannot rest. 610

'And you deceitful man! Untrustworthy and false associate! evil contriver! plainly revealed a traitor, a smile lurks underneath thy tears! 611

'Escorting him in going; returning now with wails! Not one at heart—but in league against him—openly constituted a friend and well-wisher, concealing underneath a treacherous purpose; 612

'So thou hast caused the sacred prince to go forth once and not return again! No questioning the joy you feel! Having done ill you now enjoy the fruit; 613

'Better far to dwell with an enemy of wisdom, than work with one who, while a fool, professes friendship. Openly professing sweetness and light, inwardly a scheming and destructive enemy. 614

'And now this royal and kingly house, in one short morn is crushed and ruined! All these fair and queen-like women, with grief o'erwhelmed, their beauty marred, 615

'Their breathing choked with tears and sobs, their faces soiled with crossing tracks of grief! Even the queen (Mâyâ) when in life, resting herself on him, as the great snowy mountains 616

'Repose upon the widening earth, through grief in thought of what would happen, died. How sad the lot of these—within these open lattices—these weeping ones, these deeply wailing! 617

'Born in another state than hers in heaven¹, how can their grief be borne!' Then speaking to the horse she said, 'Thou unjust! what dullness this—to carry off a man, 618

'As in the darkness some wicked thief bears off a precious gem. When riding thee in time of battle, swords, and javelins and arrows, 619

'None of these alarmed or frightened thee! But now what fitfulness of temper this², to carry off by violence, to rob my soul of one, the choicest jewel of his tribe. 620

'O! thou art but a vicious reptile, to do such wickedness as this! to-day thy woeful lamentation sounds everywhere within these palace walls, 621

'But when you stole away my cherished one, why wert thou dumb and silent then! if then thy voice

¹ This line is obscure; it may be paraphrased thus, 'If she in bearing her son brought about her own death, but yet is now born in heaven, how shall these bear their grief, or shall this grief (of losing him) be borne by these!'

² Or, 'how unendurable then your present conduct!'

had sounded loud, and roused the palace inmates from their sleep, 622

‘If then they had awoke and slumbered not, there would not have ensued the present sorrow.’ *Kandaka*, hearing these sorrowful words, drawing in his breath and composing himself, 623

Wiping away his tears, with hands clasped together, answered: ‘Listen to me, I pray, in self-justification—be not suspicious of, nor blame the royal¹ horse, nor be thou angry with me either. 624

‘For in truth no fault has been committed (by us). It is the gods who have effected this. For I, indeed, extremely revered the king’s command, it was the gods who drove him to the solitudes, 625

‘Urgently leading on the horse with him: thus they went together fleet as with wings, his breathing hushed! suppressed was every sound², his feet scarce touched the earth! 626

‘The city gates wide opening of themselves! all space self-lighted! this was the work indeed of the gods; and what was I, or what my strength, compared with theirs?’ 627

Yasodharā hearing these words, her heart was lost in deep consideration³! the deeds accomplished by the gods could not be laid to others’ charge⁴, as faults; 628

And so she ceased her angry chiding, and allowed her great, consuming grief to smoulder. Thus prostrate on the ground she muttered out her sad com-

¹ The white horse.

² They caused no sound (to be heard).

³ See above, p. 69, n. 3.

⁴ Or, to their charge, i. e. to the charge of *Kandaka* or the horse.

plaints, 'That the two ringed-birds¹ (doves) should be divided! 629

'Now,' she cried, 'my stay and my support is lost, between those once agreed in life (religious life)², separation has sprung up! those who were at one (as to religion) are now divided, (let go their common action)! where shall I seek another mode of (religious) life? 630

'In olden days the former conquerors (Ginas?) greatly rejoiced to see their kingly retinue; these with their wives in company, in search of highest wisdom, roamed through groves and plains. 631

'And now, that he should have deserted me! and what is the religious state he seeks! the Brahman ritual respecting sacrifice, requires the wife to take part in the offering³, 632

'And because they both share in the service they shall both receive a common reward hereafter! but you (O prince!) art niggard in your religious rites, driving me away, and wandering forth alone! 633

'Is it that you saw me jealous, and so turned against me! that you now seek some one free from

¹ Or, 'that two birds;' it may be doves; or perhaps the symbol 輪 is an error for 頭, meaning the 'double-headed bird.' This double-headed bird is often alluded to in Buddhist books, as in the Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king (Romantic History of Buddha, p. 380). The origin of the story may be perhaps found in the myth of Yama and Yamī.

² It may be 'religious life,' but it can as well refer to the common aim of life; as, for example, in the case of the double-headed bird, both heads having one object, viz. the care of the body.

³ Literally, 'the sacrificial code of the Brahman requires husband and wife to act together.'

jealousy! or did you see some other cause to hate me, that you now seek to find a heaven-born nymph¹! 634

‘But why should one excelling in every personal grace seek to practise self-denying austerities! is it that you despise a common lot with me, that variance rises in your breast against your wife! 635

‘Why does not Rahula fondly repose upon² your knee. Alas! alas! unlucky master! full of grace without, but hard (diamond) at heart! 636

‘The glory and the pride of all your tribe³, yet hating those who reverence you! O! can it be, you have turned your back for good (upon) your little child, scarce able yet to smile⁴! 637

‘My heart is gone! and all my strength! my lord has fled, to wander in the mountains! he cannot surely thus forget me! he is then but a man of wood or stone.’ 638

Thus having spoken, her mind was dulled and darkened, she muttered on, or spoke in wild mad words, or fancied that she saw strange sights, and sobbing past the power of self-restraint, 639

Her breath grew less, and sinking thus, she fell asleep upon the dusty ground! The palace ladies seeing this, were wrung with heartfelt sorrow, 640

Just as the full-blown lily, struck by the wind and hail, is broken down and withered. And now the

¹ ‘A Devī of the Pure abode.’ The idea seems to be that, finding Yasodharā less pure than a Devī, he had gone to seek the company of one of these.

² Or, below your knee, i. e. sitting or fondling around the knee.

³ Or, the full-brightness of your illustrious family.

⁴ ‘Your child not yet a boy.’

king, his father, having lost the prince, was filled, both night and day, with grief; 641

And fasting, sought the gods (for help). He prayed that they would soon restore him, and having prayed and finished sacrifice, he went from out the sacred¹ gates; 642

Then hearing all the cries and sounds of mourning, his mind distressed became confused, as when heaven's thundering and lightning put to bewildering flight a herd of elephants. 643

Then seeing *Kandaka* with the royal steed, after long questioning, finding his son a hermit, fainting he fell upon the earth, as when the flag of *Indra* falls and breaks. 644

Then all the ministers of state, upraising him, exhort him, as was right², to calm himself. After a while, his mind somewhat recovered, speaking to the royal steed, he said: 645

'How often have I ridden thee to battle, and every time have thought upon (commended) your excellence! but now I hate and loathe thee, more than ever I have loved or praised thee! 646

'My son, renowned for noble qualities, thou hast carried off and taken from me; and left him 'mid the mountain forests; and now you have come back alone³; 647

'Take me, then, quickly hence and go! And going, never more come back with me! For since you have not brought him back, my life is worth no more preserving; 648

'No longer care I about governing! My son about

¹ The heaven-sacrificing-gate.

² In agreement with religion.

³ Or, 'now you return from the desert (hung) alone.'

me was my only joy; as the Brahman Gayanta¹ met death for his son's sake, 649

'So I, deprived of my religious son, will of myself deprive myself of life. So Manu, lord of all that lives, ever lamented for his son; 650

'How much more I, a mortal man (ever-man), deprived of mine, must lose all rest! In old time the king Aga, loving his son², wandering thro' the mountains, 651

'Lost in thought (or deeply affected), ended life, and forthwith was born in heaven. And now I cannot die! Thro' the long night fixed in this sad state, 652

'With this great palace round me, thinking of my son, solitary and athirst as any hungry spirit (Preta); as one who, thirsty, holding water in his hand, but when he tries to drink lets all escape, 653

'And so remains athirst till death ensues, and after death becomes a wandering ghost³;—so I, in the extremity of thirst, through loss, possessed once of a son⁴, but now without a son, 654

'Still live, and cannot end my days! But come! tell me at once where is my son! let me not die athirst (for want of knowing this) and fall among the Pretas. 655

'In former days, at least, my will was strong and firm, difficult to move as the great earth; but now I've lost my son, my mind is dazed, as in old time the king "ten chariots⁵." 656

¹ The Sanskrit text gives Saṅgaya as the Brahman's name.

² Or, the son he loved.

³ Or, is born in the way (i. e. the class) of famishing ghosts.

⁴ Obtaining a son, as (a thirsty man obtains) water.

⁵ That is, Dasaratha.

And now the royal teacher (Purohita), an illustrious sage¹, with the chief minister, famed for wisdom, with earnest and considerate minds, both exhorted with remonstrances, the king. 657

'Pray you (they said) arouse yourself to thought, and let not grief cramp and hold your mind! in olden days there were mighty kings, who left their country, as flowers are scattered²; 658

'Your son now practises the way of wisdom; why then nurse (increase) your grief and misery; you should recall the prophecy of Asita, and reasonably count on what was probable! 659

'(Think of) the heavenly joys which you, a universal king, have inherited³! But now, so troubled and constrained in mind, how will it not be said, "The Lord of earth can change his golden-jewel-heart!" 660

'Now, therefore, send us forth, and bid us seek the place he occupies, then by some stratagem and strong remonstrances, and showing him our earnestness of purpose, 661

'We will break down his resolution, and thus assuage your kingly sorrow.' The king, with joy, replied and said: 'Would that you both would go in haste, 662

'As swiftly as the Saketa⁴ bird flies through the void for her young's sake; thinking of nought but the royal prince, and sad at heart—I shall await your search!' 663

The two men having received their orders, the

¹ 'To-wan-sse,' a celebrated master.

² 'As falling flowers,' or 'scattered blossoms,' alluding, as it seems, to the separation of the flower from the tree.

³ Or it may be rendered, 'A heaven-blessed, universal (wheel) king!'

⁴ She-ku-to bird.

king retired among his kinsfolk, his heart somewhat more tranquillised, and breathing freely through his throat. 664

VARGA 9. THE MISSION TO SEEK THE PRINCE.

The king now suppressing (regulating) his grief, urged on his great teacher and chief minister, as one urges on with whip a ready horse, to hasten onwards as the rapid stream; 665

Whilst they fatigued, yet with unflagging effort, come to the place of the sorrow-giving grove; then laying on one side the five outward marks¹ of dignity and regulating well their outward gestures, 666

They entered the Brahmans' quiet hermitage, and paid reverence to the *Rishis*. They, on their part, begged them to be seated, and repeated the law for their peace and comfort. 667

Then forthwith they addressed the *Rishis* and said: 'We have on our minds a subject on which we would ask (for advice). There is one who is called *Suddhodana rāga*, a descendant of the famous *Ikshvāku* family, 668

'We are his teacher and his minister, who instruct him in the sacred books as required. The king indeed is like *Indra* (for dignity); his son, like *Ke-yan-to* (*Gayanta*), 669

'In order to escape old age, disease, and death, has become a hermit, and depends on this; on his account have we come hither, with a view to let your worships know of this.' 670

Replying, they said: 'With respect to this youth,

¹ The five marks of dignity were the distinguishing robes of their office.

has he long arms and the signs of a great man? Surely he is the one who, enquiring into our practice, discoursed so freely on the matter of life and death. 671

'He has gone to the abode of Arāḍa, to seek for a complete mode of escape.' Having received this certain information, respectfully considering the urgent commands of the anxious king, 672

They dared not hesitate in their undertaking, but straightway took the road and hastened on. Then seeing the wood in which the royal prince dwelt, and him, deprived of all outward marks of dignity, 673

His body still glorious with lustrous shining, as when the sun comes forth from the black cloud¹; then the religious teacher of the country and the great minister holding to the true law, 674

Put off from them their courtly dress, and descending from the chariot gradually advanced, like the royal Po-ma-ti (? Bharata) and the Rishi Vasishṭha, 675

Went through the woods and forests, and seeing the royal prince Rāma, each according to his own prescribed manner, paid him reverence, as he advanced to salute him; 676

Or as Sukra, in company with Aṅgiras, with earnest heart paid reverence, and sacrificed to Indra rāga. 677

Then the royal prince in return paid reverence to the royal teacher and the great minister, as the divine Indra placed at their ease Sukra and Aṅgiras; 678

¹ The character which I have translated 'black' is 烏, which also means 'a crow.'

Then, at his command, the two men seated themselves before the prince, as Pou-na (Punarvasû) and Pushya, the twin stars attend beside the moon; 679

Then the Purohita and the great minister respectfully explained to the royal prince, even as Pi-li-po-ti (Bṛihaspati) spoke to that Gayanta: 680

‘Your royal father, thinking of the prince, is pierced in heart, as with an iron point; his mind distracted, raves in solitude; he sleeps upon the dusty ground; 681

‘By night and day he adds to his sorrowful reflections; his tears flow down like the incessant rain; and now to seek you out, he has sent us hither. Would that you would listen with attentive mind; 682

‘We know that you delight to act religiously; it is certain, then, without a doubt, this is not the time for you to be a hermit (to enter the forest wilds); a feeling of deep pity consumes our heart! 683

‘You, if you be indeed moved by religion, ought to feel some pity for our case; let your kindly feelings flow abroad, to comfort us who are worn at heart; 684

‘Let not the tide of sorrow and of sadness completely overwhelm the outlets of our heart; as the torrents (which roll down) the grassy mountains; or the calamities of tempest, fiery heat, and lightning; 685

‘For so the grieving heart has these four sorrows, turmoil and drought, passion and overthrow. But come! return to your native place, the time will arrive when you can go forth again as a recluse. 686

‘But now to disregard your family duties, to turn against father and mother, how can this be called

love and affection? that love which overshadows and embraces all. 687

'Religion requires not the wild solitudes; you can practise a hermit's duties in your home; studiously thoughtful, diligent in expedients, this is to lead a hermit's life in truth. 688

'A shaven head, and garments soiled with dirt,—to wander by yourself through desert wilds,—this is but to encourage constant fears, and cannot be rightly called "an awakened hermit's (life)." 689

'Would rather we might take you by the hand, and sprinkle¹ water on your head, and crown you with a heavenly diadem, and place you underneath a flowery canopy, 690

'That all eyes might gaze with eagerness upon you; after this, in truth, we would leave our home with joy. The former kings Teou-lau-ma (Dru-ma?), A-neou-*ke*-o-sa (Anugasa or Anudāsa), 691

'Po-*ke*-lo-po-yau (Vagrabāhu), Pi-po-lo-'an-ti (Vaibhrāga), Pi-ti-o-*ke*-na (Vatāgana?), Na-lo-sha-po-lo (Narasavara?), 692

'All these several kings refused not the royal crown, the jewels, and the ornaments of person; their hands and feet were adorned with gems, 693

'Around them were women to delight and please, these things they cast not from them, for the sake of escape; you then may also come back home, and undertake both necessary duties²; 694

'Your mind prepare itself in higher law, whilst for the sake of earth you wield the sceptre; let there be no more weeping, but comply with what we say, and let us publish it; 695

¹ I have here substituted 雨 for 雨.

² That is, the duties of religion and also of the state.

‘And having published it with your authority, then you may return and receive respectful welcome. Your father and your mother, for your sake, in grief shed tears like the great ocean ; 696

‘Having no stay and no dependence now—no source from which the Śākya stem may grow—you ought, like the captain of the ship, to bring it safely across to a place of safety. 697

‘The royal prince Pi-san-ma, as also Lo-me-po-ti, they respectfully attended to the command of their father, you also should do the same ! 698

‘Your loving mother who cherished you so kindly, with no regard for self, through years of care, as the cow deprived of her calf, weeps and laments, forgetting to eat or sleep ; 699

‘You surely ought to return to her at once, to protect her life from evil ; as a solitary bird, away from its fellows, or as the lonely elephant, wandering through the jungle, 700

‘Losing the care of their young, ever think of protecting and defending them, so you the only child, young and defenceless, not knowing what you do, bring trouble and solicitude ; 701

‘Cause, then, this sorrow to dissipate itself ; as one who rescues the moon¹ from being devoured, so do you reassure the men and women of the land, and remove from them the consuming grief, 702

‘(And suppress) the sighs that rise like breath to heaven, which cause the darkness that obscures their sight ; seeking you, as water, to quench the fire, the fire quenched, their eyes shall open.’ 703

¹ Referring to an eclipse of the moon.

Bodhisattva, hearing of his father the king, experienced the greatest distress of mind, and sitting still, gave himself to reflection; and then, in due course, replied respectfully: 704

‘I know indeed that my royal father is possessed of a loving and deeply¹ considerate mind, but my fear of birth, old age, disease, and death has led me to disobey, and disregard his extreme kindness. 705

‘Whoever neglects right consideration about his present life, and because he hopes to escape in the end, therefore disregards all precautions (in the present), on this man comes the inevitable doom of death. 706

‘It is the knowledge of this, therefore, that weighs with me, and after long delay has constrained me to a hermit’s life; hearing of my father, the king, and his grief, my heart is affected with increased love; 707

‘But yet, all is like the fancy of a dream, quickly reverting to nothingness. Know then, without fear of contradiction, that the nature of existing things is not uniform; 708

‘The cause of sorrow is not necessarily² the relationship of child with parent, but that which produces the pain of separation, results from the influence of delusion³; 709

‘As men going along a road suddenly meet midway with others, and then a moment more are separated, each one going his own way⁴, 710

¹ Or, as we should say, ‘of deep consideration.’

² Or, does not necessarily exist either in child or parent.

³ Delusion is here equivalent to ‘moha.’

⁴ This line may be more literally translated ‘each one acting for himself according to his own purpose.’ The words run thus, ‘opposite purpose, private, of himself.’

‘So by the force of concomitance, relationships are framed, and then, according to each one’s destiny¹, there is separation; he who thoroughly investigates this false connection of relationship ought not to cherish in himself grief; 711

‘In this world there is rupture of family love, in another life (world) it is sought for again; brought together for a moment, again rudely divided², everywhere the fetters of kindred are formed³! 712

‘Ever being bound, and ever being loosened! who can sufficiently lament such constant separations; born into the world⁴, and then gradually changing, constantly separated by death and then born again. 713

‘All things which exist in time must perish⁵, the forests and mountains all things thus exist⁶; in time are born all sensuous things (things possessing the five desires), so is it both with worldly substance⁷ and with time. 714

‘Because, then, death pervades all time, get rid of death⁸, and time will disappear. You desire to

¹ The word for ‘destiny’ is li; it means the ‘reason’ or ‘rule of action.’

² Or, separated in opposite directions.

³ In every place (place-place) there is no (place) without relationships.

⁴ From the moment of conception (placed in the womb) gradually changing.

⁵ All things (in) time have death.

⁶ The text is very curt, ‘mountains, forests, what (is there) without time.’

⁷ ‘Seeking wealth (in?) time, even thus;’ or, ‘Seeking wealth and time, are even thus.’

⁸ ‘Exclude the laws of death (sse fǎ), there will be no time.’

make me king, and it is difficult to resist the offices of love; 715

'But as a disease (is difficult to bear) without medicine, so neither can I bear (this weight of dignity); in every condition, high or low, we find folly and ignorance, (and men) carelessly following the dictates of lustful passion; 716

'At last, we come¹ to live in constant fear; thinking anxiously of the outward form, the spirit droops; following the ways of men², the mind resists the right³; but, the conduct of the wise is not so. 717

'The sumptuously ornamented⁴ and splendid palace (I look upon) as filled with fire; the hundred dainty dishes (tastes) of the divine kitchen, as mingled with destructive poisons; 718

'The lily growing on the tranquil lake, in its midst harbours countless noisome insects; and so the towering abode of the rich is the house of calamity; the wise will not dwell therein. 719

'In former times illustrious kings, seeing the many crimes of their home and country, affecting as with poison the dwellers therein, in sorrowful disgust sought comfort in seclusion⁵; 720

'We know, therefore, that the troubles of a royal estate are not to be compared with the repose of a religious life; far better dwell in the wild mountains⁶, and eat the herbs like the beasts of the field; 721

¹ 'In the end the body (that is, the person) ever fearful.'

² Following the multitude.

³ The heart opposes religion (fǎ).

⁴ The seven-jewelled, beautiful palace hall.

⁵ Became hermits.

⁶ In the mountains. I take 'lin' in the expression 'shan lin' in this and other passages to be the sign of the plural. It corresponds

‘Therefore I dare not dwell in the wide¹ palace, for the black snake has its dwelling there. I reject the kingly estate and the five desires [desires of the senses], to escape such sorrows I wander thro’ the mountain wilds. 722

‘This, then, would be the consequence of compliance, that I, who, delighting in religion, am gradually getting wisdom², should now quit these quiet woods, and returning home, partake of sensual pleasures, 723

‘And thus by night and day increase³ my store of misery. Surely this is not what should be done! that the great leader of an illustrious tribe, having left his home from love of religion, 724

‘And for ever turned his back upon tribal honour⁴, desiring to confirm his purpose as a leader⁵,—that he,—discarding outward form, clad in religious garb, loving religious meditation, wandering thro’ the wilds,— 725

‘Should now reject his hermit vestment, tread down his sense of proper shame (and give up his aim). This, though I gained heaven’s kingly state, cannot be done! how much less to gain an earthly, though distinguished⁶, home! 726

with ‘vana’ so used in other languages (the Sinhalese, according to Childers).

¹ The wide or deep palace seems to refer to the well-guarded and secure condition of a royal abode.

² Am gradually increasing enlightenment.

³ Here the increase of sorrow is contrasted with the increase of wisdom, in the previous verse.

⁴ Or, on his honourable, or renowned, tribe.

⁵ Here the word leader (*kang fu*) refers to a religious leader, in contrast with a leader of a tribe, or family.

⁶ There seems to be a fine and delicate sarcasm in these words.

‘For having spued forth lust, passion, and ignorance, shall I return to feed upon it? as a man might go back to his vomit! such misery, how could I bear? 727

‘Like a man whose house has caught fire, by some expedient finds a way to escape, will such a man forthwith go back and enter it again? such conduct would disgrace a man!¹ 728

‘So I, beholding the evils, birth, old age, and death, to escape the misery, have become a hermit; shall I then go back and enter in, and like a fool dwell in their company? 729

‘He who enjoys a royal estate and yet seeks rescue², cannot dwell thus, this is no place for him; escape (rescue) is born from quietness and rest; to be a king is to add distress and poison; 730

‘To seek for rest and yet aspire to royal condition is but a contradiction, royalty and rescue, motion and rest, like fire and water, having two principles³, cannot be united. 731

‘So one resolved to seek escape cannot abide possessed of kingly dignity! and if you say a man may be a king⁴, and at the same time prepare deliverance for himself, 732

‘There is no certainty in this⁵! to seek certain

¹ How would such a man be not accounted insignificant (tim, a dot or spot).

² I have translated ‘kiai tuh,’ rescue; it means rescue from sorrow, or deliverance in the sense of salvation.

³ Two, or different, principles (li).

⁴ A man may occupy a kingly estate.

⁵ This is still opposed to certainty; or, this cannot be established.

escape is not to risk it thus¹; it is through this uncertain frame of mind that once a man gone forth is led to go back home again; 733

‘But I, my mind is not uncertain²; severing the baited hook³ of relationship, with straightforward purpose⁴, I have left my home. Then tell me, why should I return again?’ 734

The great minister, inwardly reflecting, (thought), ‘The mind of the royal prince, my master⁵, is full of wisdom, and agreeable to virtue⁶, what he says is reasonable and fitly framed⁷.’ 735

Then he addressed the prince and said: ‘According to what your highness states, he who seeks religion must seek it rightly; but this is not the fitting time (for you); 736

‘Your royal father, old and of declining years, thinking of you his son, adds grief to grief; you say indeed, “I find my joy in rescue. To go back would be apostasy⁸.” 737

‘But yet your joy denotes unwisdom⁹, and argues want of deep reflection; you do not see, because you seek the fruit, how vain to give up present duty¹⁰. 738

¹ Certain escape, or certainty in escape, is not thus.

² But now I have attained to certainty.

³ That is, taking the bait off the hook of relationship; the love of kindred is the bait.

⁴ Using a right (or straight) expedient (upāya).

⁵ The purpose of the prince, the master (kang fu).

⁶ Deep in knowledge, virtuously accordant.

⁷ Or, has reasonable sequence (cause and effect).

⁸ Fi-fā, opposed to religion; or, a revulsion from religion.

⁹ Although you rejoice, it comes forth from no-wisdom.

¹⁰ This is a free rendering; the original is, ‘in fā kwan,’ which means ‘present religious consideration.’

‘There are some who say, There is “hereafter”¹;’ others there are who say, “Nothing hereafter.” So whilst this question hangs in suspense, why should a man give up his present pleasure? 739

‘If perchance there is “hereafter,” we ought to bear (patiently) what it brings²; if you say, “Hereafter is not³,” then there is not either rescue (salvation)! 740

‘If you say, “Hereafter is,” you would not say, “Salvation causes it⁴.” As earth is hard, or fire is hot, or water moist, or wind is mobile, 741

“Hereafter” is just so. It has its own distinct nature. So when we speak of pure and impure, each comes from its own distinctive nature. 742

‘If you should say, “By some contrivance this can be removed,” such an opinion argues folly. Every root within the moral world⁵ (world or domain of conduct) has its own nature predetermined; 743

‘Loving remembrance and forgetfulness, these have their nature fixed and positive; so likewise

¹ A discussion now begins as to the certainty or otherwise of ‘a hereafter;’ the words in the text which I have translated ‘hereafter,’ are ‘heou shai,’ i. e. after world. The phrase seems to correspond with the Pāli ‘paro loko,’ as in the sentence, ‘N’ ev’ atthi na n’ atthi paro loko’ (see Childers’ Pāli Dict., sub voce na).

² We ought to trust it, whatever it is.

³ These two lines may also be translated thus, ‘If you say the after world is nothingness, then nothingness is also rescue (from the present world).’

⁴ This seems to mean that if we say there is another world, we cannot mean that escape from the present world is the cause of the future. Literally and word for word, ‘Not-say-escape-the cause.’

⁵ ‘The word ‘root’ here means ‘sense.’ The sentence seems to mean ‘every sense united with its object.’

age, disease, and death, these sorrows, who can escape by strategy¹? (contrivance, upâya). 744

'If you say, "Water can put out fire," or "Fire can cause water to boil and pass away," (then this proves only that) distinctive natures may be mutually destructive; but nature in harmony produces living things; 745

'So man when first conceived within the womb, his hands, his feet, and all his separate members, his spirit and his understanding, of themselves are perfected; but who is he who does it? 746

'Who is he that points the prickly thorn? This too is nature, self-controlling². And take again the different kinds of beasts, these are what they are, without desire (on their part³); 747

'And so, again, the heaven-born beings, whom the self-existent (Isvara) rules⁴, and all the world of his creation; these have no self-possession power of expedients; 748

'For if they had a means of causing birth, there would be also (means) for controlling death, and then what need of self-contrivance, or seeking for deliverance? 749

'There are those who say, "I⁵" (the soul) is the cause of birth, and others who affirm, "I" (the soul) is the cause of death. There are some who say,

¹ The word translated 'strategy' is of very frequent occurrence. It means contrivance, use of means to an end.

² Tsz' in, 'of itself.'

³ This line seems to mean that these beasts are made, or come into being, without desire on their part.

⁴ I have supposed that the symbol 爲 in the text is for 主, but the first symbol may be retained, and then the passage would mean 'whom the self-existent made.'

⁵ The word 'I' here seems to mean 'the self,' or, the soul.

"Birth comes from nothingness, and without any plan of ours we perish¹." 750

'Thus one is born a fortunate child, removed from poverty, of noble family, or learned in testamentary lore of *Rishis*, or called to offer mighty sacrifices to the gods, 751

'Born in either state, untouched by poverty, then their famous name becomes to them "escape," their virtues handed down by name to us²; yet if these attained their happiness (found deliverance), 752

'Without contrivance of their own, how vain and fruitless is the toil of those who seek "escape." And you, desirous of deliverance, purpose to practise some high expedient, 753

'Whilst your royal father frets and sighs; for a short while you have assayed the road, and leaving home have wandered thro' the wilds, to return then would not now be wrong; 754

'Of old, king Ambarisha for a long while dwelt in the grievous forest, leaving his retinue and all his kinsfolk, but afterwards returned and took the royal office; 755

'And so Râma, son of the king of the country, leaving his country occupied the mountains, but hearing he was acting contrary to usage³, returned⁴ and governed righteously. 756

¹ I have taken the symbol 'iu' here in the sense of 'without,' like the Latin 'careo.'

² The sense seems to be that the great name and renown of such persons handed down through successive generations is 'salvation' or 'deliverance;' not the reward of another world, but the immortal character of their good deeds in this.

³ So I translate the expression 'fung-tseh-li,' usage-separation.

⁴ There is a symbol here which may denote the name of the

‘And so the king of Sha-lo-po, called To-lo-ma (Druma)¹, father and son, both wandered forth as hermits, but in the end came back again together; 757

‘So Po-sz-tsau Muni (Vasishṭha?), with Ontai-tieh (Ātreya?), in the wild mountains practising as Brahmāṭrins, these too returned to their own country. 758

‘Thus all these worthies of a by-gone age, famous for their advance in true religion, came back home and royally governed, as lamps enlightening the world. 759

‘Wherefore for you to leave the mountain wilds, religiously to rule, is not a crime.’ The royal prince, listening to the great minister, loving words without excess of speaking, 760

Full of sound argument, clear and unconfused, with no desire to wrangle after the way of the schools, with fixed purpose, deliberately speaking, thus answered the great minister: 761

‘The question of being and not-being is an idle one, only adding to the uncertainty of an unstable mind, and to talk of such matters I have no strong (fixed) inclination²; 762

‘Purity of life, wisdom, the practice of asceticism³, these are matters to which I earnestly apply myself⁴, the world is full of empty studies (discoveries) which our teachers in their office skilfully involve; 763

‘But they are without any true principle, and I

place to which he returned; ‘wei’ is often used in the composition of proper names, especially those ending in ‘vastu.’

¹ Drumāksha, king of the Sālvas.

² 取 = upādāna.

³ Or, purely and wisely to practise self-denial (mortification).

⁴ Or, these are the certainties I for myself know.

will none of them! The enlightened man distinguishes truth from falsehood; but how can truth¹ (faith) be born from such as those? 764

'For they are like the man born blind, leading the blind man as a guide; as in the night, as in thick darkness [both wander on], what recovery is there for them? 765

'Regarding the question of the pure and impure, the world involved in self-engendered doubt cannot perceive the truth; better to walk along the way of purity, 766

'Or rather follow the pure law of self-denial, hate the practice of impurity, reflect on what was said of old², not obstinate in one belief or one tradition, 767

'With sincere (empty) mind, accepting all true words, and ever banishing sinful sorrow (i. e. sin, the cause of grief). Words which exceed sincerity (simplicity of purpose) are vainly (falsely) spoken; the wise man uses not such words. 768

'As to what you say of Râma and the rest, leaving their home, practising a pure life, and then returning to their country, and once more mixing themselves in sensual pleasures, 769

'Such men as these walk vainly; those who are wise place no dependence on them. Now, for your sakes, permit me, briefly, to recount this one true principle (i. e. purpose) (of action): 770

"The sun, the moon may fall to earth, Sumeru and all the snowy mountains overturn, but I will never change my purpose; rather than enter a forbidden place, 771

¹ The word 'sin' 信 may mean faith or truth.

² Consider what has been handed down.

“Let me be cast into the fierce fire ; not to accomplish rightly (what I have entered on), and to return once more to my own land, there to enter the fire of the five desires, 772

“Let it befall me as my own oath records :”—so spake the prince, his arguments as pointed as the brightness of the perfect sun ; then rising up he passed some distance off.’ 773

The Purohita and the minister, their words and discourse prevailing nothing, conversed together, after which, resolving to depart on their return, 774

With great respect they quietly inform¹ the prince, not daring to intrude their presence on him further ; and yet regarding the king’s commands, not willing to return with unbecoming haste, 775

They loitered quietly along the way, and whomsoever they encountered, selecting those who seemed like wise men, they interchanged such thoughts as move the learned, 776

Hiding their true position, as men of title ; then passing on, they speeded on their way.

¹ They breathe it to the prince.

KIOUEN III.

VARGA 10. BIMBASÂRA RÂGA INVITES THE PRINCE.

The royal prince departing from the court-master (i. e. the Purohita) and the great minister, Saddharma¹, keeping along² the stream, then crossing the Ganges, he took the road towards the Vulture Peak³, 777

¹ Saddharma may be the name of the minister, or it may be rendered 'the great minister of the true law,' i. e. of religion.

² For the symbol 冒 I have substituted 望 'to go towards.' The whole line may be translated 'following the turbulent (streams) he crossed the Ganges,' in this case 冒 would be for 倡. But the sentence is obscure, as 'lang tsai' may be a proper name.

³ The distance from the place of the interview with the ministers to the Vulture Peak would be in a straight line about 150 miles. In the Southern books (Nidâna-kathâ; Buddhist Birth Stories, by Mr. Rhys Davids, pp. 85 and 87 n.) it is said that from Kapilavastu to the River Anomâ, near which the interview took place, is thirty yoganâs; this is greatly in excess of the real distance, which is about thirty-three miles, or five yoganâs. Then again from the Anomâ River, or the village of Maneya (Mhaniya), where the Bodhisattva halted (see Romantic Legend of Buddha, p. 140, and compare vol. xii, plate viii, Archaeological Survey of India), to Râgagriha by way of Vaisâlî would not be more than 180 miles, so that the whole distance from Kapilavastu (assuming Bhula to represent this old town) would be about 215 miles, or about thirty yoganâs. Hence we assume that the thirty yoganâs of the Southern account is intended to represent the entire distance from Kapilavastu, and not from the River Anomâ. Mr. Rhys Davids supposes the distance from Kapilavastu to Râgagriha (viâ Vaisâlî) to be sixty yoganâs (loc. cit. Birth Stories). In the Southern account the journey from the Anomâ to Râgagriha is described as having been accomplished in one day.

Hidden among the five mountains¹, standing alone a lovely peak as a roof amid (the others). The trees and shrubs and flowers in bloom, the flowing fountains, and the cooling rills, 778

(All these he gazed upon)—then passing on, he entered the city of the five peaks, calm and peaceful, as one come down from heaven². The country folk, seeing the royal prince, his comeliness and his excessive grace, 779

Though young in years, yet glorious in his person, incomparable as the appearance of a great master, seeing him thus, strange thoughts affected them, as if they gazed upon the banner (curtain) of Isvara³. 780

They stayed the foot, who passed athwart the path; those hastened on, who were behind; those going before, turned back their heads and gazed with earnest, wistful⁴ look. 781

The marks and distinguishing points of his person⁵, on these they fixed their eyes without fatigue, and then approached with reverent homage, joining both their hands in salutation: 782

¹ The five mountains, viz., which surrounded Râgagriha, see Fah-hian, p. 112 n. The text seems to imply that the Vulture Peak towered above the others, but its base was hidden among the five.

² As a Deva, outside (heaven).

³ The banner of Isvara (Indra) is frequently represented in Buddhist sculptures. There is a pleasing figure of it in Mrs. Speir's *Ancient India*, p. 230; see also *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxxviii and elsewhere.

⁴ Unsatisfied look, that is, constant or fixed gaze.

⁵ The marks and distinguishing points are the signs to be found on the person of one destined to be a Buddha. In the text the expression 'on the four limbs' means 'on the body.'

With all there was a sense of wondrous joy, as in their several ways they offered what they had, looking at his noble and illustrious features; bending down their bodies¹ modestly, 783

Correcting every careless or unseemly gesture, thus they showed their reverence to him silently²; those who with anxious heart, seeking release, were moved by love, with feelings composed, bowed down the more³. 784

Great men and women, in their several engagements⁴, at the same time arrested on their way, paid to his person and his presence homage: and following him as they gazed, they went not back. 785

For the white circle between his eyebrows⁵ adorn- ing his wide and violet colour'd⁶ eyes, his noble body bright as gold, his pure and web-joined fingers, 786

All these, though he were but a hermit, were marks of one who was a holy king; and now the men and women of Rāgagriha, the old and young alike, were moved, 787

(And cried), 'This man so noble as a recluse, what common joy is this for us?!' At this time Bimba- sāra Rāga, placed upon a high tower of observa- tion, 788

Seeing all those men and women, in different ways

¹ Their different bodies, or forms.

² Silently they added their respectful homage.

³ These lines seem to refer to the ease of mind given to the care-worn by the presence of Bodhisattva.

⁴ Whether engaged on public or private affairs; so at least the text seems to mean, 公 私 業.

⁵ That is, the urna, or circle of hair, supposed to be on the fore- head of every great man.

⁶ The colour is indefinite blue-like; compare the Greek κύανος.

⁷ That is, 'what an occasion for uncommon joy is this!'

exhibiting one mark of surprise¹, calling before him some man outside, enquired at once the cause of it; 789

This one bending his knee below the tower, told fully what he had seen and heard, 'That one of the Sākya race, renowned of old, a prince most excellent and wonderful, 790

'Divinely wise, beyond the way of this world, a fitting king to rule the eight regions, now without home, is here, and all men are paying homage to him.' 791

The king on hearing this was deeply moved at heart², and though his body was restrained, his soul had gone³. Calling his ministers speedily before him, and all his nobles and attendants, 792

He bade them follow secretly the (prince's) steps, to observe what charity was given⁴. (So in obedience to the command) they followed and watched him steadfastly, as with even gait and unmoved presence 793

He entered on the town and begged his food, according to the rule of all great hermits, with joyful mien and undisturbed mind, not anxious whether much or little alms were given; 794

Whatever he received, costly or poor, he placed within his bowl, then turned back to the wood, and having eaten it and drank of the flowing stream, he joyous sat upon the immaculate mountain⁵. 795

¹ Scared in different ways, assuming one attitude, or unvarying attitude; the line simply means they all showed the same indication of astonishment.

² Rejoiced with fear, or with astonishment.

³ His body held (to the place), his soul (shin) had already hastened, i. e. to the spot where Bodhisattva was.

⁴ Or, what religious offering should be made.

⁵ The White Mountain, meaning probably the Royal Mountain.

(There he beheld) the green trees fringing with their shade the crags, the scented flowers growing between the intervals, whilst the peacocks and the other birds, joyously flying, mingled their notes; 796

His sacred garments bright and lustrous, (shone) as the sun-lit mulberry leaves; the messengers beholding his fixed composure, one by one (returning), reported what they had seen; 797

The king hearing it, was moved at heart, and forthwith ordered his royal equipment to be brought, his god-like crown and his flower-bespangled robes; then, as the lion-king, he strided forth, 798

And choosing certain aged persons of consideration, learned men, able calmly and wisely to discriminate, he (with them) led the way followed by a hundred thousand people, who like a cloud ascended with the king the royal mountain. 799

And now beholding the dignity of Bodhisattva, every outward gesture (spring of action) under government, sitting with ease upon the mountain crag¹, as the moon shining limpid in the pure heavens, 800

So (was) his matchless beauty and purity of grace; then as the converting presence of religion² dwelling within the heart makes it reverential³, so (beholding him) he reverently approached, 801

Even as divine Śākara comes to the presence of

¹ On the lofty abode of the mountain (peak).

² This expression is singular, it will bear no other translation than this, 'the converting body (or, presence) of the law, i.e. religion.'

³ Or, causes reverence (on the part of the beholder).

Mo-hi-su-ma¹, so with every outward form of courtesy and reverence² (the king approached) and asked him respectfully of his welfare. 802

Bodhisattva, answering as he was moved³, in his turn made similar enquiries. Then the king, the questioning over, sat down with dignity upon a clean-faced rock. 803

And so he steadfastly beheld the divine appearance (of the prince), the sweetness and complacency of his features⁴ revealing⁵ what his station was and high estate, his family renown, received by inheritance, 804

The king who for a time restrained his feelings, now wishful to get rid of doubts, (enquired) (why one) descended from the royal family of the sun-brightness having attended to religious sacrifices thro' ten thousand generations, 805

Whereof the virtue had descended as his full inheritance, increasing and accumulating until now⁶, (why he) so excellent in wisdom, so young in years, had now become a recluse, 806

Rejecting the position of a *Kakravartin's*⁷ son, begging his food, despising family fame, his beau-

¹ Probably the symbol ma is here used for va, in which case the name would be restored to Mâhervara.

² It is difficult to render such passages as this literally, but it might be translated thus, 'With collected air and every mark of decorum.'

³ That is, according to the circumstances of the enquiry.

⁴ The sweet expression blended with a joyfulness of countenance.

⁵ Or it may be rendered, 'Correctly hearing his name and high degree,' as though one of the king's attendants had whispered the name and family of Bodhisattva in his ear.

⁶ Largely possessed (or, collected) in his own person.

⁷ Son of a holy king.

teous form, fit for perfumes and anointings, why clothed with coarse Kasâya garments; 807

The hand which ought to grasp the reins of empire, instead thereof, taking its little stint of food; if indeed (the king continued) you were not of royal descent, and would receive as an offering the transfer of this land, 808

Then would I divide with you my empire¹; saying this, he scarcely hoped to excite his feelings, who had left his home and family, to be a hermit. Then forthwith the king proceeded thus: 809

'Give just weight I pray you to my truthful words, desire for power is kin to nobleness, and so is just pride of fame or family or wealth or personal appearance; 810

'No longer having any wish to subdue the proud, or to bend (others) down and so get thanks from men, it were better, then, to give to the strong and warlike martial arms to wear, for them to follow war and by their power to get supremacy; 811

'But when by one's own power a kingdom falls to hand, who would not then accept the reins of empire? The wise man knows the time to take religion, wealth, and worldly pleasure. 812

'But if he obtains not² the three (or, threefold profit), then in the end he abates his earnest efforts, and reverencing religion, he lets go material wealth. Wealth is the one desire³ of worldly men; 813

¹ The absence of covetousness in Bimbasâra has passed into a proverb or a typical instance in Buddhist literature. (Compare Asvaghosha's Sermons, *passim*.)

² If he desires not to possess the three, that is, wealth, pleasure, religion.

³ Wealth affects (makes) all men of the world.

‘To be rich and lose all desire for religion, this is to gain but outside wealth. But to be poor and even thus despise religion, what pleasure can indulgence give in such a case! 814

‘But when possessed of all the three, and when enjoyed with reason and propriety, then religion, wealth, and pleasure make what is rightly called a great master; 815

‘Permit not, then, your perfectly-endowed body to lay aside (sacrifice) its glory, without reward (merit); Mandha(ri) the *Kakravartin*, as a monarch, ruled the four empires of the world, 816

‘And shared with Sakra his royal throne, but was unequal to the task of ruling heaven. But you, with your redoubtable strength, may well grasp both heavenly and human power; 817

‘I do not rely upon my kingly power¹, in my desire to keep you here by force, but seeing you change your comeliness of person, and wearing the hermit’s garb, 818

‘Whilst it makes me reverence you for your virtue, moves me with pity and regret for you as a man; you now go begging your food, and I offer you (desire to offer) the whole land as yours; 819

‘Whilst you are young and lusty enjoy yourself². During middle life acquire wealth, and when old and all your abilities ripened, then is the time for following the rules of religion; 820

‘When young to encourage religious fervour, is to destroy the sources of desire; but when old and

¹ That is, I do not command you as a king, but desire you to share my kingly power.

² Receive the pleasure of the five enjoyments (of sense), i. e. the indulgence of the five senses.

the breath (of desire) is less eager, then is the time to seek religious solitude; 821

‘When old we should avoid, as a shame, desire of wealth, but get honour in the world by a religious life; but when young, and the heart light and elastic, then is the time to partake of pleasure, 822

‘In boon companionship to indulge in gaiety, and partake to the full of mutual intercourse; but as years creep on, giving up indulgence, to observe the ordinances of religion, 823

‘To mortify the five desires, and go on increasing a joyful and religious heart, is not this the law of the eminent kings of old, who as a great company paid worship to heaven, 824

‘And borne on the dragon’s back, received the joys of celestial abodes? All these divine and victorious monarchs, glorious in person, richly adorned, 825

‘Thus having as a company performed their religious offering, in the end received the reward of their conduct in heaven.’ Thus Bimbasâra Râga (used) every kind of winning expedient in argument; 826

The royal prince unmoved and fixed remained firm as Mount Sumeru.

VARGA 11. THE REPLY TO BIMBASÂRA RÂGA.

Bimbasâra Râga having, in a decorous manner, and with soothing speech, made his request, the prince on his part respectfully replied, in the following words, deep and heart-stirring: 827

‘Illustrious and world renowned! Your words are

not opposed to reason, descendant of a distinguished family—an Aryan¹—amongst men² a true friend indeed, 828

‘Righteous and sincere to the bottom of your heart, it is proper for religion’s sake to speak thus³. In all the world, in its different sections, there is no chartered place⁴ for solid virtue (right principles), 829

‘For if virtue flags and folly rules, what reverence can there be, or honour paid, to a high name or boast of prowess, inherited from former generations! 830

‘And so there may be in the midst of great distress, large goodness, these are not mutually opposed. This then is so with the world in the connection of true worth and friendship. 831

‘A true friend who makes good (free) use of wealth—is rightly called a fast and firm treasure, but he who guards and stints the profit he has made, his wealth will soon be spent and lost; 832

‘The wealth of a country is no constant treasure, but that which is given in charity is rich in returns, therefore charity is a true friend, altho’ it scatters, yet it brings no repentance; 833

‘You indeed are known as liberal and kind, I make no reply in opposition to you, but simply as we meet, so with agreeable purpose we talk. 834

¹ The symbols are ‘ho-lai;’ the translation may be simply ‘descendant of a noble (ariya) and renowned family.’

² Or, for men’s sake.

³ This line literally translated is, ‘Religion requires (me) thus to speak,’ or, if the expression ‘gu shi’ refers to what has been said (as it generally does), then the line will run thus, ‘Religion justifies you in speaking as you have.’

⁴ We cannot place (i. e. fix the place) where religion (or, virtue and right principle) must dwell.

‘I fear birth, old age, disease, and death, and so I seek to find a sure mode of deliverance; I have put away thought of relatives and family affection, how is it possible then for me to return to the world (five desires) 835

‘And not to fear to revive the poisonous snake, (and after)¹ the hail to be burned in the fierce fire; indeed I fear the objects of these several desires, this whirling in the stream (of life) troubles my heart, 836

‘These five desires, the inconstant thieves²—stealing from men their choicest treasures, making them unreal, false, and fickle—are like the man called up as an apparition³; 837

‘For a time the beholders are affected (by it), but it has no lasting hold upon the mind; so these five desires are the great obstacles, for ever disarranging the way of peace; 838

‘If the joys of heaven are not worth having, how much less the desires common to men, begetting the thirst of wild love, and then lost in the enjoyment, 839

‘As the fierce wind fans the fire, till the fuel be spent and the fire expires; of all unrighteous things in the world, there is nothing worse than the domain of the five desires; 840

‘For all men maddened by the power of lust, giving themselves to pleasure, are dead to reason. The wise man fears these desires, he fears to fall into the way of unrighteousness; 841

¹ Like frozen hail and fierce burning fire.

² Robbers of impermanency.

³ That is, are as unreal as an apparition.

‘For like a king who rules all within the four seas, yet still seeks beyond for something more, (so is lust); like the unbounded ocean, it knows not when and where to stop. 842

‘Mandha, the *Kakravartin*, when the heavens rained yellow gold, and he ruled all within the seas, yet sighed after the domain of the thirty-three heavens; 843

✓ ‘Dividing with *Sakra* his seat, and so thro’ the power of this lust he died; *Nung-Sha* (*Nyâsa*?), whilst practising austerities, got power to rule the thirty-three heavenly abodes, 844

‘But from lust he became proud and supercilious, the *Rishi* whilst stepping into his chariot, through carelessness in his gait, fell down into the midst of the serpent pit. 845

‘*Yen-lo* (*Yama*?) the universal monarch (*Kakra-vartin*) wandering abroad thro’ the *Trayastrimsas* heaven, took a heavenly woman (*Apsara*) for a queen, and unjustly extorted¹ the gold of a *Rishi*; 846

‘The *Rishi*, in anger, added a charm, by which the country was ruined, and his life ended. *Po-lo*, and *Sakra* king of *Devas*², *Sakra* king of *Devas*, and *Nung-sha* (*Nyâsa*), 847

‘*Nung-sha* returning (or, restoring) to *Sakra*; what certainty (constancy) is there, even for the lord of heaven? Neither is any country safe, though kept by the mighty strength of those dwelling in it. 848

¹ The literal translation of this line would be, ‘Taxing the gold of *Lim* the *Rishi*;’ or, ‘of the harvest ingathered by the *Rishi*.’

² These lines refer to the transfer of heavenly power from *Sakra* to others, but the myth is not known to me; and there is confusion in the text, which is probably corrupt.

‘But when one’s clothing consists of grass, the berries one’s food, the rivulets one’s drink, with long hair flowing to the ground, silent as a Muni, seeking nothing, 849

‘In this way practising austerities, in the end lust shall be destroyed. Know then, that the province (indulgence) of the five desires is avowedly an enemy of the religious man. 850

‘Even the one-thousand-armed invincible king, strong in his might, finds it hard to conquer this. The *Rishi* Râma perished because of lust, 851

‘How much more ought I, the son of a Kshatriya, to restrain lustful desire; but indulge in lust a little, and like the child it grows apace, 852

‘The wise man hates it therefore; who would take poison for food? every sorrow is increased and cherished by the offices of lust. 853

‘If there is no lustful desire, the risings of sorrow are not produced, the wise man seeing the bitterness of sorrow, stamps out and destroys the risings of desire; 854

‘That which the world calls virtue, is but another form of this baneful law¹; worldly men enjoying the pleasure of covetous desire then every form of careless conduct results; 855

‘These careless ways producing hurt, at death, the subject of them reaps perdition (falls into one of the evil ways). But by the diligent use of means, and careful continuance therein, 856

‘The consequences of negligence are avoided, we should therefore dread the non-use of means; recol-

¹ The sense of this passage seems to be that what is called by men a virtuous life, is but a form of regulated vice.

lecting that all things are illusory, the wise man covets them not; 857

‘He who desires such things, desires sorrow, and then goes on again ensnared in love, with no certainty of ultimate freedom; he advances still and ever adds grief to grief, 858

‘Like one holding a lighted torch burns his hand, and therefore the wise man enters on no such things. The foolish man and the one who doubts, still encouraging the covetous and burning heart, 859

‘In the end receives accumulated sorrow, not to be remedied by any prospect of rest; covetousness and anger are as the serpent’s poison; the wise man casts away 860

‘The approach of sorrow as a rotten bone; he tastes it not nor touches it, lest it should corrupt his teeth, that which the wise man will not take, 861

‘The king will go through fire and water to obtain, the wicked sons¹ labour for wealth as for a piece of putrid flesh, o’er which the hungry flocks of birds contend. 862

‘So should we regard riches; the wise man is ill pleased at having wealth stored up, the mind wild with anxious thoughts, 863

‘Guarding himself by night and day, as a man who fears some powerful enemy, like as a man’s feelings revolt with disgust at the (sights seen) beneath the slaughter post of the East Market, 864

‘So the high post which marks the presence of lust, and anger, and ignorance, the wise man always avoids; as those who enter the mountains or the seas have much to contend with and little rest, 865

‘As the fruit which grows on a high tree, and is

¹ The foolish world.

grasped at by the covetous at the risk of life, so is the region (matter) of covetous desire, tho' they see the difficulty of getting it, 866

'Yet how painfully do men scheme after wealth, difficult to acquire, easy to dissipate, as that which is got in a dream, how can the wise man hoard up (such trash)! 867

'Like covering over with a false surface a hole full of fire, slipping thro' which the body is burnt, so is the fire of covetous desire. The wise man meddles not with it. 868

'Like that Kaurava [Kau-lo-po], or Pih-se-ni Nanda, or Ni-*k'he*-lai Danta, as some *kandala*'s (butcher's) appearance¹, 869

'Such also is the appearance of lustful desire; the wise man will have nothing to do with it, he would rather throw his body into the water or fire, or cast himself down over a steep precipice. 870

'Seeking to obtain heavenly pleasures, what is this but to remove the place of sorrow, without profit. Sün-tau, Po-sun-tau (Sundara and Vasundara), brothers of Asura, 871

'Lived together in great affection, but on account of lustful desire slew one another, and their name perished; all this then comes from lust; 872

'It is this which makes a man vile, and lashes and goads him with piercing sorrow; lust debases a man, robs him of all hope, whilst through the long night his body and soul are worn out; 873

'Like the stag² that covets the power of speech

¹ This line may be translated, 'as the appearance of the shambles.'

² I do not know to what this refers; the symbol 'shing' may not only mean 'the power of speech,' but also 'musical power' or 'music;' or it may mean 'celebrity.'

and dies, or the winged bird that covets¹ sensual pleasure (the net), or the fish that covets the baited hook, such are the calamities that lust brings; 874

‘Considering what are the requirements of life, none of these possess permanency; we eat to appease the pain of hunger, to do away with thirst we drink, 875

‘We clothe ourselves to keep out the cold and wind, we lie down to rest to get sleep, to procure locomotion we seek a carriage, when we would halt we seek a seat, 876

‘We wash to cleanse ourselves from dirt, all these things are done to avoid inconvenience; we may gather therefore that these five desires have no permanent character; 877

‘For as a man suffering from fever seeks and asks for some cooling medicine, so covetousness seeks for something to satisfy its longings; foolish men regard these things as permanent, 878

‘And as the necessary requirements of life, but, in sooth, there is no permanent cessation of sorrow; for by coveting to appease these desires we really increase them, there is no character of permanency therefore about them. 879

‘To be filled and clothed are no lasting pleasures, time passes, and the sorrow recurs; summer is cool during the moon-tide shining; winter comes and cold increases; 880

‘And so through all the eightfold laws of the world they possess no marks of permanence, sorrow and joy cannot agree together, as a person slave-governed loses his renown. 881

¹ Or, ‘that follows after form-covetousness.’

‘But religion causes all things to be of service, as a king reigning in his sovereignty; so religion controls sorrow, as one fits on a burthen according to power of endurance. 882

‘Whatever our condition in the world, still sorrows accumulate around us. Even in the condition of a king, how does pain multiply, though bound to others by love, yet this is a cause of grief; 883

‘Without friends and living alone, what joy can there be in this? Though a man rules over the four kingdoms, yet only one part can be enjoyed; 884

‘To be concerned in ten thousand matters, what profit is there in this, for we only accumulate anxieties. Put an end to sorrow, then, by appeasing desire, refrain from busy work, this is rest. 885

‘A king enjoys his sensual pleasures; deprived of kingship there is the joy of rest; in both cases there are pleasures (but of different kinds); why then be a king! 886

‘Make then no plan or crafty expedient, to lead me back to the five desires; what my heart prays for, is some quiet place and freedom (a free road); 887

‘But you desire to entangle me in relationships and duties, and destroy the completion of what I seek; I am in no fear of a hated house (family hatred), nor do I seek the joys of heaven; 888

‘My heart hankers after no vulgar profit, so I have put away my royal diadem; and contrary to your way of thinking, I prefer, henceforth, no more to rule. 889

‘A hare rescued from the serpent’s mouth, would it go back again to be devoured? holding a torch and burning himself, would not a man let it go? 890

‘A man blind and recovering his sight, would he again seek to be in darkness? the rich, does he sigh for poverty? the wise, does he long to be ignorant? 891

‘Has the world such men as these? then will I again enjoy my country. (But) I desire to get rid of birth, old age, and death, with body restrained, to beg my food; 892

‘With appetites moderated, to keep in my retreat; and then to avoid the evil modes of a future life, this is to find peace in two worlds: now then I pray you pity me not. 893

‘Pity, rather, those who rule as kings! their souls ever vacant and athirst, in the present world no repose, hereafter receiving pain as their meed. 894

‘You, who possess a distinguished family name, and the reverence due to a great master, would generously share your dignity with me, your worldly pleasures and amusements; 895

‘I, too, in return, for your sake, beseech you to share my reward with me; he who indulges in (practises) the threefold kinds of pleasure, this man the world calls “Lord,” 896

‘But this is not according to reason either, because these things cannot be retained, but where there is no birth, or life, or death, he who exercises himself in this way, is Lord indeed! 897

‘You say that while young a man should be gay, and when old then religious (a recluse), but I regard the feebleness of age as bringing with it loss of power (to be religious), 898

‘Unlike the firmness and power of youth, the will determined and the heart established; but death

as a robber with a drawn sword follows us all,
desiring to catch his prey; 899

‘How then should we wait for old age, ere we
bring our mind to a religious life? Inconstancy is
the great hunter, age his bow, disease his arrows, 900

‘In the fields of life and death he hunts for living
things as for the deer; when he can get his
opportunity, he takes our life; who then would wait
for age? 901

‘And what the teachers say and do, with refer-
ence to matters connected with life and death,
exhorting the young, mature, or middle-aged, all
to contrive by any means, 902

‘To prepare vast meetings for sacrifices, this they
do indeed of their own ignorance; better far to
reverence the true law (religion), and put an end
to sacrifice to appease the gods! 903

‘Destroying life to gain religious merit, what love
can such a man possess? even if the reward of such
sacrifices were lasting, even for this, slaughter would
be unseemly; 904

‘How much more, when the reward is transient!
Shall we (in search of this) slay that which lives, in
worship? this is like those who practise wisdom,
and the way of religious abstraction, but neglect the
rules of moral conduct. 905

‘It ill behoves us then to follow with the world,
and attend these sacrificial assemblies, and seek some
present good in killing that which lives; the wise
avoid destroying life! 906

‘Much less do they engage in general sacrifices,
for the purpose of gaining future reward! the fruit
(reward) promised in the three worlds is none of
mine to choose for happiness! 907

'All these are governed by transient, fickle laws, like the wind, or the drop that is blown from the grass; such things therefore I put away from me, and I seek for true escape. 908

'I hear there is one O-lo-lam (*Ârâda Kâlâma*) who eloquently (well) discourses on the way of escape, I must go to the place where he dwells, that great *Rîshi* and hermit. 909

'But in truth, sorrow must be banished; I regret indeed leaving you; may your country have repose and quiet! safely defended (by you) as (by) the divine *Sakra-râga*! 910

'May wisdom be shed abroad as light upon your empire, like the brightness of the meridian sun! may you be exceedingly victorious as lord of the great earth, with a perfect heart ruling over its destiny! 911

'May you direct and defend its sons! ruling your empire in righteousness! Water and snow and fire are opposed to one another, but the fire by its influence causes vapour, 912

'The vapour causes the floating clouds, the floating clouds drop down rain; there are birds in space, who drink the rain, with rainless bodies¹(?) 913

'Slaughter and peaceful homes are enemies! those who would have peace hate slaughter, and if those who slaughter are so hateful, then put an end, O king, to those who practise it! 914

'And bid these find release, as those who drink

¹ This line literally translated is, 'Who drink rain, not rain-body;' there may be a misprint, but I cannot see how to correct the text. The sense of the text and context appears to be this, that as there are those who drink the rain-clouds and yet are parched with thirst, so there are those who constantly practise religious duties and yet are still unblest. Compare Epistle by Jude, ver. 12, 'Clouds without water.'

and yet are parched with thirst.' Then the king clasping together his hands, with greatest reverence and joyful heart, 915

(Said), 'That which you now seek, may you obtain quickly the fruit thereof; having obtained the perfect fruit, return I pray and graciously receive me!' 916

Bodhisattva, his heart inwardly acquiescing, purposing to accomplish his prayer, departing, pursued his road, going to the place where Ârâda Kâlâma dwelt, 917

Whilst the king with all his retinue, their hands clasped, themselves followed a little space, then with thoughtful and mindful heart, returned once more to Râgagriha! 918

VARGA 12. VISIT TO ÂRÂDA UDRARÂMA¹.

The child of the glorious sun of the Ikshvâku race, going to that quiet peaceful grove, reverently stood before the Muni, the great *Rîshi Ârâda Râma*; 919

The dark-clad (?) followers of the Kalam (Saṅghârâma) seeing afar off Bodhisattva approaching, with loud voice raised a joyful chant, and with suppressed breath muttered 'Welcome,' 920

As with clasped hands they revered him. Approaching one another, they made mutual enquiries; and this being done, with the usual apologies, according to their precedence (in age)² they sat down; 921

The Brahmacârins observing the prince, (beheld) his personal beauty and carefully considered his

¹ The compound in the original probably represents Ârâda Kâlâma and Udra(ka) Râmaputra.

² Tsi'ang tsu may mean 'after invitation.'

appearance; respectfully¹ they satisfied themselves of his high qualities, like those who, thirsty, drink the 'pure dew.' 922

(Then) with raised hands they addressed the prince, 'Have you² (or, may we know whether you have) been long an ascetic, divided from your family and broken from the bonds of love, like the elephant who has cast off restraint? 923

'Full of wisdom (your appearance), completely enlightened, (you seem) well able to escape the poisonous fruit (of this world)³. In old time the monarch Ming Shing⁴ (brightly victorious) gave up his kingly estate to his son, 924

'As a man who has carried a flowery wreath, when withered casts it away: but such is not your case, full of youthful vigour, and yet not enamoured with the condition of a holy king; 925

'We see that your will is strong and fixed, capable of becoming a vessel of the true law, able to embark in the boat of wisdom, and to cross over the sea of life and death: 926

'The common class⁵, enticed to come to learn, their talents first are tested, then they are taught; but as I understand your case, your mind is already fixed and your will firm: 927

¹ 'High qualities,' powers of his mind; probably the same as the *taigasa* of the *Gainas* (see Colebrooke, *Essays*, p. 282). This line may be literally translated, 'bathing themselves in a respectful admiration of his high qualities.'

² The symbol 'ki' may possibly mean 'friend,' in which case the line would be, 'O friend! have you long been a homeless one?'

³ Or the poisonous fruit of that which is low or base.

⁴ I have taken 'Ming Shing' as a proper name, but it may be also translated 'illustrious conquering (kings).'

⁵ 'Fan fu,' the common class of philosophers, or students. The vulgar herd.

‘And now you have undertaken the purpose of learning, (I am persuaded) you will not in the end shrink from it.’ The prince hearing this exhortation, with gladness made reply: 928

‘You have with equal intention, illustrious¹! cautioned me with impartial mind; with humble heart I accept the advice, and pray that it may be so with me, (as you anticipate); 929

‘That I may in my night-journey obtain a torch, to guide me safely thro’ treacherous places; a handy boat to cross over the sea;—may it be so even now with me! 930

‘But as I am somewhat in doubt and anxious to learn, I will venture to make known my doubts, and ask, with respect to old age, disease, and death, how are these things to be escaped?’ 931

At this time O-lo-lam (Ârâda Kâlâma) hearing the question asked by the prince, briefly from the various Sûtras and Sâstras, quoted passages in explanation of a way of deliverance. 932

‘But thou (he said) illustrious youth! so highly gifted, and eminent among the wise! hear what I have to say, as I discourse upon the mode of ending birth and death; 933

‘Nature, and change, birth, old age, and death, these five (attributes) belong to all²; “nature” is (in itself)³ pure and without fault; the involution of this with the five elements⁴, 934

¹ Or, ‘illustriously admonished me without preference or dislike;’ or ‘against preference or dislike.’

² The discourse following is very obscure, being founded on the philosophical speculations of Kapila and others.

³ Or, Nature is that which is pure and unsullied (*tabula rasa*).

⁴ The five ‘great’ (Mahat).

‘Causes an awakening and power of perception, which, according to its exercise¹, is the cause of “change;” form, sound, order, taste, touch, these are called the five objects of sense (dhātu); 935

‘As the hand and foot are called the “two ways” (methods of moving?) so these are called “the roots” of action (the five skandhas); the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, these are named the “roots” (instruments) of understanding. 936

‘The root of “mind” (manas)² is twofold, being both material, and also intelligent; “nature” by its involutions is “the cause,” the knower of the cause is “I” (the soul); 937

‘Kapila the *Rīshi* and his numerous followers, on this deep principle of “soul³,” practising wisdom (Buddhi), found deliverance. 938

‘Kapila and now *Vākāspati*⁴, by the power of “Buddhi” perceiving the character of birth, old age, and death, declare that on this is founded true philosophy⁵; 939

‘Whilst all opposed to this, they say, is false. “Ignorance” and “passion,” causing constant “transmigration,” 940

¹ That is, as the power of perception is exercised, ‘change’ is experienced.

² Refer to Colebrooke, on the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

³ Much of this discourse might be illustrated from the Chinese version of ‘the seventy golden Sastra’ (Sāṅkhya Kārikā) of Kapila; but the subject would require distinct treatment.

⁴ This verse is obscure, and the translation doubtful. Literally rendered it runs as follows: ‘That Kapila (or, that which Kapila said) now (is affirmed respecting) *Pragāpati* [po-ġe-po-ti; this may be restored to *Vākpati*, or to *Pragāpati*; the latter however (as I am told) is the reading found in the Sanskrit original] (by the power of) Buddhi, knowing birth,’ &c.

⁵ This, they say, is called ‘to see.’

'Abiding in the midst of these (they say) is the lot of "all that lives." Doubting the truth of "soul" is called "excessive doubt," and without distinguishing aright, there can be no method of escape. 941

'Deep speculation as to the limits of perception is but to involve the "soul;" thus unbelief leads to confusion, and ends in differences of thought and conduct. 942

'Again, the various speculations on "soul" (such as) "I say," "I know and perceive," "I come" and "I go" or "I remain fixed," these are called the intricacies (windings) of "soul¹." 943

'And then the fancies raised in different natures, some saying "this is so," others denying it, and this condition of uncertainty is called the state of "darkness²." 944

'Then there are those who say that outward things (resembling forms) are one with "soul," who say that the "objective" is the same as "mind," who confuse "intelligence" with "instruments," who say that "number" is the "soul." 945

'Thus not distinguishing aright, these are called "excessive quibbles," "marks of folly," "nature changes," and so on. 946

'To worship and recite religious books, to slaughter living things in sacrifice, to render pure by fire and water, and thus awake the thought of final rescue, 947

'All these ways of thinking are called "without right expedient," the result of ignorance and doubt, by means of word or thought or deed; 948

¹ The 'soul' is the 'I' (ahamkâra) of the Sâṅkhya system, concerning which see Colebrooke (Essays), p. 153.

² Tamas.

'Involving outward relationships, this is called "depending on means;" making the material world the ground of "soul," this is called "depending on the senses." 949

'By these eight sorts of speculation are we involved in birth and death. The foolish masters of the world make their classifications in these five ways, (viz.) 950

'Darkness, folly, and great folly, angry passion, with timid fear. Indolent coldness is called "darkness;" birth and death are called "folly;" 951

'Lustful desire is "great folly;" because of great men subjected to error¹, cherishing angry feelings, "passion" results; trepidation of the heart is called "fear." 952

'Thus these foolish men dilate upon the five desires; but the root of the great sorrow of birth and death, the life destined to be spent in the five ways, 953

'The cause of the whirl of life, I clearly perceive, is to be placed in the existence of "I;" because of the influence of this cause, result the consequences of repeated birth and death; 954

'This cause is without any nature of its own, and its fruits have no nature; rightly considering what has been said, there are four matters which have to do with escape, 955

'Kindling wisdom—opposed to dark ignorance,—making manifest—opposed to concealment and obscurity,—if these four matters be understood, then we may escape birth, old age, and death. 956

¹ Literally 'great men producing error,' or it may be 'because of the birth-error (delusion) of great men.'

‘Birth, old age, and death being over, then we attain a final place; the Brahmins¹ all depending on this principle, 957

‘Practising themselves in a pure life, have also largely dilated on it, for the good of the world.’ The prince hearing these words again enquired of Ârâda : 958

‘Tell me what are the expedients you name, and what is the final place to which they lead, and what is the character of that pure (Brahman) life; and again what are the stated periods 959

‘During which such life must be practised, and during which such life is lawful; all these are principles to be enquired into; and on them I pray you discourse for my sake.’ 960

Then that Ârâda, according to the Sûtras and Sâstras, spoke, ‘Yourself using wisdom is the expedient; but I will further dilate on this a little; 961

‘First by removing from the crowd and leading a hermit’s life, depending entirely on alms for food, extensively practising rules of decorum, religiously adhering to right rules of conduct, 962

‘Desiring little and knowing when to abstain, receiving whatever is given (in food), whether pleasant or otherwise, delighting to practise a quiet (ascetic) life, diligently studying all the Sûtras and Sâstras, 963

‘Observing the character of covetous longing and fear, without remnant of desire to live in purity, to govern well the organs of life, the mind quieted and silently at rest, 964

‘Removing desire, and hating vice, all the sorrows

¹ The Brahmins in the world.

of life (the world of desire) put away, then there is happiness; and we obtain the enjoyment of the first¹ dhyâna. 965

‘Having obtained this first dhyâna, then with the illumination thus obtained, by inward meditation is born reliance on thought alone, and the entanglements of folly are put away; 966

‘The mind depending on this, then after death, born in the Brahma heavens, the enlightened are able to know themselves; by the use of means is produced further inward illumination; 967

‘Diligently persevering, seeking higher advance, accomplishing the second dhyâna, tasting of that great joy, we are born in the Kwong-yin² heaven (Ābhāsvara); 968

‘Then by the use of means putting away this delight, practising the third dhyâna, resting in such delight and wishing no further excellence, there is a birth in the Subhakraṣṭna (hin-tsing) heaven; 969

‘Leaving the thought of such delight, straightway we reach the fourth dhyâna, all joys and sorrows done away, the thought of escape produced, 970

‘We dwell in this fourth dhyâna, and are born in the Vṛihat-phala heaven; because of its long enduring years, it is thus called Vṛihat-phala (extensive-fruit); 971

‘Whilst in that state of abstraction rising (higher), perceiving there is a place beyond any bodily condition, adding still and persevering further in practising wisdom, rejecting this fourth dhyâna, 972

¹ The dhyânas are the conditions of ecstasy, enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Brahmaloḥa heavens.

² We have here an account of the different heavens of the Brahmaloḥas, concerning which consult Burnouf, ‘Introduction to Indian Buddhism.’

‘Firmly resolved to persevere in the search, still contriving to put away every desire after form, gradually from every pore of the body there is perceived a feeling of empty release, 973

‘And in the end this extends to every solid part, so that the whole is perfected in an apprehension of emptiness. In brief, perceiving no limits to this emptiness, there is opened to the view boundless knowledge. 974

‘Endowed with inward rest and peace, the idea of “I” departs, and the object of “I:” clearly discriminating the non-existence of matter (bhava), this is the condition of immaterial life. 975

‘As the *Muñga* (grass) when freed from its horny case, or as the wild bird which escapes from its prison trap, so, getting away from all material limitations, we thus find perfect release. 976

‘Thus ascending above the Brahmans (Brahmalokas?), deprived of every vestige of bodily existence, we still endure¹. Endued with wisdom²! let it be known this is real and true deliverance. 977

‘You ask what are the expedients for obtaining this escape; even as I have before detailed, those who have deep faith will learn. 978

‘The *Rishis* Gaigîshavya, Ganaka, *Vṛiddha* Parâsara³, and other searchers after truth, 979

‘All by the way I have explained, have reached true deliverance.’ The prince hearing these words, deeply pondering on the outline of these principles, 980

And reaching back to the influences produced by

¹ Literally, ‘endurance not exhausted.’

² That is, ‘O thou! endued with wisdom,’ or, generally, ‘those endued with wisdom.’

³ These proper names were supplied from the Sanskrit text.

our former lives, again asked with further words: 'I have heard your very excellent system of wisdom, the principles very subtle and deep-reaching, 981

'From which I learn that because of not "letting go" (by knowledge as a cause), we do not reach the end of the religious life; but by understanding nature in its involutions, then, you say, we obtain deliverance; 982

'I perceive this law of birth has also concealed in it another law as a germ; you say that the "I" (i. e. "the soul," of Kapila) being rendered pure¹, forthwith there is true deliverance; 983

'But if we encounter a union of cause and effect, then there is a return to the trammels of birth; just as the germ in the seed, when earth, fire, water, and wind 984

'Seem to have destroyed in it the principle of life, meeting with favourable concomitant circumstances will yet revive, without any evident cause, but because of desire; so those who have gained this supposed release, (likewise) 985

'Keeping the idea of "I" and "living things," have in fact gained no final deliverance; in every condition, letting go the "three classes"² and again reaching the three³ "excellent qualities," 986

'Because of the eternal existence of soul, by the subtle influences of that, (influences resulting from the past,) the heart lets go the idea of expedients, 987

'And obtains an almost endless duration of years. This, you say, is true release; you say "letting go the ground on which the idea of soul rests," that this frees us from "limited⁴ existence," 988

¹ See Colebrooke, l. c. p. 150.

² Three sorts of pain.

³ Perception, inference, affirmation.

⁴ Bhava.

‘And that the mass of people have not yet removed the idea of soul, (and are therefore still in bondage). But what is this letting go “*gunas*” (cords fettering the soul); if one is fettered by these “*gunas*,” how can there be release? 989

‘For *gunī* (the object) and “*guna*” (the quality) in idea are different, but in substance one; if you say that you can remove the properties of a thing (and leave the thing) by arguing it to the end, this is not so. 990

‘If you remove heat from fire, then there is no such thing as fire, or if you remove surface (front) from body, what body can remain? 991

‘Thus “*guna*” is as it were surface, remove this and there can be no “*gunī*.” So that this deliverance, spoken of before, must leave a body yet in bonds. 992

‘Again, you say that by “clear knowledge” you get rid of body; there is then such a thing as knowledge or the contrary; if you affirm the existence of clear knowledge, then there should be some one who possesses it (i.e. possesses this knowledge); 993

‘If there be a possessor, how can there be deliverance (from this personal “I”)? If you say there is no “knower,” then who is it that is spoken of as “knowing?” 994

‘If there is knowledge and no person, then the subject of knowledge may be a stone or a log; moreover, to have clear knowledge of these minute causes of contamination and reject them thoroughly, 995

‘These being so rejected, there must be an end, then, of the “doer.” What Ârâda has declared cannot satisfy my heart. 996

¹ Colebrooke, p. 157.

‘This clear knowledge is not “universal wisdom,” I must go on and seek a better explanation.’ Going on then to the place of Udra¹ *Rishi*, he also expatiated on this question of ‘I.’ 997

(But) although he refined the matter to the utmost, laying down a term of ‘thought’ and ‘no thought’ taking the position of removing ‘thought’ and ‘no thought,’ yet even so he came not out of the mire; 998

For supposing creatures attained that state, still (he said) there is a possibility of returning to the coil, whilst Bodhisattva sought a method of getting out of it. So once more leaving Udra *Rishi*, 999

He went on in search of a better system, and came at last to Mount Kia-*ke*² [the forest of mortification], where was a town called Pain-suffering forest (Uravilva?). Here the five Bhikshus had gone before. 1000

When then he beheld these five, virtuously keeping in check their senses (passion-members), holding to the rules of moral conduct, practising mortification, dwelling in that grove of mortification³; 1001

Occupying a spot beside the Nairāṅga river, perfectly composed and filled with contentment, Bodhisattva forthwith by them (selecting) one spot, quietly gave himself to thought. 1002

The five Bhikshus knowing him with earnest heart to be seeking escape, offered him their services with devotion, as if reverencing Īsvara Deva. 1003

¹ Yuh-to.

² Gayā, or Gayāśrsha.

³ Or is the word fu-hing = the name of a plant, such as the uruvu (betel)?

Having finished their attentions and dutiful services, then going on he took his seat not far off, as one about to enter on a course of religious practice, composing all his members as he desired. 1004

Bodhisattva diligently applied himself to 'means,' as one about to cross over old age, disease, and death. With full purpose of heart (he set himself) to endure mortification, to restrain every bodily passion, and give up thought about sustenance, 1005

With purity of heart to observe the fast-rules, which no worldly man (active man) can bear; silent and still, lost in thoughtful meditation; and so for six years he continued, 1006

Each day eating one hemp grain, his bodily form shrunken and attenuated, seeking how to cross (the sea) of birth and death, exercising himself still deeper and advancing further; 1007

Making his way perfect by the disentanglements of true wisdom, not eating, and yet not (looking to that as) a cause (of emancipation), his four members although exceedingly weak, his heart of wisdom increasing yet more and more in light; 1008

His spirit free, his body light and refined, his name spreading far and wide, as 'highly gifted,' even as the moon when first produced, or as the Kumuda flower spreading out its sweetness; 1009

Everywhere thro' the country his excellent fame extended; the daughters of the lord of the place both coming to see him, his mortified body like a withered branch, just completing the period of six years, 1010

Fearing the sorrow of birth and death, seeking earnestly the method (cause) of true wisdom, he

came to the conviction that these were not the means to extinguish desire and produce ecstatic contemplation; 1011

Nor yet (the means by which) in former time, seated underneath the Gambu tree¹, he arrived at that miraculous condition, that surely was the proper way, (he thought), 1012

The way opposed to this of 'withered body.' I should therefore rather seek strength of body, by drink and food refresh my members, and with contentment cause my mind to rest. 1013

My mind at rest, I shall enjoy silent composure; composure is the trap for getting ecstasy (dhyāna); whilst in ecstasy perceiving the true law (right law, i. e. truth), then the force of truth (the law) obtained, disentanglement will follow. 1014

And thus composed, enjoying perfect quiet, old age and death are put away; and then defilement is escaped by this first means; thus then by equal steps the excellent law results from life restored by food and drink. 1015

Having carefully considered this principle, bathing in the Nairāṅgana river, he desired afterwards to leave the water (pool), but owing to extreme exhaustion was unable to rise; 1016

Then a heavenly spirit holding out (pressing down) a branch, taking this in his hand he (raised himself and) came forth. At this time on the opposite side of the grove there was a certain chief herdsman, 1017

Whose eldest daughter was called Nandā. One of the Suddhavāsa Devas addressing her said, 'Bodhi-

¹ See above, p. 48, ver. 335.

sattva dwells in the grove, go you then, and present to him a religious offering.' 1018

Nandā Balada (or Balaga or Baladhya) with joy came to the spot, above her hands (i. e. on her wrists) white chalcedony bracelets, her clothing of a grey (bluish) colour (dye); 1019

The grey and the white together contrasted in the light, as the colours of the rounded river bubble; with simple heart and quicken'd step she came, and, bowing down at Bodhisattva's feet, 1020

She reverently offered him perfumed rice milk, begging him of his condescension to accept it¹. Bodhisattva taking it, partook of it (at once), whilst she received, even then, the fruits of her religious act. 1021

Having eaten it, all his members refreshed, he became capable of receiving Bodhi; his body and limbs glistening with (renewed strength), and his energies swelling higher still², 1022

As the hundred streams swell the sea, or the first quarter'd moon daily increases in brightness. The five Bhikshus having witnessed this, perturbed, were filled with suspicious reflection; 1023

They supposed (said) that his religious zeal (heart) was flagging, and that he was leaving and looking for a better abode, as though he had obtained deliverance, the five elements entirely removed³. 1024

¹ See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate I.

² This is a free translation; the text is probably defective, 問 being a mistake for 聞 or for 尊.

³ 'The five elements,' in the original 'the five great;' the sense seems to be that the Bodhisattva was acting as though he had attained his aim, and overcome the powers of sense. At the same

Bodhisattva wandered on alone, directing his course to that 'fortunate'¹ tree, beneath whose shade he might accomplish his search after complete enlightenment². 1025

(Over) the ground wide and level, producing soft and pliant grass, easily he advanced with lion step, pace by pace, (whilst) the earth shook withal; 1026

And as it shook, Kâla nâga aroused, was filled with joy, as his eyes were opened to the light. Forthwith he exclaimed: 'When formerly I saw the Buddhas of old, there was the sign of an earthquake as now; 1027

'The virtues of a Muni are so great in majesty, that the great earth cannot endure³ them; as step by step his foot treads upon the ground, so is there heard the sound of the rumbling earth-shaking; 1028

'A brilliant light now illumines the world, as the shining of the rising sun; five hundred bluish tinted birds (I see), wheeling round to the right, flying through space; 1029

'A gentle, soft, and cooling breeze blows around in an agreeable way; all these auspicious (miraculous) signs are the same as those of former Buddhas; 1030

'Wherefore I know that this Bodhisattva will certainly arrive at perfect wisdom. And now, behold! from yonder man, a grass cutter, he obtains some pure and pliant grass, 1031

'Which spreading out beneath the tree, with upright body, there he takes his seat; his feet placed

time it is possible that 'the five great' may allude to the five Bhikshus. But in any case it is better to hold to the literal sense.

¹ The 'fortunate tree,' the tree 'of good omen,' the Bodhi tree.

² Samyak-Sambodhi.

³ Cannot excel or surpass them.

under him, not carelessly arranged (moving to and fro), but like the firmly fixed and compact body of a Nâga; 1032

‘Nor shall he rise again from off his seat till he has completed his undertaking.’ And so he (the Nâga) uttered these words by way of confirmation. The heavenly Nâgas, filled with joy, 1033

(Caused a) cool refreshing breeze to rise; the trees and grass were yet unmoved by it, and all the beasts, quiet and silent, (looked on in wonderment.) 1034

These are the signs that Bodhisattva will certainly attain enlightenment. 1035

VARGA 13. DEFEATS MÂRA.

The great *Rîshi*, of the royal tribe of *Rîshis*, beneath the Bodhi tree firmly established, resolved by oath to perfect the way of complete deliverance. 1036

The spirits, Nâgas, and the heavenly multitude¹, all were filled with joy; but Mâra Devarâga, enemy of religion, alone was grieved, and rejoiced not; 1037

Lord of the five desires², skilled in all the arts of warfare, the foe of those who seek deliverance, therefore his name is rightly given Pisuna³. 1038

Now this Mâra râga had three daughters, mincingly beautiful and of a pleasant countenance, in every way fit by artful ways to enflame a man with love, highest in this respect among the Devis. 1039

The first was named Yuh-yen (lust-pollution), the second Neng-yueh-gin (able to delight a man),

¹ 天衆.

² I. e. king of sensuality.

³ The wicked one.

the third Ngai-loh¹ (love-joy). These three, at this time, advanced together, 1040

And addressed their father Pisuna and said: 'May we not know the trouble that afflicts you?' The father calming his feelings, addressed his daughters thus: 1041

'The world has now a great Muni, he has taken a strong oath as a helmet, he holds a mighty bow in his hand, wisdom is the diamond shaft he uses, 1042

'His object is to get the mastery in the world, to ruin and destroy my territory (domain); I am myself unequal to him, for all men will believe in him, 1043

'And all find refuge in the way of his salvation; then will my land be desert and unoccupied. But as when a man transgresses the laws of morality, his body (or, he himself) is then empty (i. e. unprotected), 1044

'So now, the eye of wisdom, not yet opened (in this man), whilst my empire still has peace (quiet), I will go and overturn his purpose, and break down and divide the ridge-pole (of his house)². 1045

Seizing then his bow and his five arrows, with all his retinue of male and female attendants, he went to that grove of 'fortunate rest' with the vow that the world (all flesh) should not find peace³. 1046

Then seeing the Muni, quiet and still (silent), preparing to cross the sea of the three worlds, in his left hand grasping his bow, with his right hand pointing his arrow, 1047

¹ See Childers, sub Mâro, for the name of the daughters. In Sanskrit, Rati, Prîti, and Trîshnâ.

² 'I will return to the house . . . , he findeth it swept and garnished, but empty.'

³ Should not find 'rest.' There is a play on the word.

He addressed Bodhisattva and said: 'Kshatriya! rise up quickly! for you may well fear! your death is at hand; you may practise your own religious system¹, 1048

'But let go this effort after the law of deliverance (for others); wage warfare in the field of charity² as a cause of merit, appease the tumultuous world, and so in the end reach your reward in heaven; 1049

'This is a way renowned and well established, in which former saints (victors) have walked, *Rishis* and kings and men of eminence; but this system of penury and alms-begging is unworthy of you. 1050

'Now then if you rise not, you had best consider with yourself, that if you give not up your vow, and tempt me to let fly an arrow, 1051

'How that Aila, grandchild of Soma³, by one of these arrows just touched, as by a fanning of the wind, lost his reason and became a madman; 1052

'And how the *Rishi* Vimala, practising austerities, hearing the sound of one of these darts, his heart possessed by great fear, bewildered and darkened he lost his true nature; 1053

'How much less can you—a late-born one—hope to escape this dart of mine. Quickly arise then! if hardly you may get away! 1054

'This arrow full of rankling poison, fearfully insidious where it strikes a foe! See now! with all my force, I point it! and are you resting in the face of such calamity? 1055

'How is it that you fear not this dread arrow? say! why do you not tremble?' Mâra uttered such fear-inspiring threats, bent on overawing Bodhisattva. 1056

¹ Or, a system of religion for yourself.

² Religious almsgiving.

³ Aizā, the grandson of Soma (i. e. Purūravas, the lover of Urvasī?).

But Bodhisattva's heart remained unmoved; no doubt, no fear was present. Then Mâra instantly discharged his arrow, whilst the three women came in front; 1057

Bodhisattva regarded not the arrow, nor considered ought the women three. Mâra râga now was troubled much with doubt, and muttered thus 'twixt heart and mouth: '1058

'Long since the maiden of the snowy mountains, shooting at Mahesvara, constrained him to change his mind; and yet Bodhisattva is unmoved, 1059

'And heeds not even this dart of mine, nor the three heavenly women! nought prevails to move his heart or raise one spark of love within him. 1060

'Now must I assemble my army-host, and press him sore by force;' having thought thus awhile, Mâra's army suddenly assembled round; 1061

Each (severally) assumed his own peculiar form; some were holding spears, others grasping swords, others snatching up trees, others wielding diamond maces; (thus were they) armed with every sort of weapon; 1062

Some had heads like hogs, others like fishes, others like asses, others like horses; some with forms like snakes or like the ox or savage tiger; lion-headed, dragon-headed, (and like) every other kind of beast; 1063

Some had many heads on one body-trunk, with faces having but a single eye, and then again with many eyes; some with great-bellied mighty bodies, 1064

And others thin and skinny, bellyless; others long-legged, mighty-knee'd; others big-shanked

and fat-calved; some with long and claw-like nails; 1065

Some were headless, breastless, faceless; some with two feet and many bodies; some with big faces looking every way; some pale and ashy-coloured, 1066

Others colour'd like the bright star rising, others steaming fiery vapour, some with ears like elephants, with humps like mountains, some with naked forms covered with hair, 1067

Some with leather skins for clothing, their faces party-coloured, crimson and white; some with tiger skins as robes, some with snake skins over them, 1068

Some with tinkling bells around their waists, others with twisted screw-like hair, others with hair dishevelled covering the body, some breath-suckers, 1069

Others body-snatchers, some dancing and shrieking awhile, some jumping onwards with their feet together, some striking one another as they went, 1070

Others waving (wheeling round) in the air, others flying and leaping between the trees, others howling, or hooting, or screaming, or whining, with their evil noises shaking the great earth; 1071

Thus this wicked goblin troop encircled on its four sides the Bodhi tree; some bent on tearing his body to pieces, others on devouring it whole; 1072

From the four sides flames belched forth, and fiery steam ascended up to heaven; tempestuous winds arose on every side¹; the mountain forests shook and quaked; 1073

¹ Kik for pien?

Wind, fire, and steam, with dust combined, (produced) a pitchy darkness, rendering all invisible. And now the Devas well affected to the law, and all the Nāgas and the spirits (kwei-shin), 1074

All incensed at this host of Māra, with anger fired, wept tears of blood; the great company of Suddhavāsa gods, beholding Māra tempting¹ Bodhisattva, 1075

Free from low-feeling, with hearts undisturbed by passion, moved by pity towards him and commiseration, came in a body to behold the Bodhisattva, so calmly seated and so undisturbed, 1076

Surrounded with an uncounted host of devils, shaking the heaven and earth with sounds ill-omened. Bodhisattva silent and quiet in the midst remained, his countenance as bright as heretofore, unchanged; 1077

Like the great lion-king placed amongst all the beasts howling and growling round him (so he sat), a sight unseen before, so strange and wonderful! 1078

The host of Māra hastening, as arranged, each one exerting his utmost force, taking each other's place in turns, threatening every moment to destroy him, 1079

Fiercely staring, grinning with their teeth, flying tumultuously, bounding here and there; but Bodhisattva, silently beholding them, (watched them) as one would watch the games of children; 1080

And now the demon host waxed fiercer and more angry, and added force to force, in further conflict; grasping at stones they could not lift, or lifting them, they could not let them go; 1081

¹ Confusing.

Their flying spears, lances, and javelins, stuck fast in space, refusing to descend; the angry thunder-drops and mighty hail, with these, were changed into five-colour'd lotus flowers, 1082

Whilst the foul poison of the dragon snakes was turned to spicy-breathing air. Thus all these countless sorts of creatures, wishing to destroy the Bodhisattva, 1083

Unable to remove him from the spot, were with their own weapons wounded. Now Mâra had an aunt-attendant whose name was Ma-kia-ka-li (Mâha Kâlî?), 1084

Who held a skull-dish in her hands, and stood in front of Bodhisattva, and with every kind of winsome gesture, tempted to lust the Bodhisattva. 1085

So all these followers of Mâra, possessed of every demon-body form, united in discordant uproar, hoping to terrify Bodhisattva; 1086

But not a hair of his was moved, and Mâra's host was filled with sorrow. Then in the air the crowd of angels (spirits), their forms invisible, raised their voices, saying: 1087

'Behold the great Muni; his mind unmoved by any feeling of resentment, whilst all that wicked Mâra race, besotted, are vainly bent on his destruction; 1088

'Let go your foul and murderous thoughts against that silent Muni, calmly seated! You cannot with a breath move the Sumeru mountain; 1089

'Fire may freeze, water may burn, the roughened earth may grow soft and pliant, but ye cannot hurt the Bodhisattva! Thro' ages past disciplined by suffering, 1090

'Bodhisattva rightly trained in thought, ever

advancing in the use of "means," pure and illustrious for wisdom, loving and merciful to all, 1091

'These four conspicuous (excellent) virtues cannot with him be rent asunder, so as to make it hard or doubtful whether he gain the highest wisdom. 1092

'For as the thousand rays of yonder sun must drown the darkness of the world, or as the boring wood must kindle fire, or as the earth deep-dug gives water, 1093

'So he who perseveres in the "right means," by seeking thus, will find. The world without instruction, poisoned by lust and hate and ignorance, 1094

'Because he pitied "flesh," so circumstanced, he sought on their account the joy of wisdom. Why then would you molest and hinder one who seeks to banish sorrow from the world? 1095

'The ignorance that everywhere prevails is due to false pernicious books (sûtras), and therefore Bodhisattva, walking uprightly, would lead and draw men after him. 1096

'To obscure and blind the great world-leader, this undertaking is impossible¹, for 'tis as though in the Great Desert a man would purposely mislead the merchant-guide; 1097

'So "all flesh" having fallen into darkness, ignorant of where they are going, for their sakes he would light the lamp of wisdom; say then! why would you extinguish it? 1098

'All flesh engulfed and overwhelmed in the great sea of birth and death, this one prepares the boat of wisdom; say then! why destroy and sink it? 1099

'Patience is the sprouting of religion, firmness

¹ In the sense of 'not commendable.'

its root, good conduct is the flower, the enlightened heart the boughs and branches, 1100

‘Wisdom supreme the entire tree, the “transcendent law¹” the fruit, its shade protects all living things; say then! why would you cut it down? 1101

‘Lust, hate, and ignorance, (these are) the rack and bolt, the yoke placed on the shoulder of the world; through ages long he has practised austerities to rescue men from these their fetters, 1102

‘He now shall certainly attain his end, sitting on this right-established throne; (seated) as all the previous Buddhas, firm and compact like a diamond; 1103

‘Though all the earth were moved and shaken, yet would this place be fixed and stable; him, thus fixed and well assured, think not that you can overturn. 1104

‘Bring down and moderate your mind’s desire, banish these high and envious thoughts, prepare yourselves for right reflection, be patient in your services.’ 1105

Mâra hearing these sounds in space, and seeing Bodhisattva still unmoved, filled with fear and banishing his high and supercilious thoughts, again took up his way to heaven above; 1106

Whilst all his host (were scattered), o’erwhelmed with grief and disappointment, fallen from their high estate, ’reft of their warrior pride, their warlike weapons and accoutrements thrown heedlessly and cast away ’mid woods and deserts. 1107

Like as when some cruel chieftain slain, the hateful

¹ Anuttara-dharma.

band is all dispersed and scattered, so the host of Mâra disconcerted, fled away. The mind of Bodhisattva (now reposed) peaceful and quiet. 1108

The morning sun-beams brighten with the dawn, the dust-like mist dispersing, disappears; the moon and stars pale their faint light, the barriers of the night are all removed, 1109

Whilst from above a fall of heavenly flowers pay their sweet tribute to the Bodhisattva. 1110.

VARGA 14. O-WEI-SAN-POU-TI (ABHISAMBODHI)¹.

Bodhisattva having subdued Mâra, his firmly fixed mind at rest, thoroughly exhausting the first principle of truth², he entered into deep and subtle contemplation, 1111

Self-contained. Every kind of Sâmadhi in order passed before his eyes. During the first watch he entered on 'right perception³,' and in recollection all former births passed before his eyes; 1112

Born in such a place, of such a name, and downwards to his present birth, so through hundreds, thousands, myriads, all his births and deaths he knew; 1113

Countless in number were they, of every kind and sort; then knowing, too, his family relationships, great pity rose within his heart. 1114

This sense of deep compassion passed, he once again considered 'all that lives,' and how they moved within the six⁴ portions of life's revolution, no final term to birth and death; 1115

¹ The condition that looks wisdom face to face.

² 'Eternally exhausting the highest truth' (paramartha).

³ The word for 'perception' is vedanâ (sheu).

⁴ The six modes of birth (transmigration).

Hollow all, and false and transient (unfixed) as the plantain tree, or as a dream, or phantasy. Then in the middle watch of night, he reached to knowledge (eyes) of the pure Devas¹, 1116

And beheld before him every creature, as one sees images upon a mirror; all creatures born and born again to die, noble and mean, the poor and rich, 1117

Reaping the fruit of right or evil doing, and sharing happiness or misery in consequence. First he considered and distinguished evil-doers (works), that such must ever reap an evil birth; 1118

Then he considered those who practise righteous deeds, that these must gain a place with men or gods; but those again born in the nether hells, (he saw) participating in every kind of misery; 1119

Swallowing (drinking) molten brass (metal), the iron skewers piercing their bodies, confined within the boiling caldron, driven and made to enter the fiery oven (dwelling), 1120

Food for hungry, long-toothed dogs, or preyed upon by brain-devouring birds; dismayed by fire, then (they wander through) thick woods, with leaves like razors gashing their limbs, 1121

While knives divide their (writhing) bodies, or hatchets lop their members, bit by bit; drinking the bitterest poisons, their fate yet holds them back from death. 1122

Thus those who found their joy in evil deeds, he saw receiving now their direst sorrow; a momentary taste of pleasure here, a dreary length of suffering there; 1123

A laugh or joke because of others' pain, a crying

¹ Deva sight.

out and weeping now at punishment received. Surely if living creatures saw the consequence of all their evils deeds, self-visited, 1124

With hatred would they turn and leave them, fearing the ruin following—the blood and death. He saw, moreover, all the fruits of birth as beasts, each deed entailing its own return, 1125

(And) when death ensues born in some other form (beast shape), different in kind according to the deeds. Some doomed to die for the sake of skin or flesh¹, some for their horns or hair or bones or wings, 1126

Others torn or killed in mutual conflict, friend or relative before, contending thus; (some) burthened with loads or dragging heavy weights, (others) pierced and urged on by pricking goads, 1127

Blood flowing down their tortured forms, parched and hungry—no relief afforded; then, turning round, (he saw) one with the other struggling, possessed of no independent strength; 1128

Flying through air or sunk in deep water, yet no place as a refuge left from death. He saw, moreover, those, misers and covetous, born now as hungry ghosts, 1129

Vast bodies like the towering mountain, with mouths as small as any needle-tube, hungry and thirsty, nought but fire and poison'd flame to enwrap their burning forms within. 1130

Covetous, they would not give to those who sought, or duped the man who gave in charity, now born among the famished ghosts, they seek for food, but cannot find withal. 1131

The refuse of the unclean man they fain would

¹ That is, some born as beasts, whose hides are of value, and for which they are killed.

eat, but this is changed and lost (before it can be eaten); oh! if a man believes that covetousness is thus repaid, as in their case, 1132

Would he not give his very flesh in charity even as Sivi rāga did! Then, once more (he saw), those reborn as men, with bodies like some foul sewer, 1133

Ever moving 'midst the direst sufferings, born from the womb to fear and trembling, with body tender, touching anything its feelings painful, as if cut with knives; 1134

Whilst born in this condition, no moment free from chance of death, labour, and sorrow, yet seeking birth again, and being born again, enduring pain. 1135

Then (he saw those who) by a higher merit were enjoying heaven; a thirst for love ever consuming them, their merit ended with the end of life, the five signs¹ warning them of death (their beauty fades), 1136

Just as the blossom that decays, withering away, is robbed of all its shining tints; not all their associates, living still, though grieving, can avail to save the rest; 1137

The palaces and joyous precincts empty now, the Devts all alone and desolate, sitting or asleep upon the dusty earth, weep bitterly in recollection of their loves; 1138

Those who are born, sad in decay; those who are dead, beloved, cause of grief; thus ever struggling on, preparing future pain, covetous they seek the joys of heaven, 1139

¹ The five signs are the indications of a Deva's life in heaven coming to an end.

Obtaining which, these sorrows come apace; despicable joys! oh, who would covet them! using such mighty efforts (means) to obtain, and yet unable thence to banish pain. 1140

Alas, alas! these Devas, too, alike deceived—no difference is there! thro' lapse of ages bearing suffering, striving to crush desire and lust, 1141

Now certainly expecting long reprieve, and yet once more destined to fall! in hell enduring every kind of pain, as beasts tearing and killing one the other, 1142

As Pretas parched with direst thirst, as men worn out, seeking enjoyment; although, they say, when born in heaven, 'then we shall escape these greater ills,' 1143

Deceived, alas! no single place exempt, in every birth incessant pain! Alas! the sea of birth and death revolving thus—an ever-whirling wheel— 1144

All flesh immersed within its waves cast here and there without reliance! thus with his pure Deva eyes he thoughtfully considered the five domains of life. 1145

He saw that all was empty and vain alike! with no dependence! like the plantain or the bubble. Then, on the third eventful watch, he entered on the deep, true¹ apprehension²; 1146

He meditated on the entire world of creatures, whirling in life's tangle, born³ to sorrow; the crowds who live, grow old, and die, innumerable for multitude, 1147

¹ 受 for 念.

² That is, the deep apprehension of truth.

³ Sorrow self-natured.

Covetous, lustful, ignorant, darkly-fettered, with no way known for final rescue. Rightly considering, inwardly he reflected from what source birth and death proceed; 1148

He was assured that age and death must come from birth as from a source. For since a man has born with him a body, that body must inherit pain (disease). 1149

Then looking further whence comes birth, he saw it came from life-deeds done elsewhere; then with his Deva-eyes scanning these deeds, he saw they were not framed by *Isvara*; 1150

They were not self-caused, they were not personal existences, nor were they either uncaused; then, as one who breaks the first bamboo joint finds all the rest easy to separate, 1151

Having discerned the cause of birth and death, he gradually came to see the truth; deeds come from upâdâna (cleaving), like as fire which catches hold of grass; 1152

Upâdâna (*tsu*) comes from *trishnâ* ('ngai), just as a little fire enflames the mountains; *trishnâ* comes from *vedanâ* (shau), (the perception of pain and pleasure, the desire for rest); 1153

As the starving or the thirsty man seeks food and drink, so 'sensation' (perception) brings 'desire' for life; then contact (*sparsa*) is the cause of all sensation, producing the three kinds of pain or pleasure, 1154

Even as by art of man the rubbing wood produces fire for any use or purpose; *sparsa* (contact) is born from the six entrances (*âyatanas*)¹,

¹ The six organs of sense.

(a man is blind because he cannot see the light)¹; 1155

The six entrances are caused by name and thing, just as the germ grows to the stem and leaf; name and thing are born from knowledge (*vigñāna*), as the seed which germinates and brings forth leaves. 1156

Knowledge, in turn, proceeds from name and thing, the two are interinvolved leaving no remnant; by some concurrent cause knowledge engenders name and thing, whilst by some other cause concurrent, name and thing engender knowledge; 1157

Just as a man and ship advance together, the water and the land mutually involved²; thus knowledge brings forth name and thing; name and thing produce the roots (*āyatana*s); 1158

The roots engender contact; contact again brings forth sensation; sensation brings forth longing desire; longing desire produces *upādāna*; 1159

Upādāna is the cause of deeds; and these again engender birth; birth again produces age and death; so does this one incessant round 1160

Cause the existence of all living things. Rightly illumined, thoroughly perceiving this, firmly established, thus was he enlightened; destroy birth, old age and death will cease; 1161

Destroy *bhava* then will birth cease; destroy 'cleaving' (*upādāna*) then will *bhava* end; destroy *trishṇā* (desire) then will cleaving end; destroy sensation then will *trishṇā* end; 1162

¹ This clause is obscure, it may mean, 'blind to darkness therefore he sees.'

² It is difficult to catch the meaning here; literally translated the passage runs thus: 'Water and dry land cause mutual involution.'

Destroy contact then will end sensation; destroy the six entrances, then will contact cease; the six entrances all destroyed, from this, moreover, names and things will cease; 1163

Knowledge destroyed, names and things¹ will cease; *samskāra* (names and things) destroyed, then knowledge perishes; ignorance destroyed, then the *samskāra*² will die; the great *Rishi* was thus perfected in wisdom (*sambodhi*). 1164

Thus perfected, Buddha then devised for the world's benefit the eightfold path, right sight, and so on, the only true path for the world to tread. 1165

Thus did he complete the end (destruction) of 'self,' as fire goes out for want of grass; thus he had done what he would have men do; he first had found the way of perfect knowledge; 1166

He finished thus the first great lesson (*paramārtha*); entering the great *Rishi*'s house³, the darkness disappeared; light coming on, perfectly silent, all at rest, 1167

He reached at last the exhaustless source of truth (*dharma*); lustrous with all wisdom the great *Rishi* sat, perfect in gifts, whilst one convulsive throe shook the wide earth. 1168

And now the world was calm again and bright, when Devas, *Nāgas*, spirits, all assembled, amidst the void raise heavenly music, and make their offerings as the law⁴ directs; 1169

A gentle cooling breeze sprang up around, and

¹ Here evidently equivalent to *samskāra*.

² *Samskāra*, i. e. the five *skandhas*, or constituents of individual life.

³ I. e. attained *Nirvāna*.

⁴ 'As the law directs;' that is, 'religious offerings' (*dharma dāna*).

from the sky a fragrant rain distilled; exquisite flowers, not seasonable¹, bloomed; sweet fruits before their time were ripened; 1170

Great Mandâras², and every sort of heavenly precious flower, from space in rich confusion fell, as tribute³ to the illustrious monk. 1171

Creatures of every different kind were moved one towards the other lovingly; fear and terror altogether put away, none entertained a hateful thought; 1172

And all things living in the world with faultless men⁴ consorted freely; the Devas giving up their heavenly joys, sought rather to alleviate the sinner's sufferings; 1173

Pain and distress grew less and less, the moon of wisdom waxed apace; whilst all the *Rîshis* of the *Ikshvâku* clan who had received a heavenly birth, 1174

Beholding Buddha thus benefitting men, were filled with joy and satisfaction; and whilst throughout the heavenly mansions religious offerings fell as raining flowers, 1175

The Devas and the *Nâga* spirits⁵, with one voice, praised the Buddha's virtues; men seeing the religious offerings, hearing, too, the joyous hymn of praise, 1176

Were all rejoiced in turn; they leapt for unre-

¹ 'Not seasonable;' that is, out of season; or, before their season.

² The *Mahâ Mandâra*, or *Mandârava*; one of the five trees of the paradise of Indra (Wilson); the *Erythrina fulgens*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 306.

³ As a religious offering to the Muni-lord.

⁴ *Wou lau gin*, leakless men. It means that all things living consorted freely with the good.

⁵ The Devas, *Nâgas*, and heavenly spirits (*kwei shin*).

strained joy; Māra, the Devarāga, only, felt in his heart great anguish. 1177

Buddha for those seven days, in contemplation lost, his heart at peace, beheld and pondered on the Bodhi tree, with gaze unmoved and never wearying: 1178

‘Now resting here, in this condition, I have obtained,’ he said, ‘my ever-shifting¹ heart’s desire, and now at rest I stand, escaped from self².’ The eyes of Buddha³ then considered ‘all that lives,’ 1179

And forthwith rose there in him deep compassion; much he desired to bring about their welfare (purity), but how to gain for them that most excellent deliverance, 1180

From covetous desire, hatred, ignorance, and false teaching (this was the question); how to suppress this sinful heart by right direction; not by anxious use of outward means, but by resting quietly in thoughtful silence. 1181

Now looking back and thinking of his mighty vow, there rose once more within his mind a wish to preach the law; and looking carefully throughout the world, he saw how pain and sorrow ripened and increased everywhere. 1182

Then Brahma-deva knowing his thoughts, and considering⁴ it right to request him to advance religion for the wider spread of the Brahma-glory, in the deliverance of all flesh from sorrow, 1183

¹ My heart which has experienced constant and differing birth-changes.

² Wou-ngo, in a condition without personal (ngo) limitations. The sense seems to be, that, by casting away the limitations of the finite, he had apprehended the idea of the infinite.

³ The eye of Buddha; the last of the *paññā* takkhus, for which see Childers, Pāli Dict. sub voce.

⁴ The sense may be, ‘thinking that he ought to be requested to preach.’

Coming, beheld upon the person of the reverend monk all the distinguishing marks of a great preacher, visible in an excellent degree; fixed and unmoved (he sat) in the possession of truth and wisdom, 1184

Free from all evil impediments, with a heart cleansed from all insincerity or falsehood. Then with reverent and a joyful heart, (great Brahma stood and) with hands joined, thus made known his request: 1185

‘What happiness in all the world so great as when a loving master meets the unwise¹; the world with all its occupants, filled with impurity and dire confusion², 1186

‘With heavy grief oppressed, or, in some cases, lighter sorrows, (waits deliverance); the lord of men, having escaped by crossing the wide and mournful sea of birth and death, 1187

‘We now entreat to rescue others—those struggling creatures all engulfed therein; as the just worldly man, when he gets profit, gives some rebate withal³, 1188

‘So the lord of men enjoying such religious gain, should⁴ also give somewhat to living things. The world indeed is bent on large personal gain, and hard it is to share one’s own with others; 1189

‘O! let your loving heart be moved with pity towards the world burthened⁵ with vexing cares.’

¹ In the sense of ‘the uninstructed.’

² With sense-pollution and distracted heart, oppressed with heavy grief, or, may be, with lighter and less grievous sorrow.

³ These lines are obscure; the sense, however, is plainly that given in the text.

⁴ In the way of request, ‘would that the lord of men,’ &c.

⁵ Oppressed amidst oppressions (calamities).

Thus having spoken by way of exhortation, with reverent mien he turned back to the Brahma heaven. 1190

Buddha regarding the invitation of Brahma-deva rejoiced at heart, and his design was strengthened; greatly was his heart of pity nourished, and purposed was his mind to preach. 1191

Thinking he ought to beg some food, each of the four kings offered him a Pâtra; Tathâgata¹, in fealty to religion, received the four and joined them all in one. 1192

And now some merchant men were passing by, to whom 'a virtuous friend², a heavenly spirit, said: 'The great Rîshi, the venerable monk, is dwelling in this mountain grove, 1193

'(Affording) in the world a noble field for merit³; go then and offer him a sacrifice!' Hearing the summons, joyfully they went, and offered the first meal religiously. 1194

Having partaken of it, then he deeply pondered, who first should hear the law⁴; he thought at once of Ârâda Kâlâma and Udraka Râmaputra, 1195

¹ Here the Buddha is called Tathâgata. It is a point to be observed that this title is only used after the Bodhisattva's enlightenment.

² There is a great deal said in Buddhist books about this expression 'virtuous,' or, 'good friend.' In general it means Bodhi or wisdom. It is used also in Zend literature to denote the sun (mithra); see Haug (Parsis), p. 209.

³ That is, giving the world a noble opportunity of obtaining religious merit. The expression 'field for merit' is a common one, as we say, 'field for work,' 'field for usefulness,' and so on.

⁴ Who ought to be first instructed in religion; or, who should hear the first religious instruction (sermon). The first sermon is that which is sometimes called 'the foundation of the kingdom of righteousness.' It is given further on.

As being fit to accept the righteous law; but now they both were dead. Then next he thought of the five men, that they were fit to hear the first sermon. 1196

Bent then on this design to preach Nirvâna¹, as the sun's glory bursts thro' the darkness, so went he on towards Benares, the place where dwelt the ancient *Rishis*; 1197

With eyes as gentle as the ox king's, his pace as firm and even as the lion's, because he would convert the world he went on towards the Kâsi² city; 1198

Step by step, like the king of beasts, did he advance watchfully through the grove of wisdom (Uruvilva wood). 1199

VARGA 15. TURNING THE LAW-WHEEL³.

Tathâgata piously composed and silent, radiant with glory, shedding light around, with unmatched dignity advanced alone, as if surrounded by a crowd of followers. 1200

Beside the way he encountered a young Brahman⁴, whose name was Upaka⁵; struck⁶ with the

¹ To preach the law of perfect quietude (quiet extinction; that is, quietness or rest, resulting from the extinction of sorrow).

² That is, Benares.

³ Concerning this expression, which means 'establishing the dominion of truth,' see Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, sub voce *pavatteti*.

⁴ A Brahmacârin, a religious student, one who was practising a life of purity.

⁵ Called 'Upagana' by Burnouf (Introd. p. 389), and in the *Lalita Vistara* an *Agivaka* (hermit), (Foucaux, 378). For some useful remarks on this person's character, see *Études Buddhiques* (Leon Féer), pp. 15, 16, 17.

⁶ So I construe '*khi ki*;' it means 'taken by,' or 'attracted by'

deportment of the Bhikshu, he stood with reverent mien on the road side ; 1201

Joyously he gazed at such an unprecedented sight, and then, with closed hands, he spake¹ as follows: 'The crowds who live around are stained with sin, without a pleasing feature, void of grace, 1202

'And the great world's heart is everywhere disturbed; but you alone, your senses all composed, with visage shining as the moon when full, seem to have quaffed the water of the immortals' stream; 1203

'The marks of beauty yours, as the great man's (Mahâpurusha); the strength of wisdom, as an all-sufficient (independent) king's (samrâg); what you have done must have been wisely done, what then your noble tribe and who your master?' 1204

Answering he said, 'I have no master; no honourable tribe; no point of excellence²; self-taught in this profoundest doctrine, I have arrived at superhuman wisdom³. 1205

'That which behoves the world to learn, but through the world no learner found, I now myself

the demeanour of the mendicant (Bhikshu). This incident is introduced as the first instance of Buddha's mendicant life and its influence on others.

¹ Or, 'he questioned thus.'

² 'Nothing that has been conquered.'

³ I have attained to that which man has not attained. That is, I have arrived at superhuman wisdom. It appears to me that this point in Buddha's history is a key to the whole system of his religion. He professes to have grasped absolute truth (the word 'absolute' corresponds with 'unfettered'); and by letting go the finite, with its limitations and defilements, to have passed into the free, boundless, unattached infinite.

and by myself¹ have learned throughout; 'tis rightly called Sambodhi (*king kioh*); 1206

'That hateful family of griefs the sword of wisdom has destroyed; this then is what the world has named, and rightly named, the "chiefest victory." 1207

'Through all Benares soon will sound the drum of life, no stay is possible—I have no name²—nor do I seek profit or pleasure, 1208

'But simply to declare the truth; to save men (living things) from pain, and to fulfil my ancient oath, to rescue all not yet delivered. 1209

'The fruit of this my oath is ripened now, and I will follow out my ancient vow. Wealth, riches, self all given up, unnamed, I still am named "Righteous Master³." 1210

'And bringing profit to the world (empire), I also have the name "Great Teacher⁴;" facing sorrows, not swallowed up by them, am I not rightly called Courageous Warrior? 1211

'If not a healer of diseases, what means the name of Good Physician? seeing the wanderer, not showing him the way, why then should I be called "Good Master-guide?" 1212

'Like as the lamp shines in the dark, without a

¹ This assertion is a fundamental one (see Mr. Rhys Davids' *Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana-sutta*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, throughout); so that Buddha disclaims any revelation in the sense of the result of a higher wisdom than his own. The cloud, in fact, of sin moved away, the indwelling of light, by itself, revealed itself.

² 'I am a voice.'

³ (Called by the) not-called name, 'Master of righteousness.'

⁴ Here follow a list of names applied to Tathāgata in virtue of his office. He gives up his name Gautama, and claims to be known only by his religious titles.

purpose of its own, self-radiant, so burns the lamp of the Tathâgata, without the shadow of a personal feeling. 1213

'Bore wood in wood, there must be fire; the wind blows of its own free self in space; dig deep and you will come to water; this is the rule of self-causation. 1214

'All the Munis who perfect wisdom, must do so at Gayâ; and in the Kâsi country they must first turn the Wheel of Righteousness.' 1215

The young Brahman Upâka, astonished, breathed the praise of such strange doctrine¹, and called to mind like thoughts he had before experienced²; lost in thought at the wonderful occurrence, 1216

At every turning of the road he stopped to think; embarrassed in every step he took. Tathâgata proceeding slowly onwards, came to the city of Kâsi, 1217

The land so excellently adorned as the palace of Sakradevendra; the Ganges and Baranâ³, two twin rivers flowed amidst; 1218

The woods and flowers and fruits so verdant, the peaceful cattle wandering together, the calm retreats

¹ Sighed 'oh!' and praised in under tone the strange behaviour of Tathâgata.

² Or perhaps the following translation is better: 'following in mind the circumstances which led to the strange encounter.'

³ The account in the text makes the city of Benares to be between the Ganges and the Baranâ or Varanâ; General Cunningham (Archæolog. Report, vol. i, p. 104) says, 'The city of Benares is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, between the Barnâ Nadi on the north-east and the Asi Nâla on the south-west. The Barnâ is a considerable rivulet which rises to the north of Allahabad, and has a course of about 100 miles. The Asi is a mere brook of no length.'

free from vulgar noise, such was the place where the old *Rishis* dwelt. 1219

Tathâgata glorious and radiant, redoubled the brightness of the place; the son of the *Kaundînya*-tribe (*Kaundînya-kulaputra*), and next *Dasabala-kâsyapa*, 1220

And the third *Vâshpa*, the fourth *Asvagit*, the fifth called *Bhadra*, practising austerities as hermits, 1221

Seeing from far Tathâgata approaching, sitting together all engaged in conversation, (said), 'This *Gautama*, defiled by worldly indulgence, leaving the practice of austerities, 1222

'Now comes again to find us here, let us be careful not to rise in salutation, nor let us greet him when he comes, nor offer him the customary refreshments; 1223

'Because he has broken his first vow, he has no claim to hospitality;' [for men on seeing an approaching guest by rights prepare things for his present and his after wants, 1224

They arrange a proper resting-couch, and take on themselves care for his comfort.]¹ Having spoken thus and so agreed, each kept his seat, resolved and fixed. 1225

And now Tathâgata slowly approached, when, lo! these men unconsciously, against their vow, rose and invited him to take a seat; offering to take his robe and *Pâtra*, 1226

They begged to wash and rub his feet, and asked him what he required more; thus in everything attentive, they honour'd him and offered all to him as teacher. 1227

They did not not cease however to address him

¹ This [] seems to be parenthetical.

still as Gautama, after his family¹. Then spake the Lord to them and said: 'Call me not after my private name, 1228

'For it is a rude and careless way of speaking to one who has obtained Arhatship²; but whether men respect or disrespect me, my mind is undisturbed and wholly quiet; 1229

'But you³—your way is not so courteous, let go, I pray, and cast away your fault. Buddha can save the world; they call him, therefore, Buddha; 1230

'Towards all living things, with equal heart he looks as children, to call him then by his familiar name is to despise a father; this is sin⁴.' 1231

Thus Buddha, by exercise of mighty love, in deep compassion spoke to them; but they, from ignorance and pride, despised the only wise⁵ and true one's words. 1232

They said that first he practised self-denial, but having reached thereby no profit, now giving rein to body, word, and thought⁶, how by these means (they asked) has he become a Buddha? 1233

Thus equally entangled by doubts, they would not credit that he had attained the way. Thoroughly versed in highest truth, full of all-embracing wisdom, 1234

¹ The address 'Bho Gotama' or 'Gotama,' according to Childers (Pāli Dict. p. 150), was an appellation of disrespect used by unconverted Brahmins in addressing Buddha. The title Gautama Buddha is rarely met with in Northern translations.

² The Arhat is the highest grade among the Buddhist saints. See Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 295.

³ Here the appeal is to them as religious persons.

⁴ Or, is the sin of dishonouring a father.

⁵ The true words of the Only Enlightened; that is, of the Buddha.

⁶ 樂 for 意.

Tathâgata on their account briefly declared to them the one true way; the foolish masters practising austerities, and those who love to gratify their senses, 1235

He pointed out to them these two distinctive classes¹, and how both greatly erred. 'Neither of these (he said) has found the way of highest wisdom, nor are their ways of life productive of true rescue. 1236

'The emaciated devotee by suffering produces in himself confused and sickly thoughts, not conducive even to worldly knowledge, how much less to triumph over sense! 1237

'For he who tries to light a lamp with water, will not succeed in scattering the darkness, (and so the man who tries) with worn-out body to trim the lamp of wisdom shall not succeed, nor yet destroy his ignorance or folly. 1238

'Who seeks with rotten wood to evoke the fire will waste his labour and get nothing for it; but boring hard wood into hard, the man of skill forthwith gets fire for his use; 1239

'In seeking wisdom then it is not by these austerities a man may reach the law of life. But (likewise) to indulge in pleasure is opposed to right, this is the fool's barrier against wisdom's light; 1240

'The sensualist cannot comprehend the Sûtras or the Sâstras, how much less the way of overcoming all desire! As some man grievously afflicted eats food not fit to eat, 1241

'And so in ignorance aggravates his sickness, so

¹ The two extremes.

how can he get rid of lust who pampers lust? Scatter the fire amid the desert grass, dried by the sun, fanned by the wind, 1242

'The raging flames who shall extinguish? Such is the fire of covetousness and lust (or, hankering lust), I, then, reject both these extremes, my heart keeps in the middle way. 1243

'All sorrow at an end and finished, I rest at peace, all error put away; my true sight¹ greater than the glory of the sun, my equal and unvarying wisdom², vehicle of insight, 1244

'Right words³ as it were a dwelling-place, wandering through the pleasant groves of right conduct⁴, making a right life⁵ my recreation, walking along the right road of proper means⁶, 1245

'My city of refuge in right recollection⁷, and my sleeping couch right meditation⁸; these are the eight even and level roads⁹ by which to avoid the sorrows of birth and death; 1246

'Those who come forth by these means from the slough, doing thus, have attained the end; such shall fall neither on this side or the other, amidst the sorrow-crowd of the two periods¹⁰. 1247

'The tangled sorrow-web of the three worlds by this road alone can be destroyed; this is my own way, unheard of before; by the pure eyes of the true law, 1248

¹ Samyag *drishī*.

² Samyag *vāk*.

³ Samyag *āgīva*.

⁴ Samyak *smṛti*.

⁵ The right roads (orthodox ways).

¹⁰ Or rather, of the 'two ages;' this age and the next.

³ Samyak *samkalpa*.

⁴ Samyak *karma*.

⁵ Samyag *vyâyāma*.

⁶ Samyak *samādhi*.

‘Impartially seeing the way of escape, I, only I, now first make known this way; thus I destroy the hateful company of *Trishná*’s¹ host, the sorrows of birth and death, old age, disease, 1249

‘And all the unfruitful aims of men, and other springs of suffering. There are those who warring against desire are still influenced by desire; who whilst possessed of body, act as tho’ they had none; 1250

‘Who put away from themselves all sources of true merit, briefly will I recount their sorrowful lot. Like smothering a raging fire, though carefully put out, yet a spark left, 1251

‘So in their abstraction, still the germ of “I”², the source³ of great sorrow still surviving, perpetuates the suffering caused by lust (*trishná*), and the evil consequences of every kind of deed survive; 1252

‘These are the sources of further pain, but let these go and sorrow dies, even as the seed of corn taken from the earth and deprived of water dies; 1253

‘The concurrent causes not uniting, then the bud and leaf cannot be born; the intricate bonds of every kind of existence, from the Deva down to the evil ways of birth, 1254

‘Ever revolve and never cease; all this is produced from covetous desire; falling from a high estate to lower ones, all is the fault of previous deeds; 1255

‘But destroy the seed of covetousness and the rest, then there will be no intricate binding, but all

¹ For some account of *Trishná*, Páli *Tañha*, see Rhys Davids (op. cit.), p. 149 note.

² The germ of self; that is, of individual existence.

³ Having the nature of great sorrow.

effect of deeds destroyed, the various degrees of sorrow then will end for good; 1256

‘Having this, then, we must inherit that; destroying this, then that is ended too; no birth, old age, disease, or death; no earth, or water, fire, or wind; 1257

‘No beginning, end, or middle; and no deceptive systems of philosophy; this is the standpoint of wise men and sages; the certain and exhausted termination, (complete *Nirvāṇa*). 1258

‘Such do the eight right ways declare; this one expedient has no remains; that which the world sees not, engrossed by error (I declare), 1259

‘I know the way to sever all these sorrow-sources; the way to end them is by right reason, meditating on these four highest truths, following and perfecting this highest wisdom. 1260

‘This is what means the “knowing” sorrow; this is to cut off the cause of all remains of being; these destroyed, then all striving, too, has ended, the eight right ways have been assayed. 1261

‘(Thus, too), the four great truths have been acquired, the eyes of the pure law completed. In these four truths, the equal (i. e. true or right) eyes not yet born, 1262

‘There is not mention made of gaining true deliverance, it is not said what must be done is done, nor that all (is finished), nor that the perfect truth has been acquired. 1263

‘But now because the truth is known, then by myself is known “deliverance gained,” by myself is known that “all is done,” by myself is known “the highest wisdom.”’ 1264

And having spoken thus respecting truth, the

member of the Kaundīnya family, and eighty thousand of the Deva host, were thoroughly imbued with saving knowledge; 1265

They put away defilement from themselves, they got the eyes of the pure law; Devas and earthly masters thus were sure, that what was to be done was done. 1266

And now with lion-voice he joyfully enquired, and asked Kaundīnya, 'Knowest thou yet?' Kaundīnya forthwith answered Buddha, 'I know the mighty master's law;' 1267

And for this reason, knowing it, his name was Āgñāta Kaundīnya (āgñāta, known). Amongst all the disciples of Buddha, he was the very first in understanding. 1268

Then as he understood the sounds of the true law, hearing (the words of) the disciple—all the earth spirits together raised a shout triumphant, 'Well done! deeply seeing (the principles of) the law, 1269

'Tathāgata, on this auspicious day, has set revolving that which never yet revolved, and far and wide, for gods and men, has opened the gates of immortality¹. 1270

'(Of this wheel) the spokes are the rules of pure conduct; equal contemplation, their uniformity of length; firm wisdom is the tire; modesty and thoughtfulness, the rubbers (sockets in the nave in which the axle is fixed); 1271

'Right reflection is the nave; the wheel itself the law of perfect truth; the right truth now

¹ The way or gate of sweet dew.

has gone forth in the world, not to retire before another teacher.' 1272

Thus the earth spirits shouted, the spirits of the air took up the strain, the Devas all joined in the hymn of praise, up to the highest Brahma heaven. 1273

The Devas of the triple world, now hearing what the great *Rishi* taught, in intercourse together spoke, 'The widely-honoured Buddha moves the world! 1274

'Wide-spread, for the sake of all that lives, he turns the wheel of the law of complete purity!' The stormy winds, the clouds, the mists, all disappeared; down from space the heavenly flowers descended; 1275

The Devas revelled in their joys celestial, filled with unutterable gladness. 1276

KIOUEN IV.

VARGA 16. BIMBISÂRA RÂGA BECOMES A DISCIPLE.

And now those five men, Asvagit, Vâshpa, and the others, having heard that he (*Kaundînya*) 'knew' the law, with humble mien and self-subdued, 1277

Their hands joined, offered their homage, and looked with reverence in the teacher's face. *Tathâgata*, by wise expedient, caused them one by one to embrace the law. 1278

And so from first to last the five *Bhikshus* obtained reason and subdued their senses, like the five stars which shine in heaven, waiting upon the brightening moon. 1279

At this time in the town of *Ku-i*¹ (*Kusinârâ*) there was a noble's son (called) *Yasas*; lost in night-sleep suddenly he woke, and when he saw his attendants all, 1280

Men and women, with ill-clad bodies, sleeping, his heart was filled with loathing; reflecting on the root of sorrow, (he thought) how madly foolish men were immersed in it; 1281

Clothing himself, and putting on his jewels, he left his home and wandered forth; then on the way he stood and cried aloud, 'Alas! alas! what endless chain of sorrows.' 1282

¹ The scene of this history of *Yasas* is generally laid in Benares; see *Romantic Legend*, p. 261; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiii, p. 102.

Tathāgata, by night, was walking forth, and hearing sounds like these, 'Alas! what sorrow,' forthwith replied, 'You are welcome! here, on the other hand, there is a place of rest, 1283

'The most excellent, refreshing, Nirvāṇa, quiet and unmoved, free from sorrow.' Yasas hearing Buddha's exhortation, there rose much joy within his heart, 1284

And in the place of the disgust he felt, the cooling streams of holy wisdom found their way, as when one enters first a cold pellucid lake. Advancing then, he came where Buddha was; 1285

His person decked with common ornaments, his mind already freed from all defects; by power of the good root obtained in other births, he quickly reached the fruit of an Arhat; 1286

The secret light of pure wisdom's virtue (li) enabled him to understand, on listening to the law; just as a pure silken fabric¹ with ease is dyed a different colour; 1287

Thus having attained to self-illumination, and done that which was to be done, (he was converted); then looking at his person richly ornamented, his heart was filled with shame. 1288

Tathāgata knowing his inward thoughts, in gāthas spoke the following words: 'Tho' ornamented with jewels, the heart may yet have conquered sense; 1289

'Looking with equal mind on all that lives, (in such a case) the outward form does not affect religion; the body, too, may wear the ascetic's garb, the heart, meanwhile, be immersed in worldly thoughts; 1290

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 105.

‘Dwelling in lonely woods, yet covetous of worldly show, such men are after all mere worldlings; the body may have a worldly guise, the heart mount high to things celestial; 1291

‘The layman and the hermit are the same, when only both have banished thought of “self,” but if the heart be twined with carnal bonds, what use the marks of bodily attention? 1292

‘He who wears martial decorations, does so because by valour he has triumphed o’er an enemy,—so he who wears the hermit’s colour’d robe, does so for having vanquished sorrow as his foe.’ 1293

Then he bade him come, and be a member of his church (a Bhikshu); and at the bidding lo! his garments changed! and he stood wholly attired in hermit’s dress, complete; in heart and outward look, a *Sramana*. 1294

Now (Yasas) had in former days some light companions, in number fifty and four; when these beheld their friend a hermit, they too, one by one, attained true wisdom [entered the true law]; 1295

By virtue of deeds done in former births, these deeds now bore their perfect fruit. Just as when burning ashes are sprinkled by water, the water being dried, the flame bursts forth. 1296

So now, with those above, the *Srāvakas* (disciples) were altogether sixty, all Arhats; entirely obedient and instructed in the law of perfect discipleship¹. So perfected he taught them further: 1297

‘Now ye have passed the stream and reached “the other shore,” across the sea of birth and death;

¹ The law of Arhats.

what should be done, ye now have done! and ye may now receive the charity of others. 1298

'Go then through every country, convert those not yet converted; throughout the world that lies burnt up with sorrow, teach everywhere; (instruct) those lacking right instruction; 1299

'Go, therefore! each one travelling by himself¹; filled with compassion, go! rescue and receive. I too will go alone, back to yonder Kia-*ke*² mountain; 1300

'Where there are great *Rishis*, royal *Rishis*, Brahman *Rishis* too, these all dwell there, influencing men according to their schools; 1301

'The *Rishi* Kâsyapa, enduring pain, revered by all the country, making converts too of many, him will I visit and convert.' 1302

Then the sixty Bhikshus respectfully receiving orders to preach, each according to his fore-determined purpose, following his inclination, went thro' every land; 1303

The honour'd of the world went on alone, till he arrived at the Kia-*ke* mountain, then entering a retired religious dell, he came to where the *Rishi* Kâsyapa was. 1304

Now this one had a 'fire grot' where he offered sacrifice, where an evil Nâga dwelt³, who wandered here and there in search of rest, through mountains and wild places of the earth. 1305

¹ In after time the disciples were not allowed to travel alone, but two and two.

² Gayâśrsha, or Gayâśisa in the Pâli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 134).

³ The episode here translated is found amongst the Sanchi sculptures. See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xxiv.

The honoured of the world, (wishing) to instruct this hermit and convert him, asked him, on coming, for a place to lodge that night. Kâsyapa, replying, spake to Buddha thus: 'I have no resting-place to offer for the night, 1306

'Only this fire grot where I sacrifice, this is a cool and fit place for the purpose, but an evil dragon dwells there, who is accustomed, as he can, to poison men.' 1307

Buddha replied, 'Permit me only, and for the night I'll take my dwelling there.' Kâsyapa made many difficulties, but the world-honoured one still asked the favour. 1308

Then Kâsyapa addressed Buddha, 'My mind desires no controversy, only I have my fears and apprehensions, but follow you your own good pleasure.' 1309

Buddha forthwith stepped within the fiery grot, and took his seat with dignity and deep reflection; and now the evil Nâga seeing Buddha, belched forth in rage his fiery poison, 1310

And filled the place with burning vapour. But this could not affect the form of Buddha. Throughout the abode the fire consumed itself, the honoured of the world still sat composed: 1311

Even as Brahma, in the midst of the kalpa-fire that burns and reaches to the Brahma heavens, still sits unmoved, without a thought of fear or apprehension, 1312

(So Buddha sat); the evil Nâga seeing him, his face glowing with peace, and still unchanged, ceased his poisonous blast, his heart appeased; he bent his head and worshipped. 1313

Kâsyapa in the night seeing the fire-glow, sighed;

‘Ah! alas! what misery! this most distinguished man is also burnt up by the fiery Nâga,’ 1314

Then Kâsyapa and his followers at morning light came one and all to look. Now Buddha having subdued the evil Nâga, had straightway placed him in his pâtra, 1315

(Beholding which) and seeing the power of Buddha, Kâsyapa conceived within him deep and secret thoughts: ‘This Gotama,’ he thought, ‘is deeply versed (in religion), but still he said, “I am a master of religion.”’ 1316

Then Buddha, as occasion offered, displayed all kinds of spiritual changes¹, influencing his (Kâsyapa’s) heart-thoughts, changing and subduing them; 1317

Making his mind pliant and yielding, until at length prepared to be a vessel of the true law, he confessed that his poor wisdom could not compare with the complete wisdom of the world-honoured one. 1318

And so, convinced at last, humbly submitting, he accepted right instruction. (Thus) U-pi-lo (Uravilva) Kâsyapa, and five hundred of his followers 1319

Following their master, virtuously submissive, in turn received the teaching of the law. Kâsyapa and all his followers were thus entirely converted. 1320

The *Rishi* then, taking his goods and all his sacrificial vessels, threw them together in the river, which floated down upon the surface of the current. 1321

Nadi and Gada, brothers, who dwelt adown the stream, seeing these articles of clothing (and the rest) floating along the stream disorderly, 1322

¹ The different wonders wrought by Buddha are detailed in Spence Hardy’s Manual, and in the Romantic Legend of Buddha:

Said, 'Some great change has happened,' and deeply pained, were restlessly (concerned). The two, each with five hundred followers, going up the stream to seek their brother, 1323

Seeing him now dressed as a hermit, and all his followers with him, having got knowledge of the miraculous law—strange thoughts engaged their minds— 1324

'Our brother having submitted thus, we too should also follow him (they said).' Thus the three brothers, with all their band of followers, 1325

Were brought to hear the lord's discourse on the comparison of a fire sacrifice¹: (and in the discourse he taught), 'How the dark smoke of ignorance arises², whilst confused thoughts, like wood drilled into wood, create the fire, 1326

'Lust, anger, delusion, these are as fire produced, and these enflame and burn all living things. Thus the fire of grief and sorrow, once enkindled, ceases not to burn, 1327

'Ever giving rise to birth and death; but whilst this fire of sorrow ceases not, yet are there two kinds of fire, one that burns but has no fuel left; 1328

'So when the heart of man has once conceived distaste for sin, this distaste removing covetous desire, covetous desire extinguished, there is rescue; 1329

'If once this rescue has been found, then with it is born sight and knowledge, by which distinguishing

¹ So I translate *i sse fo pi*; it may mean, however, 'in respect of the matter of the fire comparison.'

² This is the sermon on 'The Burning'; see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiii, p. 135.

the streams of birth and death, and practising pure conduct, 1330

'All is done that should be done, and hereafter shall be no more life (bhava).' Thus the thousand Bhikshus hearing the world-honoured preach, 1331

All defects¹ for ever done away, their minds found perfect and complete deliverance. Then Buddha for the Kâsyapas' sakes, and for the benefit of the thousand Bhikshus, having preached, 1332

And done all that should be done, himself with purity and wisdom and all the concourse of high qualities excellently adorned, he gave them, as in charity, rules for cleansing sense. 1333

The great *Rishi*, listening to reason, lost all regard for bodily austerities, and, as a man without a guide, was emptied of himself, and learned discipleship. 1334

And now the honoured one and all his followers go forward to the royal city² (*Râgagrîha*), remembering, as he did, the Magadha king, and what he heretofore had promised. 1335.

The honoured one when he arrived, remained within the 'staff grove'³; Bimbisâra Râga hearing thereof, with all his company of courtiers, 1336

Lords and ladies all surrounding him, came to where the master was. Then at a distance seeing Buddha seated, with humbled heart and subdued presence, 1337

Putting off his common ornaments, descending from his chariot, forward he stepped; even as

¹ The Âsravas.

² So also in the Pâli.

³ The 'Kang lin,' called in Sanskrit *Yashâvana*.

Sakra, king of gods, going to where Brahmadeva-râga dwells. 1338

Bowing down at Buddha's feet, he asked him, with respect, about his health of body; Buddha in his turn, having made enquiries, begged him to be seated on one side. 1339

Then the king's mind reflected silently: 'This Sâkyas must have great controlling power, to subject to his will these Kâsyapas who now are round him as disciples.' 1340

Buddha, knowing all thoughts, spoke thus to Kâsyapa, questioning him: 'What profit have you found in giving up your fire-adoring law?' 1341

Kâsyapa hearing Buddha's words, rising with dignity before the great assembly, bowed lowly down, and then with clasped hands and a loud voice addressing Buddha, said: 1342

'The profit I received, adoring the fire spirit, was this,—continuance in the wheel of life, birth and death with all their sorrows growing,—this service I have therefore cast away; 1343

'Diligently I persevered in fire-worship, seeking to put an end to the five desires, in return I found desires endlessly increasing, therefore have I cast off this service. 1344

'Sacrificing thus to fire with many Mantras, I did but miss (i.e. I did not find) escape from birth; receiving birth, with it came all its sorrows, therefore I cast it off and sought for rest. 1345

'I was versed, indeed, in self-affliction, my mode of worship largely adopted, and counted of all most excellent, and yet I was opposed to highest wisdom. 1346

'Therefore have I discarded it, and gone in quest

of the supreme Nirvâna. Removing from me birth, old age, disease, and death, I sought a place of undying rest and calm. 1347

‘And as I gained the knowledge of this truth, then I cast off the law of worshipping the fire (or, by fire).’ The honoured-of-the-world, hearing Kâsyapa declaring his experience of truth, 1348

Wishing to move the world throughout to conceive a heart of purity and faith, addressing Kâsyapa further, said, ‘Welcome ! great master, welcome ! 1349

‘Rightly have you distinguished law from law, and well obtained the highest wisdom ; now before this great assembly, pray you ! exhibit your excellent endowments ; 1350

‘As any rich and wealthy noble opens for view his costly treasures, causing the poor and sorrow-laden multitude to increase their forgetfulness awhile ; 1351

‘(So do you now) and honour well your lord’s instruction.’ Forthwith in presence of the assembly, gathering up his body and entering Samâdhi, calmly he ascended into space, 1352

And there displayed himself, walking, standing, sitting, sleeping, emitting fiery vapour from his body, on his right and left side water and fire, not burning and not moistening him ; 1353

Then clouds and rain proceeded from him, thunder with lightning shook the heaven and earth ; thus he drew the world to look in adoration, with eyes undazzled as they gazed ; 1354

With different mouths, but all in language one, they magnified and praised this wondrous spectacle, then afterwards drawn by spiritual force, they came and worshipped at the master’s feet, 1355

(Exclaiming), 'Buddha is our great teacher! we are the honoured one's disciples.' Thus having magnified his work and finished all he purposed doing, 1356

Drawing the world as universal witness, the assembly was convinced that he, the world-honoured, was truly the 'Omniscient!' 1357

Buddha, perceiving that the whole assembly was ready as a vessel to receive the law, spoke thus to Bimbisāra Rāga: 'Listen now and understand; 1358

'The mind, the thoughts, and all the senses are subject to the law of life and death. This fault¹ of birth and death, once understood, then there is clear and plain perception; 1359

'Obtaining this clear perception, then there is born knowledge of self, knowing oneself and with this knowledge laws of birth and death, then there is no grasping and no sense-perception. 1360

'Knowing oneself, and understanding how the senses act, then there is no room for "I," or ground for framing it; then all the accumulated mass of sorrow, sorrows born from life and death, 1361

'Being recognised as attributes of body, and as this body is not "I," nor offers ground for "I," then comes the great superlative (discovery), the source of peace unending; 1362

'This thought (view) of "self" gives rise to all these sorrows, binding as with cords² the world, but having found there is no "I" that can be bound, then all these bonds are severed. 1363

'There are no bonds indeed—they disappear—

¹ This fault; that is, this flaw.

² As with fetters.

and seeing this there is deliverance. The world holds to this thought of "I," and so, from this, comes false apprehension. 1364

'Of those who maintain the truth of it, some say the "I" endures, some say it perishes; taking the two extremes of birth and death, their error is most grievous! 1365

'For if they say the "I" (soul) is perishable, the fruit they strive for, too, will perish; and at some time there will be no hereafter, this is indeed a meritless deliverance. 1366

'But if they say the "I" is not to perish, then in the midst of all this life and death there is but one identity (as space), which is not born and does not die. 1367

'If this is what they call the "I," then are all things living, one—for all have this unchanging self—not perfected by any deeds, but self-perfect; 1368

'If so, if such a self it is that acts, let there be no self-mortifying conduct, the self is lord and master; what need to do that which is done? 1369

'For if this "I" is lasting and imperishable, then reason would teach it never can be changed. But now we see the marks of joy and sorrow, what room for constancy then is here? 1370

'Knowing that birth brings this deliverance then I put away all thought of sin's defilement; the whole world, everything, endures! what then becomes of this idea of rescue. 1371

'We cannot even talk of putting self away, truth is the same as falsehood, it is not "I" that do a thing, and who, forsooth, is he that talks of "I?" 1372

‘ But if it is not “I” that do the thing, then there is no “I” that does it, and in the absence of these both, there is no “I” at all, in very truth. 1373

‘ No doer and no knower, no lord, yet notwithstanding this, there ever lasts this birth and death, like morn and night ever recurring. But now attend to me and listen ; 1374

‘ The senses six and their six objects united cause the six kinds of knowledge, these three (i. e. senses, objects, and resulting knowledge) united bring forth contact, then the intervolved effects of recollection (follow). 1375

‘ Then like the burning glass and tinder thro’ the sun’s power cause fire to appear, so thro’ the knowledge born of sense and object, the lord (of knowledge) (self) (like the fire) is born. 1376

‘ The shoot springs from the seed, the seed is not the shoot, not one and yet not different, such is the birth of all that lives.’ 1377

The honoured of the world preaching the truth, the equal and impartial paramârtha, thus addressed the king with all his followers. Then king Bimbisâra filled with joy, 1378

Removing from himself defilement, gained religious sight, a hundred thousand spirits also, hearing the words of the immortal law, shook off and lost the stain of sin. 1379

VARGA 17. THE GREAT DISCIPLE BECOMES A HERMIT.

At this time Bimbisâra Râga, bowing his head, requested the honoured of the world to change his

place of abode for the bamboo grove¹; graciously accepting it, Buddha remained silent. 1380

Then the king, having perceived the truth, offered his adoration and returned to his palace. The world-honoured, with the great congregation, proceeded on foot, to rest for awhile in the bamboo garden². 1381

(There he dwelt) to convert all that breathed³, to kindle once for all⁴ the lamp of wisdom, to establish Brahma and the Devas, and to confirm the lives⁵ of saints and sages. 1382

At this time Asvagit and Vâshpa⁶, with heart composed and every member (sense) subdued, the time having come for begging food, entered into the town of Râgagriha: 1383

Unrivalled in the world were they for grace of person, and in dignity of carriage excelling all. The lords and ladies of the city seeing them, were filled with joy; 1384

Those who were walking stood still, those before waited, those behind hastened on. Now the Rishi Kapila amongst all his numerous disciples 1385

¹ This garden, called the *Karandâ Venuvana*, was a favourite residence of Buddha. For an account of it, see Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 194. It was situated between the old city of Râgagriha and the new city, about three hundred yards to the north of the former (see Fā-hien, chap. xxx, Beal's translation, p. 117 and note 2).

² I have translated Ku'an 'to rest awhile,' it might be supposed to refer to the rest of the rainy season. But it is doubtful whether this ordinance was instituted so early.

³ All living things.

⁴ To establish and settle the brightness of the lamp of wisdom.

⁵ To establish the settlement of sages and saints.

⁶ He is sometimes called Darabala Kâryapa (Eitel, *Handbook*, p. 158 b).

Had one of wide-spread fame, whose name was Sāriputra; he, beholding the wonderful grace of the Bhikshus, their composed mien and subdued senses, 1386

Their dignified walk and carriage, raising his hands, enquiring, said: 'Young in years, but pure and graceful in appearance, such as I before have never seen, 1387

'What law most excellent (have you obeyed)? and who your master that has taught you? and what the doctrine you have learned? Tell me, I pray you, and relieve my doubts.' 1388

Then of the Bhikshus, one¹, rejoicing at his question, with pleasing air and gracious words, replied: 'The omniscient, born of the Ikshvāku family, 1389

'The very first 'midst gods and men, this one is my great master. I am indeed but young, the sun of wisdom has but just arisen, 1390

'How can I then explain the master's doctrine? Its meaning is deep and very hard to understand, but now, according to my poor capability (wisdom), I will recount in brief the master's doctrine: 1391

"Whatever things exist all spring from cause, the principles (cause) of birth and death (may be) destroyed, the way is by the means he has declared²." 1392

¹ In the Pāli account of this incident Asvagit alone is represented as begging his food; but here Asvagit and Vāshpa are joined according to the later rule (as it would seem) which forbade one mendicant to proceed alone through a town. (Compare Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 144.)

² For the Southern version of this famous stanza, see Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 146; also Manual of Buddhism,

Then the twice-born Upata (Upatishya), embracing heartily what he had heard, put from him all sense-pollution, and obtained the pure eyes of the law. 1393

The former explanations he had trusted, respecting cause and what was not the cause, that there was nothing that was made, but was made by Īsvara, 1394

All this, now that he had heard the rule of true causation, understanding (penetrating) the wisdom of the no-self, adding thereto the knowledge of the minute (dust) troubles¹, which can never be overcome in their completeness (completely destroyed), 1395

But by the teaching of Tathāgata, all this he now for ever put away; leaving no room for thought of self, the thought of self will disappear². 1396

‘Who, when the brightness of the sun gives light, would call for the dimness of the lamp? for, like the severing of the lotus, the stem once cut, the pods (?) will also die; 1397

‘So Buddha’s teaching cutting off the stem of sorrow, no seeds are left to grow or lead to further increase.’ Then bowing at the Bhikshu’s feet, with grateful mien, he wended homewards. 1398

The Bhikshus after having begged their food, likewise went back to the bamboo grove. Sâri-

p. 196. For a similar account from the Chinese, see Wong Puh, § 77.

¹ The ‘dust troubles’ are the troubles caused by objects of sense, as numerous as motes in a sunbeam.

² ‘Look upon the world as void, O Mogharāgan, being always thoughtful; having destroyed the view of oneself (as really existing), so one may overcome death; the king of death will not see him who thus regards the world,’ Sutta Nipāta, Fausböll, p. 208.

putra on his arrival home, (rested) with joyful face and full of peace. 1399

His friend the honoured Mugalin (Maudgalyāyana), equally renowned for learning, seeing Sâriputra in the distance¹, his pleasing air and lightsome step, 1400

Spoke thus: 'As I now see thee, there is an unusual look I notice, your former nature seems quite changed, the signs of happiness I now observe, 1401

'All indicate the possession of eternal truth, these marks are not uncaused.' Answering he said: 'The words of the Tathâgata are such as never yet were spoken;' 1402

And then, requested, he declared (what he had heard). Hearing the words and understanding them, he too put off the world's defilement, and gained the eyes of true religion, 1403

The reward of a long-planted virtuous cause; and, as one sees by a lamp that comes to hand, so he obtained an unmoved faith in Buddha; and now they both set out for Buddha's presence, 1404

With a large crowd of followers, two hundred men and fifty. Buddha seeing the two worthies² coming, spoke thus to his disciples: 1405

'These two men who come shall be my two most eminent followers, one unsurpassed for wisdom, the other for powers miraculous;' 1406

And then with Brahma's voice³, profound and

¹ 'Then the paribbâgaka Sâriputta went to the place where the paribbâgaka Moggallâna was,' Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 147.

² The two 'bhadras,' i. e. 'sages,' or 'virtuous ones.'

³ Or, with 'Brahma-voice' (Brahmaghosha), for which, see Childers sub voce.

sweet, he forthwith bade them 'Welcome!' Here is the pure and peaceful law (he said); here the end of all discipleship! 1407

Their hands grasping the triple-staff¹, their twisted hair holding the water-vessel², hearing the words of Buddha's welcome, they forthwith changed into complete *Sramanas*³; 1408

The leaders two and all their followers, assuming the complete appearance of Bhikshus, with prostrate forms fell down at Buddha's feet, then rising, sat beside him⁴: 1409

And with obedient heart listening to the word, they all became Rahats. At this time there was a twice-(born) sage⁵, Kâsyapa Shi-ming-teng (Eggidatta) (Agnidatta), 1410

Celebrated and perfect in person, rich in possessions, and his wife most virtuous. But all this he

¹ This triple (three-wonderful) staff is, I suppose, a mark of a Brahman student.

² Twisted hair holding the pitcher; this may also refer to some custom among the Brahmans. Or the line may be rendered, 'their hair twisted and holding their pitchers.'

³ This sudden transformation from the garb and appearance of laymen into shorn and vested Bhikshus, is one often recounted in Buddhist stories.

⁴ Or, sat on one side (*ekamantam*).

⁵ This expression, which might also be rendered 'two religious leaders' ('rh sse), may also, by supplying the word 'sing,' be translated a 'twice-born sage,' i.e. a Brahman; and this appears more apposite with what follows, and therefore I have adopted it. The Brahman alluded to would then be called Kâsyapa Agnidatta. The story of Eggidatta is given by Bigandet (*Legend*, p. 180, first edition), but there is nothing said about his name Kâsyapa. Eitel (*Handbook*, sub voce *Mahâkâsyapa*) gives an explanation of the name Kâsyapa, 'he who swallowed light;' but the literal translation of the words in our text is, 'Kâsyapa giving in charity a bright lamp.'

had left and become a hermit, seeking the way of salvation. 1411

And now in the way by the To-tseu¹ tower he suddenly encountered Sākya Muni, remarkable for his dignified and illustrious appearance, as the embroidered flag of a Deva (temple); 1412

Respectfully and reverently approaching, with head bowed down, he worshipped his feet, whilst he said: 'Truly, honoured one, you are my teacher, and I am your follower, 1413

'Much and long time have I been harassed with doubts, oh! would that you would light the lamp² (of knowledge).' Buddha knowing that this twice-(born) sage was heartily desirous of finding the best mode of escape³, 1414

With soft and pliant voice, he bade him come and welcome. Hearing his bidding and his heart complying, losing all listlessness of body or spirit, 1415

His soul embraced the terms of this most excellent salvation⁴. Quiet and calm, putting away defilement, the great merciful, as he alone knew how, briefly explained the mode of this deliverance, 1416

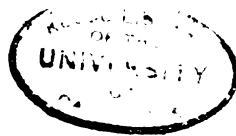
Exhibiting the secrets of his law, ending with

¹ This 'many children' tower is perhaps the one at Vaisâli alluded to by Fā-hien, chap. xxv.

² Here the phrase 'teng ming,' light of the lamp, seems to be a play on the name 'ming teng,' bright lamp. The method and way in which a disciple (saddhivihārika) chooses a master (upagghāya) is explained, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, p. 154.

³ Literally, '(had) a heart rejoicing in the most complete method of salvation (moksha).'

⁴ Or, 'the mode of salvation explained by the most excellent (Buddha).'



the four indestructible acquirements¹. The great sage, everywhere celebrated, was called Mahâ Kâsyapa, 1417

His original faith was that 'body and soul are different,' but he had also held that they are the same, that there was both 'I' and a place² for I; but now he for ever cast away his former faith, 1418

And considered only (the truth) that 'sorrow' is ever accumulating; so (he argued) by removing sorrow there will be 'no remains' (i. e. no subject for suffering); obedience to the precepts and the practice of discipline, though not themselves the cause, yet he considered these the necessary mode by which to find deliverance. 1419

With equal and impartial mind, he considered the nature of sorrow, for evermore freed from a cleaving heart. Whether we think 'this is,' or 'this is not' (he thought), both tend to produce a listless (idle) mode of life; 1420

But when with equal mind we see the truth, then certainty is produced and no more doubt. If we rely for support on wealth or form, then wild confusion and concupiscence result, 1421

Inconstant and impure. But lust and covetous desire removed, the heart of love and equal thoughts produced, there can be then no enemies or friends (variance), 1422

But the heart is pitiful and kindly disposed to all, and thus is destroyed the power of anger and of hate. Trusting to outward things and their relationships, then crowding thoughts of every kind are gendered; 1423

¹ *Katuḥ-samyak-pradhâna?*

² 所 'the place of.'

Reflecting well, and crushing out confusing thought, then lust for pleasure is destroyed. Though born in the Arûpa world (he saw) that there would be a remnant of life still left; 1424

Unacquainted with the four right truths, he had felt an eager longing for this deliverance, for the quiet resulting from the absence of all thought. And now putting away for ever covetous desire for such a formless state of being, 1425

His restless heart was agitated still, as the stream is excited by the rude wind. Then entering on deep reflection in quiet he subdued his troubled mind, 1426

And realised the truth of there being no 'self,' and that therefore birth and death are no realities; but beyond this point he rose not, his thought of 'self' destroyed, all else was lost. 1427

But now the lamp of wisdom lit, the gloom of every doubt dispersed, he saw an end to that which seemed without an end; ignorance finally dispelled, 1428

He considered the ten points of excellence; the ten seeds of sorrow destroyed, he came once more to life, and what he ought to do, he did. And now regarding with reverence the face of his lord, 1429

He put away the three¹ and gained the three²; so were there three disciples³ in addition to the

¹ The three poisons, lust, hatred, ignorance.

² The three treasures (triratna), Buddha, the law, the community.

³ The three disciples, as it seems, were Sâriputra, Maudgalyâyana, and Agnidatta (Kâsyapa).

three¹; and as the three stars range around the Trayastrimsas heaven, 1430

Waiting upon the three and five², so the three wait on Buddha. 1431

VARGA 18. CONVERSION OF³ THE 'SUPPORTER OF THE ORPHANS AND DESTITUTE'⁴ (ANĀTHAPIṆḌADA).

At this time there was a great householder⁵ whose name was 'Friend of the Orphan and Destitute;' he was very rich and of unbounded means, and widely charitable in helping the poor and needy. 1432

Now this man coming far away from the north, even from the country of Kosala⁶, stopped at the house of a friend whose name was Sheu-lo⁷ (in Rāgagrīha). 1433

Hearing that Buddha was in the world and dwell-

¹ In addition to the three brothers (the Kāsyapas).

² The allusion here is obscure; there may be a misprint in the text.

³ Literally, 'he converts,' &c.

⁴ This is the Chinese explanation of the name of Anāthapiṇḍada (or Anāthapiṇḍaka), 'the protector or supporter of the destitute.' He is otherwise called Sudatta (see Jul. II, 294).

⁵ The Chinese is simply 'ta k'ang k'é,' but this is evidently the equivalent of 'Mahā-seṭṭhi,' a term applied emphatically to Anāthapiṇḍada (see Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiii, p. 102, note 2). Where I have translated it 'nobleman,' the word 'treasurer' might be substituted; the term 'elder' cannot be allowed. Yasa the son of a seṭṭhi is called by Rh. D. a 'noble youth' (op. cit., p. 102, § 7).

⁶ That is, Uttara Kosala (Northern Kosala), the capital of which was Srāvastī.

⁷ Rhys Davids gives the name of one of the rich merchant's daughters, Kūla-Subhaddā (*Birth Stories*, p. 131); perhaps his friend at Rāgagrīha was called Sūla or Kūla (see also *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 219).

ing in the bamboo grove near at hand, understanding moreover his renown and illustrious qualities, he set out that very night¹ for the grove. 1434

Tathāgata, well aware of his character, and that he was prepared to bring forth purity and faith², according to the case, called him by his true³ (name), and for his sake addressed him in words of religion: 1435

‘Having rejoiced in the true law⁴, and being humbly⁵ desirous for a pure and believing heart, thou hast overcome desire for sleep, and art here to pay me reverence; 1436

‘Now then will I for your sake discharge fully the duties of a first meeting⁶. In your former births the root of virtue planted firm in pure and rare expectancy⁷, 1437

‘Hearing now the name of Buddha, you rejoiced because you are a vessel fit for righteousness, humble

¹ The statements that he came ‘by night,’ and that Buddha called him by his name—or, as the Chinese might be translated, called him ‘true’ (? guileless)—appear as though borrowed from the Gospel narrative. Nicodemus was rich, and Nathaniel (Bartholomew) preached in India (Euseb. Lib. v. cap. 10). He is said to have carried the Gospel of St. Matthew there, where it was discovered by Pantaenus.

² That is, that he was ripe for conversion.

³ The name by which he was called, according to Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 217), was Sudatta.

⁴ That is, ‘because’ you have rejoiced. The ‘true law’ is the same as ‘religious truth.’

⁵ Literally, ‘pure and truthful of heart, with meekness thirsting (after knowledge).’

⁶ The meaning is, as we have now met for the first time, I will explain my doctrine (preach) in a formal (polite) way.

⁷ That is, your merit in former births has caused you to reap a reward in your present condition.

in mind, but large in gracious deeds, abundant in your charity to the poor and helpless— 1438

‘The name you possess wide spread and famous, (this is) the just reward (fruit) of former merit. The deeds you now perform are done of charity, done with the fullest purpose and of single heart. 1439

‘Now, therefore, take from me¹ the charity of perfect rest (Nirvâna), and for this end accept my rules of purity. My rules² are full of grace, able to rescue from destruction (evil ways of birth), 1440

‘And cause a man to ascend to heaven and share in all its pleasures. But yet to seek for these (pleasures) is a great evil, for lustful longing in its increase brings much sorrow. 1441

‘Practise then the art of “giving up³” all search, for “giving up” desire is the joy of perfect rest (Nirvâna)⁴. Know⁵ then! that age, dis-

¹ The construction here is difficult. There seems to be a play on the word ‘shi,’ religious charity; the sense is, that as Anâtha-pindada was remarkable for his liberality now, he should be liberally rewarded by gaining a knowledge of salvation (Nirvâna).

² Instead of ‘my rules,’ it would be better to understand the word in an indefinite sense as ‘rules of morality’ (sīla).

³ ‘Giving up,’ that is, putting away all desire and giving up ‘self,’ even in relation to future reward; compare the hymn of S. Francis Xavier,

‘O Deus, ego amo Te
Nec amo Te ut salves me,’ etc.

And again,

‘Non ut in coelo salves me
Nec praemii ullius spe.’

⁴ This definition of Nirvâna, as a condition of perfect rest resulting from ‘giving up’ desire, is in agreement with the remarks of Mr. Rhys Davids and others, who describe Nirvâna as resulting from the absence of a ‘grasping’ disposition.

⁵ It would seem, from the context, that the word ‘xi’ (know), in this line, is a mistake for ‘sing,’ birth.

ease, and death, these are the great sorrows of the world. 1442

'Rightly considering the world, we put away birth and old age, disease and death; (but now) because we see that men at large inherit sorrow caused by age, disease, and death, 1443

'(We gather that) when born in heaven, the case is also thus; for there is no continuance there for any, and where there is no continuance there is sorrow, and having sorrow there is no "true self." 1444

'And if the state of "no continuance" and of sorrow is opposed to "self," what room is there for such idea or ground for "self¹?" Know then! that "sorrow" is this very sorrow (viz. of knowledge), and its repetition is "accumulation²;" 1445

'Destroy³ this sorrow and there is joy, the way⁴ is in the calm and quiet place. The restless busy nature of the world, this I declare is at the root of pain. 1446

'Stop then the end by choking up the source⁵.

¹ The argument is, that there can be no personal self, in other words, no 'soul,' where there is no continuance, or power of independent existence. This is one of the principles of Buddhism, viz. that what has had a beginning must come to an end; the 'soul,' therefore, as it began with the birth of the individual, must die (and as the Buddhists said) with the individual. If we put this into modern phraseology, it will be something like this, 'the very nature of phenomena demonstrates that they must have had a beginning, and that they must have an end' (Huxley, Lay Sermons, p. 17).

² The sorrow of 'accumulation' is the second of the 'four truths' (according to Northern accounts).

³ 'Destruction' is the third great truth.

⁴ The 'way' is the fourth truth.

⁵ The sentiment here enunciated is repeated, under various forms, in Dhammapada; the first paragraph in the Sûtra of Forty-two Sections, also, exhibits the same truth.

Desire not either life (bhava) or its opposite; the raging fire of birth, old age, and death burns up the world on every side. 1447

'Seeing the constant toil (unrest) of birth and death we ought to strive to attain a passive state (no-thought), the final goal of Sammata¹, the place of immortality² and rest. 1448

'All is empty! neither "self," nor place for "self," but all the world is like a phantasy; this is the way to regard ourselves, as but a heap of composite qualities (samskāra).' 1449

The nobleman hearing the spoken law forthwith attained the first³ degree of holiness, he emptied, as it were, the sea of birth and death, one drop⁴ alone remaining. 1450

By practising, apart from men, the banishment of all desire he soon attained the one impersonal

¹ Sammata or Sammati seems to be the same as Samatha in Pāli (concerning which, see Childers, Pāli Dict. sub voce). The Chinese expression 'yih sin' (one heart) is generally equivalent to 'sammata,' ecstatic union. It cannot here be rendered by samādhi.

² The place of 'sweet dew' (amṛita).

³ That is, of a Srotāpanna. Spence Hardy, in his Manual of Buddhism, p. 218, also says that Anāthapīṇḍada entered the first path after hearing the sermon; but in his account the sermon consisted of two stanzas only, 'He who is free from evil desire attains the highest estate and is always in prosperity. He who cuts off demerit, who subdues the mind and attains a state of perfect equanimity, secures Nirvāṇa; this is his prosperity.' In this account the idea of 'prosperity' is the same as the 'charity of Nirvāṇa' in our version.

⁴ This appears to allude to the circumstance that at the dedication of the Vihāra Anāthapīṇḍada arrived at the third degree of holiness, after which there was but one birth (drop) more to experience before reaching Nirvāṇa (Manual of Buddhism, p. 220).

condition, not¹ as common folk do now-a-day who speculate upon the mode of true deliverance; 1451

For he who does not banish sorrow-causing *samskâras* does but involve himself in every kind of question; and though he reaches to the highest form of being, yet grasps not the one and only truth; 1452

Erroneous thoughts as to the joy of heaven are still entwined by the fast cords of lust². The nobleman attending to the spoken law the cloud of darkness opened before the shining splendour; 1453

Thus he attained true sight, erroneous views for ever dissipated; even as the furious winds of autumn sway to and fro and scatter all the heaped-up clouds. 1454

He argued³ not that *Îsvara* was cause, nor did he advocate some cause heretical, nor yet again did he affirm there was no cause for the beginning of the world. 1455

'If the world was made by *Îsvara deva*⁴, there should be neither young nor old, first nor after, nor the five ways of birth (transmigration); and when once born there should be no destruction. 1456

'Nor should there be such thing as sorrow or calamity, nor doing wrong nor doing right; for all,

¹ These lines appear to be by way of reflection.

² 'Lust' in the sense of 'appetite.'

³ Here follows a long dissertation on the subject of the 'maker' of the world. The theories refuted are (1) that *Îsvara* is maker, (2) that self-nature is the cause, (3) that time is the maker, (4) that self (in the sense of 'universal self') is the cause, (5) that there is no cause.

⁴ Here I begin with inverted commas, as if the discourse were either spoken by Buddha or interpolated by *Aravaghosha*.

both pure and impure deeds, these must come from
Īsvara deva. 1457

‘Again, if Īsvara deva made the world there
should be never question (doubt) about the fact,
even as a son born of his father ever confesses him
and pays him reverence. 1458

‘Men when pressed by sore calamity ought not
(if Īsvara be creator) to rebel against him, but rather
reverence him completely, as the self-existent. Nor
ought they to adore more gods than one (other
spirits). 1459

‘Again, if Īsvara be the maker he should not be
called the self-existent¹, because in that he is the
maker now he always should have been the maker
(ever making). 1460

‘But if ever making, then ever self-remembering²,
and therefore not the self-existent one. And if he
made without a mind (purpose) then is he like the
sucking child; 1461

‘But if he made having an (ever prompting) pur-
pose, then is he not, with such a purpose, self-
existent. Sorrow and joy spring up in all that lives,
these at least are not the works of Īsvara; 1462

‘For if he causes grief³ and joy, he must himself

¹ In the sense of ‘existing in himself’ or independently. How
entirely Northern Buddhism changed its character shortly after
Arvaghosha’s time, is evident from the fact that Avalokitesvara,
‘the god who looks down’ (in the sense of protector), became an
object of almost universal worship, and was afterwards regarded
as the creating god.

² That is, ever ‘purposing’ to make, and so not complete in
himself.

³ ‘This question, “unde malum et quare,”’ was the question
that of old met the thoughtful at every turn. And it has always

have love (preference) and hate; but if he loves unduly, or has hatred, he cannot properly be named the self-existent. 1463

‘Again, if *Īsvara* be the maker, all living things should silently submit, patient beneath the maker’s power, and then what use to practise virtue? 1464

‘Twere equal, then, the doing right or wrong, there should be no reward of works; the works themselves being his making, then all things are the same with him, the maker. 1465

‘But if all things are one with him, then our deeds, and we who do them, are also self-existent. But if *Īsvara* be uncreated, then all things (being one with him) are uncreated. 1466

‘But if you say there is another cause beside him as creator, then *Īsvara* is not the “end of all” (*Īsvara*, who ought to be inexhaustible, is not so), and therefore all that lives may after all be uncreated (without a maker). 1467

‘Thus, you see, the thought of *Īsvara* is overthrown in this discussion (*sāstra*); and all such contradictory assertions should be exposed; if not, the blame is ours¹. 1468

‘Again, if it be said self-nature² is the maker, this

done so. Many of the arguments used in the text may be found in works treating on the subject of ‘evil’ and its origin.

¹ So the passage must be translated; but if so, it would appear, as before stated, that this discourse on the ‘maker’ is introduced here parenthetically by *Āsvaghosha*, not as spoken by *Buddha*. No doubt the theories and their confutations were such as prevailed in his day.

² By self-nature, or, original nature, is evidently meant ‘*svabhāva*.’ The theory of such a cause had evidently gained ground at this time in the North, although it seems unknown amongst

is as faulty as the first assertion ; nor has either of the Hetuvidyâ¹ sâstras asserted such a thing as this, till now. 1469

‘ That which depends on nothing cannot as a cause make that which is ; but all things round us come from a cause, as the plant comes from the seed ; 1470

‘ We cannot therefore say that all things are produced by self-nature. Again, all things which exist (are made) spring not from one (nature) as a cause ; 1471

‘ And yet you say self-nature is but one, it cannot then be cause of all. If you say that that self-nature pervades and fills all places, 1472

‘ If it pervades and fills all things, then certainly it cannot make them too ; for there would be nothing, then, to make, and therefore this cannot be the cause. 1473

‘ If, again, it fills all places and yet makes all things that exist, then it should throughout “ all time ” have made for ever that which is. 1474

‘ But if you say it made things thus, then there is nothing to be made “ in time² ; ” know then for certain self-nature cannot be the cause of all. 1475

‘ Again, they say that that self-nature excludes all

Southern Buddhists. Nâgasena wrote a Sâstra (‘ of one sloka ’) to disprove it.

¹ The usual Chinese expression for ‘ hetuvidyâ ’ is ‘ in ming ; ’ here the phrase is ‘ ming in ; ’ but I suppose this to be either an error, or equivalent with the other. The Hetuvidyâ sâstra is a treatise on the ‘ explanation of causes. ’

² The argument seems to be that self-nature must have made all things from the first as they are ; there is no room therefore for further creation, but things are still made, therefore self-nature cannot be the cause.

gunas¹ (modifications), therefore all things made by it ought likewise to be free from gunas. 1476

‘But we see, in fact, that all things in the world are fettered throughout by gunas, therefore, again, we say that self-nature cannot be the cause of all. 1477

‘If, again, you say that that self-nature is different from such qualities (gunas), (we answer), since self-nature must have ever caused, it cannot differ in its nature (from itself); 1478

‘But if the world (all living things) be different from these qualities (gunas), then self-nature cannot be the cause. Again, if self-nature be unchangeable, so things should also be without decay; 1479

‘If we regard self-nature as the cause, then cause and consequence of reason should be one; but because we see decay in all things, we know that they at least are caused. 1480

‘Again, if self-nature be the cause, why should we seek to find “escape?” for we ourselves possess this nature; patient then should we endure both birth and death. 1481

‘For let us take the case that one may find “escape,” self-nature still will re-construct the evil of birth. If self-nature in itself be blind, yet ’tis the maker of the world that sees. 1482

‘On this account again it cannot be the maker, because, in this case, cause and effect would differ in their character, but in all the world around us, cause and effect go hand in hand. 1483

‘Again, if self-nature have no purpose² (aim), it

¹ That is, that it is nirguna, devoid of qualities.

² ‘No purpose’—no heart; if we take the two powers of soul

cannot cause that which has such purpose. We know on seeing smoke there must be fire, and cause and result are ever classed together thus. 1484

'We are forbidden, then, to say an unthinking cause can make a thing that has intelligence. The gold of which the cup is made is gold throughout from first to last. 1485

'Self-nature then that makes these things from first to last must permeate all it makes. Once more, if "time" is maker of the world, 'twere needless then to seek "escape," 1486

'For "time" is constant and unchangeable, let us in patience bear the "intervals" of time. The world in its successions has no limits, the "intervals" of time are boundless also. 1487

'Those then who practise a religious life need not rely on "methods" or "expedients." The To-lo-piu Kiu-na¹ (Tripuna guṇa sâstra?), the one strange Sâstra in the world, 1488

'Although it has so many theories (utterings), yet still, be it known, it is opposed to any single cause. But if, again, you say that "self"² is maker, then surely self should make things pleasingly, 1489

'But now things are not pleasing for oneself, how then is it said that self is maker? But if he did not wish to make things so, then he who wishes for things pleasing, is opposed to self, the maker. 1490

(according to the scholastic method) to be a 'vis cognitiva' and a 'vis effectiva,' the expression in the text appears to correspond with the latter.

¹ I do not know any other way of restoring these symbols than the one I have used. But what is the Tripuna guṇa sâstra?

² 'Self' in the sense of a 'universal cause' co-extensive with the things made.

‘Sorrow and joy are not self-existing, how can these be made by “self?” But if we allow that self was maker, there should not be, at least, an evil karman¹; 1491

‘But yet our deeds produce results both good and evil, know then that “self” cannot be maker. But perhaps you say “self” is the maker according to occasion² (time), and then the occasion ought to be for good alone; 1492

‘But as good and evil both result from “cause,” it cannot be that “self” has made it so. But if you adopt the argument—there is no maker—then it is useless practising expedients³; 1493

‘All things are fixed and certain of themselves, what good to try to make them otherwise? Deeds of every kind, done in the world, do, notwithstanding, bring forth every kind of fruit; 1494

‘Therefore we argue all things that exist are not without some cause or other. There is both “mind” and “want of mind,” all things come from fixed causation; 1495

‘The world and all therein is not the result of “nothing” as a cause.’ The nobleman⁴ (householder), his heart receiving light, perceived throughout the most excellent system of truth, 1496

Simple, and of wisdom born; thus firmly settled

¹ There should not be works producing birth in one of the evil ways.

² I do not understand the point here; literally the passage is ‘saying self according to time makes’—the Chinese ‘ts’ui shi’ means ‘whenever convenient,’ or ‘at a good time;’ so that the passage may mean ‘but if you say that self creates only when so prompted by itself.’

³ That is, using means for salvation or escape from sorrow.

⁴ Here the narrative seems to take up the thread dropped at v. 1451.

in the true doctrine he lowly bent in worship at the feet of Buddha and with closed hands made his request: 1497

‘I dwell indeed at Srāvastī (Sāvatthi)¹, a land rich in produce, and enjoying peace; Prasenagit (Pasenit)² is the great king thereof, the offspring of the “lion” family; 1498

‘His high renown and fame spread everywhere, revered by all both far and near. Now am I wishful there to found a Vihāra, I pray you of your tenderness accept it from me. 1499

‘I know the heart of Buddha has no preferences, nor does he seek a resting-place from labour, but on behalf of all that lives refuse not my request.’ 1500

Buddha, knowing the householder’s heart, that his great charity was now the moving cause, untainted and unselfish charity, nobly considerate of the heart of all that lives 1501

(He said), ‘Now you have seen the true doctrine, your guileless heart loves to exercise its charity, for wealth and money are inconstant treasures, ’twere better quickly to bestow such things on others. 1502

‘For when a treasury has been burnt, whatever precious things may have escaped the fire, the wise

¹ She-po-ti; evidently a Pāli or Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Srāvastī. The Chinese explanation of this name is (as found in the next line) a ‘country of abundance.’ It has been identified by General Cunningham with Sāhet Māhet.

² Po-sze-nih, i.e. Prasenagit (victorious army). With respect to this king, we know from Hiouen Thsang (Jul. II, 317) that he did not belong to the Sākya race, but he became a convert to Buddhism. His son Virūdhaka massacred a number of the Sākyas, ‘and the ground was covered with their dead bodies as with pieces of straw’ (Jul. II, 317). The king is here described as belonging to the Simha race; probably he was a Scyth, of the same family as the Vaggis, one tribe of whom was called the ‘lion’ tribe.

man, knowing their inconstancy, gives freely, doing acts of kindness with his saved possessions. 1503

‘But the niggard guards them carefully, fearing to lose them, worn by anxiety, but never fearing (worst of all!) “inconstancy¹,” and that accumulated sorrow, when he loses all! 1504

‘There is a proper time and a proper mode in charity, just as the vigorous warrior goes to battle, so is the man “able to give,” he also is an able warrior; a champion strong and wise in action. 1505

‘The charitable man is loved by all, well-known and far-renowned! his friendship prized by the gentle and the good, in death his heart at rest and full of joy! 1506

‘He suffers no repentance, no tormenting fear, nor is he born a wretched ghost or demon! this is the opening flower of his reward, the fruit that follows—hard to conjecture²! 1507

‘In all the six conditions born there is no sweet companion like pure charity; if born a Deva or a man, then charity brings worship and renown on every hand; 1508

‘If born among the lower creatures (beasts), the result of charity will follow in contentment got; wisdom leads the way to fixed composure without dependence and without number³. 1509

‘And if we even reach the immortal path, still by continuous acts of charity we fulfil ourselves in

¹ ‘Inconstancy,’ or ‘death.’

² This is a singular expression, implying that the character of a good man’s final condition is difficult to describe: ‘it has not entered the heart.’

³ These two lines appear to be irrelevant; nor do I understand the last phrase ‘without number,’ in its connection with the context.

consequence of kindly charity done elsewhere. Training ourselves in the eightfold¹ path of recollection, 1510

'In every thought the heart is filled with joy, firm fixed in holy contemplation (samâdhi), by meditation still we add to wisdom, able to see aright (the cause of) birth and death; 1511

'Having beheld aright the cause of these, then follows in due order perfect deliverance. The charitable man discarding earthly wealth, nobly excludes the power of covetous desire; 1512

'Loving and compassionate now, he gives with reverence and banishes all hatred, envy, anger. So plainly may we see the fruit of charity, putting away all covetous and unbelieving ways, 1513

'The bands of sorrow all destroyed, this is the fruit of kindly charity. Know then! the charitable man has found the cause of final rescue; 1514

'Even as the man who plants the sapling, thereby secures the shade, the flowers, the fruit (of the tree full grown); the result of charity is even so, its reward is joy and the great Nirvâṇa. 1515

'The charity which unstores² wealth leads to returns of well-stored fruit. Giving away our food we get more strength, giving away our clothes we get more beauty, 1516

'Founding religious rest-places³ (pure abodes) we

¹ The eight recollections (nim); doubtless these are the eight 'samâpattis' (attainments or endowments), concerning which we may consult Childers' Pâli Dict., sub 'samâpatti.'

² That is, which does not store up wealth, but unstores it to give away. There seems to be here a tacit allusion to Sudatta's wealth, which he unstored and gave in charity by purchasing the garden of Geta.

³ That is, Vihâras.

reap the perfect fruit of the best charity. There is a way of giving, seeking pleasure by it; there is a way of giving, coveting to get more; 1517

'Some also give away to get a name for charity, others to get the happiness of heaven, others to avoid the pain of being poor (hereafter), but yours, O friend! is a charity without such thoughts, 1518

'The highest and the best degree of charity without self-interest or thought of getting more. What your heart inclines you now to do, let it be quickly done and well completed! 1519

'The uncertain and the lustful heart goes wandering here and there, but the pure eyes (of virtue) opening, the heart comes back and rests¹' The nobleman accepting Buddha's teaching, his kindly heart receiving yet more light, 1520

He invited Upatishya², his excellent friend, to accompany him on his return to Kosala; and then going round to select a pleasant site, 1521

He saw the garden of the heir-apparent, Geta, the groves and limpid streams most pure. Proceeding where the prince was dwelling, he asked for leave to buy the ground; 1522

The prince, because he valued it so much, at first was not inclined to sell, but said at last: 'If you can cover it with gold then, but not else, you may possess it³.' 1523

¹ These two lines are probably proverbial, something of this kind, 'the uncertain, amorous mind is profligate (wandering), the enlightened man comes to himself.'

² Upatissa is the same as Sâriputra. Hiouen Thsang (Jul. II, 296) says that Buddha sent Sâriputra with Sudatta, to advise and counsel him.

³ The famous contract between Sudatta and Geta, the heir-apparent, is well known, and may be read in all the translations of the

The nobleman, his heart rejoicing, forthwith began to spread his gold. Then Geta said: 'I will not give, why then spread you your gold?' 1524

The nobleman replied, 'Not give; why then said you, "Fill it with yellow gold?"' And thus they differed and contended both, till they resorted to the magistrate. 1525

Meanwhile the people whispered much about his unwonted¹ (charity), and Geta too, knowing the man's sincerity, asked more about the matter: what his reasons were. On his reply, 'I wish to found a Vihâra, 1526

'And offer it to the Tathâgata and all his Bhikshu followers,' the prince, hearing the name of Buddha, received at once illumination, 1527

And only took one half the gold, desiring to share in the foundation: 'Yours is the land (he said), but mine the trees; these will I give to Buddha as my share in the offering.' 1528

Then the noble took the land, Geta the trees, and settled both in trust on Sâriputra. Then they began to build the hall, labouring night and day to finish it; 1529

Lofty it rose and choicely decorated, as one of the four kings' palaces, in just proportions, following the

lives of Buddha. There is a representation of the proceeding in plate lvii (Bharhut Stûpa). I may observe here that the figure immediately in front (by the side of Geta, the prince, who is apparently giving away the trees, whilst Sudatta below him is giving the land), whistling with thumb and forefinger, and waving the robe, is typical of a number of others in these sculptures similarly engaged (see e.g. plate xiii [outer face]).

¹ Or, the unwonted circumstance; or, the 'unusual' character of Sudatta.

directions which Buddha had declared the right ones; 1530

Never yet so great a miracle as this! the priests shone in the streets of Srāvastī! Tathāgata, seeing the divine shelter, with all his holy ones resorted to the place to rest¹; 1531

No followers there to bow in prostrate service, his followers rich in wisdom only. The nobleman reaping his reward, at the end of life ascended up to heaven, 1532

Leaving to sons and grandsons a good foundation, through successive generations, to plough the field of merit. 1533

VARGA 19. INTERVIEW BETWEEN FATHER AND SON.

Buddha in the Magadha country (employing himself in) converting all kinds of unbelievers² (heretics), entirely changed them by the one and self-same³ law he preached, even as the sun drowns with its brightness all the stars. 1534

Then leaving the city of the five mountains⁴ with the company of his thousand disciples, and with a

¹ The expression 'to rest' may also mean 'to observe the rainy season rest,' if the ordinance of Vass had been enacted at this time.

² 'I tau,' different persuasions. It was during Buddha's stay near Rāgagrīha that different rules for the direction of the 'Order' were framed. See *Romantic Legend*, p. 340 seq. There is no reference in our text to the stately march of Buddha to Kapilavastu, or of the different messages sent to him, as related by Bigandet, p. 160, and in Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 198, 199, also *Romantic Legend*, p. 349.

³ Yih-mi-fā, 'one-taste law.'

⁴ That is, Rāgagrīha; the city surrounded by five mountains.

great multitude who went before and came after him, he advanced towards the Ni-kin¹ mountain, 1535

Near Kapilavastu; and there he conceived in himself a generous purpose to prepare an offering according to his religious doctrine² to present to his father, the king. 1536

And now in anticipation of his coming the royal teacher (purohita) and the chief minister had sent forth certain officers and their attendants to observe on the right hand and the left (what was taking place); and they soon espied him (Buddha) as he advanced or halted on the way. 1537

Knowing that Buddha was now returning to his country they hastened back³ and quickly announced the tidings, 'The prince who wandered forth afar to obtain enlightenment, having fulfilled his aim, is now coming back.' 1538

The king hearing the news was greatly rejoiced, and forthwith went out with his gaudy equipage to meet (his son); and the whole body of gentry (sse) belonging to the country, went forth with him in his company. 1539

Gradually advancing he beheld Buddha from afar, his marks of beauty sparkling with splendour two-

¹ This may be the Nyagrodha garden alluded to by Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 200, and also in the *Romantic Legend*, p. 350. The symbols ni-kin, however, seem to have some other equivalent, such as Nigantha.

² This of course means 'a religious offering,' or 'service of religion,' i. e. agreeable to religion.

³ There is no reference here to their conversion as in the Southern accounts. The account in the *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 200, of the king's preparation to meet his son, bears the appearance of a late date, and in exaggeration surpasses all we find in the Northern books.

fold greater than of yore; placed in the middle of the great congregation he seemed to be even as Brahma rāga. 1540

Descending from his chariot and advancing with dignity, (the king) was anxious lest there should be any religious¹ difficulty (in the way of instant recognition); and now beholding his beauty he inwardly rejoiced, but his mouth found no words to utter. 1541

He reflected, too, how that he was still dwelling among the unconverted throng, whilst his son had advanced and become a saint (*Rishi*); and although he was his son, yet as he now occupied the position of a religious lord², he knew not by what name to address him. 1542

Furthermore he thought with himself how he had long ago desired earnestly (this interview), which now had happened unawares³ (without arrangement). Meantime his son in silence took a seat, perfectly composed and with unchanged countenance. 1543

Thus for some time sitting opposite each other, with no expression of feeling (the king reflected thus)⁴, 'How desolate and sad does he now make my heart, as that of a man, who, fainting, longs for water, upon the road espies a fountain pure and cold; 1544

'With haste he speeds towards it and longs to

¹ That is, whether religion required a greeting first from him, the father.

² An Arhat or distinguished saint.

³ Without any summons.

⁴ I supply this (as in many other cases); in the text we are without direction when and where to bring in these explanatory phrases.

drink, when suddenly the spring dries up and disappears. Thus, now I see my son, his well-known features as of old; 1545

'But how estranged his heart! and how his manner high and lifted up! There are no grateful outflowings of soul, his feelings seem unwilling to express themselves; cold and vacant (there he sits); and like a thirsty man before a dried-up fountain (so am I).' 1546

Still distant thus (they sat), with crowding thoughts rushing through the mind, their eyes full met, but no responding joy; each looking at the other, seemed as one who thinking of a distant friend, gazes by accident upon his pictured form¹. 1547

'That you' (the king reflected) 'who of right might rule the world, even as that *Māndhātṛi rāga*, should now go begging here and there your food! what joy or charm has such a life as this? 1548

'Composed and firm as Sumeru², with marks of beauty bright as the sunlight, with dignity of step like the ox king, fearless as any lion, 1549

'And yet receiving not the tribute of the world, but begging food sufficient for your body's nourishment!' Buddha, knowing his father's mind, still kept to his own filial purpose. 1550

And then to open out his³ mind, and moved with

¹ This translation is doubtful; there is some question as to the correct reading.

² Buddha is often called 'the golden mountain,' and in this particular, as in many others, there is in Buddhism a marked resemblance with traditions known among primitive races; Bel, for example, is called 'the great mountain.'

³ That is, as I understand it, to move his father's mind. It may be understood, however, in the sense of carrying out his own purpose.

pity for the multitude of people, by his miraculous power he rose in mid-air, and with his hands (appeared) to grasp the sun and moon¹. 1551

Then he walked to and fro in space, and underwent all kinds of transformation, dividing his body into many parts, then joining all in one again. 1552

Treading firm on water as on dry land, entering the earth as in the water, passing through walls of stone without impediment, from the right side and the left water and fire produced²! 1553

The king, his father, filled with joy, now dismissed all thought of son and father³; then upon a lotus throne, seated in space, he (Buddha) for his father's sake declared the law. 1554

'I know that the king's heart (is full of) love and recollection, and that for his son's sake he adds grief to grief; but now let the bands of love that bind him, thinking of his son, be instantly unloosed and utterly destroyed. 1555

'Ceasing from thoughts of love, let your calmed mind receive from me, your son, religious nourishment; such as no son has offered yet to father, such do I present to you the king, my father. 1556

'And what no father yet has from a son received, now from your son you may accept, a gift miraculous for any mortal king to enjoy, and seldom had by any heavenly king! 1557

'The way superlative of life immortal⁴ (sweet

¹ Here we have an account of the grotesque miracles that distinguish this part of the narrative in all Northern Buddhist books; see *Romantic Legend*, p. 352.

² This is probably the twin-miracle (*yamaka-pâśihâriya*) referred to by Mr. Rhys Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 105 n.

³ That is, of the relative duties of father and son.

⁴ This phrase, 'the way of sweet dew,' I can only restore to 'the

dew) I offer now the Mahârâga; from accumulated deeds comes birth, and as the result of deeds comes recompense; 1558

‘Knowing then that deeds bring fruit, how diligent should you be to rid yourself of worldly deeds! how careful that in the world your deeds should be only good and gentle! 1559

‘Fondly affected by relationship or firmly bound by mutual ties of love, at end of life the soul (spirit) goes forth alone,—then, only our good deeds befriend us.— 1560

‘Whirled in the five ways of the wheel of life, three kinds of deeds produce three kinds of birth¹, and these are caused by lustful hankering, each kind different in its character. 1561

‘Deprive these of their power by the practice now of (proper) deeds of body and of word; by such right preparation day and night strive to get rid of all confusion of the mind and practise silent (contemplation); 1562

‘Only this brings profit in the end, besides this there is no reality; for be sure! the three worlds are but as the froth and bubble of the sea. 1563

‘Would you have pleasure, or would you practise that which brings it near? then prepare yourself by

way of immortality;’ of course it means ‘immortality’ (*amritam*) according to Buddhist ideas, that is, *Nirvâna*. Childers tells us that ‘Buddhaghosa says that *Nirvâna* is called *amata*, because not being born it does not decay or die’ (Pâli Dict., sub *amataṃ*). This definition of *Nirvâna* is the usual one found in Chinese books, that state which admits ‘neither of birth nor death.’

¹ Referring to the three inferior kinds of birth, as a beast, a preta, or in hell.

deeds that bring the fourth birth¹: but (still) the five ways in the wheel of birth and death are like the uncertain wanderings of the stars; 1564

‘For heavenly beings too must suffer change: how shall we find with men (a hope of) constancy; Nirvâṇa! that is the chief rest; composure! that the best of all enjoyments! 1565

‘The five indulgences (pleasures) enjoyed by mortal kings are fraught with danger and distress, like dwelling with a poisonous snake; what pleasure, for a moment, can there be in such a case? 1566

‘The wise man sees the world as compassed round with burning flames; he fears always, nor can he rest till he has banished, once for all, birth, age, and death. 1567

‘Infinitely quiet is the place where the wise man finds his abode; no need of arms (instruments) or weapons there! no elephants or horses, chariots or soldiers there! 1568

‘Subdued the power of covetous desire and angry thoughts and ignorance, there’s nothing left in the wide world to conquer! Knowing what sorrow is, he cuts away the cause of sorrow; 1569

‘This destroyed, by practising right means, rightly enlightened in the four true principles², he casts off fear and escapes the evil ways of birth.’ The king when first he saw his wondrous spiritual power (of miracle) rejoiced in heart; 1570

But now his feelings deeply affected by the joy of (hearing) truth, he became a perfect vessel for receiving true religion, and with clasped hands he

¹ The ‘fourth birth’ would be as ‘a man;’ but it may refer here to birth as ‘a Deva.’

² That is, in the ‘four truths.’

breathed forth his praise : 'Wonderful indeed ! the fruit of your resolve (oath)¹ completed thus ! 1571

'Wonderful indeed ! the overwhelming sorrow passed away ! Wonderful indeed, this gain to me ! At first my sorrowing heart was heavy, but now my sorrow has brought forth only profit ! 1572

'Wonderful indeed ! for now, to-day, I reap the full fruit of a begotten son. It was right he should reject the choice pleasures of a monarch (conqueror); it was right he should so earnestly and with diligence practise penance ; 1573

'It was right he should cast off his family and kin; it was right he should cut off every feeling of love and affection. The old *Rishi* kings boasting of their penance gained no merit ; 1574

'But you, living in a peaceful, quiet place, have done all and completed all ; yourself at rest now you give rest to others, moved by your mighty sympathy (compassion) for all that lives ! 1575

'If you had kept your first estate with men, and as a *Kakravartin* monarch ruled the world, possessing then no self-depending power of miracle, how could my soul have then received deliverance ? 1576

'Then there would have been no excellent law declared, causing me such joy to-day ; no ! had you been a universal sovereign, the bonds of birth and death would still have been unsevered ; 1577

'But now you have escaped from birth and death ; the great pain of transmigration overcome, you are able, for the sake of every creature, widely to preach the law of life immortal (sweet dew), 1578

¹ That is, the oath to become enlightened and a deliverer.

‘And to exhibit thus your power miraculous, and (show) the deep and wide power of wisdom; the grief of birth and death eternally destroyed, you now have risen far above both gods and men. 1579

‘You might have kept the holy state of a *Kakra-vartin* monarch; but no such good as this would have resulted.’ Thus his words of praise concluded, filled with increased reverence and religious love, 1580

He who occupied the honoured place of a royal father, bowed down respectfully and did obeisance. Then all the people of the kingdom, beholding Buddha’s miraculous power, 1581

And having heard the deep and excellent law, seeing, moreover, the king’s grave reverence, with clasped hands bowed down and worshipped. Possessed with deep portentous thoughts, 1582

Satiated with sorrows attached to lay-life, they all conceived a wish to leave their homes¹. The princes, too, of the *Sākya* tribe, their minds enlightened to perceive the perfect fruit of righteousness, 1583

Entirely satiated with the glittering joys of the world, forsaking home, rejoiced to join his company (become hermits). *Ānanda*, *Nanda*, *Kin-pi* (*Kim-bila*)², *Anuruddha*, 1584

Nandupananda, with *Kundadana*³, all these principal nobles and others of the *Sākya* family, 1585

¹ That is, to become mendicants, or religious followers of Buddha.

² The conversion of *Nanda* &c. is referred to in Spence Hardy’s *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 227. I have restored *Kin-pi* to *Kim-bila* from this authority, p. 228. Perhaps also in the *Romantic Legend*, p. 386, it ought to have been so restored.

³ *Kun-ta-to-na*. I do not remember having met with this name before. It may be meant for *Khandaka*, see Schiefner, ‘*Lebensbeschreibung Sākyamuni’s*,’ p. 266.

From the teaching of Buddha became disciples and accepted the law. The sons of the great minister of state, Udāyin being the chief, 1586

With all the royal princes following in order became recluses. Moreover, the son of Atalt, whose name was Upāli, 1587

Seeing all these princes and the sons of the chief minister becoming hermits, his mind opening for conversion, he, too, received the law of renunciation. 1588

The royal father seeing his son possessing the great qualities of *Riddhi*, himself entered on the calm flowings (of thought), the gate of the true law of eternal life. 1589

Leaving his kingly estate and country, lost in meditation, he drank sweet dew. Practising (his religious duties) in solitude, silent and contemplative he dwelt in his palace, a royal *Rishi*. 1590

Tathāgata following a peaceable¹ life, recognised fully by his tribe, repeating the joyful news of religion, gladdened the hearts of all his kinsmen hearing him. 1591

And now, it being the right time for begging food, he entered the Kapila country (Kapilavastu); in the city all the lords and ladies, in admiration, raised this chant of praise: 1592

'Siddhārtha! fully enlightened! has come back again!' The news flying quickly in and out of doors, the great and small came forth to see him; 1593

Every door and every window crowded, climbing on shoulders², bending down the eyes, they gazed

¹ Or, living in peaceful prosecution of his work.

² Or it may be 'shoulder to shoulder.'

upon the marks of beauty on his person, shining and glorious! 1594

Wearing his Kashâya garment outside, the glory of his person from within shone forth, like the sun's perfect wheel; within, without, he seemed one mass of splendour¹. 1595

Those who beheld were filled with sympathising² joy; their hands conjoined, they wept (for gladness)³; and so they watched him as he paced with dignity the road, his form collected, all his organs well-controlled! 1596

His lovely body exhibiting the perfection⁴ of religious beauty, his dignified compassion adding to their regretful joy! his shaven head, his personal beauty sacrificed! his body clad in dark and sombre vestment, 1597

His manner natural and plain, his unadorned appearance; his circumspection as he looked upon the earth in walking! 'He who ought to have had held over him the feather-shade' (they said), 'whose hands should grasp "the reigns of the flying⁵ dragon," 1598

'See how he walks in daylight on the dusty road! holding his alms-dish, going to beg! Gifted enough to tread down every enemy, lovely enough to gladden woman's heart, 1599

¹ The glory of his person within and without, together, like a mass of light.

² Compassion and joy.

³ That is, they wept for pity and for joy.

⁴ Manifesting religious uprightness or rectitude.

⁵ This appears to be a Chinese phrase, adapted perhaps from some expression in the Sanskrit original signifying 'supreme power.'

‘With glittering vesture and with godlike crown
reverenced he might have been by servile crowds !
But now, his manly beauty hidden, with heart re-
strained, and outward form subdued, 1600

‘Rejecting the much-coveted and glorious apparel,
his shining body clad with garments grey, what
aim, what object, now ! Hating the five delights
that move the world, 1601

‘Forsaking virtuous wife and tender child, loving
the solitude, he wanders friendless ; hard, indeed,
for virtuous wife through the long night¹, cherishing
her grief ; 1602

‘And now to hear he is a hermit ! She enquires
not now (so lost to life) of the royal Suddhodana if
he has seen his son or not ! 1603

‘But as she views his beauteous person, (to think)
his altered form is now a hermit’s ! hating his home,
still full of love ; his father, too, what rest for him
(they say) ! 1604

‘And then his loving child Râhula, weeping with
constant sorrowful desire ! And now to see no
change, or heart-relenting ; and this the end of such
enlightenment ! 1605

‘All these attractive marks, the proofs of a reli-
gious calling, whereas, when born, all said, these are
marks of a “great man,” who ought to receive
tribute from the four seas ! 1606

‘And now to see what he has come to ! all these
predictive words vain and illusive.’ Thus they
talked together, the gossiping multitude, with con-
fused accents. 1607

Tathâgata, his heart unaffected, felt no joy and

¹ I. e. her life of widowhood.

no regret. But he was moved by equal love to all the world, his one desire that men should escape the grief of lust; 1608

To cause the root of virtue to increase, and for the sake of coming ages, to leave the marks of self-denial¹ behind him, to dissipate the clouds and mists of sensual desire, 1609

He entered, thus intentioned, on the town to beg. He accepted food both good or bad, whatever came, from rich or poor, without distinction; having filled his alms-dish, he then returned back to the solitude. 1610

VARGA 20. RECEIVING THE GETAVANA VIHÂRA.

The lord of the world, having converted² the people of Kapilavastu according to (their several) circumstances³, his work being done, he went with the great body of his followers, 1611

And directed his way to the country of Kosala, where dwelt king Prasenagit (Po-se-nih). The Getavana was now fully adorned, and its halls and courts carefully prepared; 1612

The fountains and streams flowed through the garden which glittered with flowers and fruit; rare birds sat by the pools (water side), and on the land

¹ Little desire.

² The expression in the original is 'having opened for conversion.'

³ It is not necessarily 'according to their circumstances,' but it may also be rendered 'according to circumstances,' or 'as the occasion required.'

they sang in sweet concord, according to their kind; 1613

Beautiful in every way as the palace of Mount Kilas (Kailâsa)¹, (such was the *Getavana*.) Then the noble friend of the orphans, surrounded by his attendants, who met him on the way, 1614

Scattering flowers and burning incense, invited the lord to enter the *Getavana*. In his hand he carried a golden dragon-pitcher², and bending low upon his knees he poured the flowing water 1615

As a sign of the gift of the *Getavana Vihâra* for the use of the priesthood throughout the world³. The lord then received it, with the prayer⁴ that 'overruling all evil influences it might give the kingdom permanent rest, 1616

'And that the happiness of *Anâthapindada* might flow out in countless streams.' Then the king *Prasenagit*, hearing that the lord had come, 1617

With his royal equipage went to the *Getavana* to worship at the lord's feet⁵. (Having arrived) and

¹ Mount Kailâsa, the fabulous residence of Kuvera ; the paradise of Siva.

² In the Barahut sculpture there is a figure carrying a pitcher in the act of pouring out the water ; but the figure is not kneeling.

³ 'The four quarters,' that is, 'the world.'

⁴ 'The prayer,' the 'devout incantation;' it has often been questioned whether 'prayer' is possible with Buddhists; the expression in the Chinese is the same as that used for prayer in other books; but it may of course denote sincere or earnest desire, coming from the heart.

⁵ There are various representations of *Prasenagit* going to the *Getavana* in the Barahut sculptures. In plate xiii (Cunningham's Barahut) the *Vihâra* is represented, the wheel denoting the sermon which Buddha preached; the waving of garments and whistling with fingers denoting the joy of the hearers.

taken a seat on one side, with clasped hands he spake to Buddha thus : 1618

‘O that my unworthy and obscure kingdom should thus suddenly have met such fortune! For how can misfortunes or frequent calamities possibly affect it, (in the presence of) so great a man? 1619

‘And now that I have seen your sacred features, I may perhaps partake of the converting streams of your teaching. A town although it is composed of many sections¹, yet both ignoble and holy persons may enter the surpassing² stream ; 1620

‘And so the wind which fans the perfumed grove causes the scents to unite and form one pleasant breeze; and as the birds which collect on Mount Sumeru (are many), and the various shades that blend in shining gold, 1621

‘So an assembly may consist of persons of different capacities, individually insignificant, but a glorious body. The desert master by nourishing the *Rishi*, procured a birth as the san-tsu (three leg or foot) star³; 1622

‘Worldly profit is fleeting and perishable, religious (holy) profit is eternal and inexhaustible; a man though a king is full of trouble, a common man, who is holy, has everlasting rest.’ 1623

¹ I cannot be sure of this translation ; yet I can suggest no other. The line is 鄙雖處凡品.

² ‘The victorious stream;’ this may refer to the Rapti, on the banks of which Srāvastī was situated. The object of the allusion is that as both rich and poor, noble and ignoble may enter the stream of the river, so all may seek the benefit of the stream of religious doctrine.

³ I am unable to explain the reference here; nor do I know what the ‘three-footed star’ can be.

Buddha knowing the state of the king's heart,—that he rejoiced in religion as Sakrarâga¹,—considered the two obstacles that weighted him, viz. too great love of money, and of external pleasures²; 1624

Then seizing the opportunity, and knowing the tendencies of his heart, he began, for the king's sake, to preach: 'Even those who, by evil karman³, have been born in low degree, when they see a person of virtuous character, feel reverence for him; 1625

'How much rather ought an independent⁴ king, who by his previous conditions of life has acquired much merit, when he encounters Buddha, to conceive even more reverence. Nor is it difficult to understand, 1626

'That a country should enjoy more rest and peace, by the presence of Buddha, than if he were not to dwell therein⁵. And now, as I briefly declare my law, let the Mahârâga listen and weigh my words, 1627

'And hold fast that which I deliver! See now the end of my perfected merit⁶, my life is done,

¹ General Cunningham (Barahut Stûpa, plate xiii) has remarked that the Preaching Hall visited by Prasenagit resembles in detail the Palace of Sakrarâga; the reference in the text seems to allude to this.

² Reference is often made in Buddhist books to the self-indulgence of king Prasenagit. Compare section xxix of the Chinese Dhammapada.

³ That is, in consequence of evil deeds.

⁴ This expression 'tsze tsai,' which I render 'independent,' means 'self-sufficient,' or 'self-existing;' the reference is probably to a lord paramount (samrâg).

⁵ This exordium appears intended to take down the pride of the king.

⁶ Buddha points to himself as having gained the end of all his

there is for me no further body or spirit, but freedom from all ties of kith or kin! 1628

'The good or evil deeds we do from first to last (beginning to end) follow us as shadows; most exalted then the deeds (karman) of the king of the law¹. The prince² (son) who cherishes his people, 1629

'In the present life gains renown, and hereafter ascends to heaven; but by disobedience and neglect of duty, present distress is felt and future misery! 1630

'As in old times Lui'-ma (lean horse)³ rāga, by obeying the precepts, was born in heaven, whilst Kin-pu (gold step) rāga, doing wickedly, at the end of life was born in misery. 1631

'Now then, for the sake of the great king, I will briefly relate the good and evil law (the law of good and evil). The great requirement⁴ is a loving heart! to regard the people as we do an only son, 1632

'Not to oppress, not to destroy; to keep in due check every member of the body, to forsake unrighteous doctrine and walk in the straight path; not to exalt oneself by treading down others (or inferiors), 1633

'But to comfort and befriend those in suffer-
previous meritorious conduct, in the attainment of his present condition.

¹ Dharmarāga, an epithet of every Buddha (Eitel).

² The symbol here stands for 'son;' it may mean 'prince' in the sense of 'son of the king of the law' (fă wang tseu), which is a common one in Buddhist books, and is often rendered by 'Kumāra bhūta.'

³ Lui'-ma may be a phonetic equivalent of the name of the king, or a translation of the name, viz. *Kṛiśārva*. So also in the next line *Hiraṇyakaripu* may be meant.

⁴ The 'great deficiency,' or 'the great need.'

ing; not to exercise oneself in false theories¹ (treatises), nor to ponder much on kingly dignity (strength), nor to listen to the smooth words of false teachers; 1634

‘Not to vex oneself by austerities, not to exceed (or transgress) the right rules of kingly conduct, but to meditate on Buddha and weigh his righteous law, and to put down and adjust all that is contrary to religion; 1635

‘To exhibit true superiority by virtuous conduct and the highest exercise of reason, to meditate deeply on the vanity of earthly things, to realise the fickleness of life by constant recollection; 1636

‘To exalt the mind to the highest point of reflection, to seek sincere faith (truth) with firm purpose; to retain an inward sense of happiness resulting from oneself², (and to look forward to) increased happiness hereafter; 1637

‘To lay up a good name for distant ages, this will secure the favour of Tathâgata³, as men now loving sweet fruit will hereafter be praised by their descendants⁴. 1638

‘There is a way of darkness out of light⁵, there is a way of light out of darkness; there is darkness which follows after the gloom (signs of gloom),

¹ In false theories and ‘vidyâs’ (ming).

² Self-dependent happiness.

³ Whether the phrase ‘gu-lai’ ought to be here translated Tathâgata, or whether it refers simply to ‘future generations,’ is a question.

⁴ This again is an uncertain translation, although the meaning is plain, that those who here love ‘sweet fruit,’ will not set their children’s teeth on edge hereafter.

⁵ In this and the following lines the reference is apparently to the possibility of growing worse or better by our deeds.

there is a light which causes the brightening of light. 1639

‘The wise man leaving first principles¹, should go on to get more light²; evil words will be repeated far and wide by the multitude, but there are few to follow good direction; 1640

‘It is impossible however to avoid result of works³, the doer cannot escape; if there had been no first works, there had been in the end no result of doing, 1641

‘— No reward for good, no hereafter joy —; but because works are done, there is no escape. Let us then practise good works; 1642

‘(Let us) inspect our thoughts that we do no evil, because as we sow so we reap⁴. As when enclosed in a four-stone [stone or rock-encircled] mountain, there is no escape or place of refuge for any one, 1643

‘So within this mountain-wall of old age, birth, disease, and death, there is no escape for the world⁵. Only by considering and practising the true law can we escape from this sorrow-piled mountain. 1644

‘There is, indeed, no constancy in the world, the end of the pleasures of sense is as the lightning flash, whilst old age and death are as the piercing bolts; what profit, then, in doing (practising) iniquity⁶! 1645

¹ San p'hin, the ‘three sections.’

² ‘Ought to learn from first to last, illumination.’ Does it refer to books or vidyās (ming) of instruction?

³ There is not such a thing as ‘not making fruit,’ or the fruit of ‘not making;’ but the former is the more likely. ‘Fruit,’ of course, refers to the result of works.

⁴ ‘Because as we ourselves do, we ourselves receive.’

⁵ For all living creatures.

⁶ ‘Why then ought we to do iniquity!’ (fi fā.)

'All the ancient conquering kings, who were as gods¹ on earth, thought by their strength to overcome decay²; but after a brief life they too disappeared³. 1646

'The Kalpa-fire will melt Mount Sumeru, the water of the ocean will be dried up, how much less can our human frame, which is as a bubble, expect to endure for long upon the earth! 1647

'The fierce wind scatters the thick mists, the sun's rays encircle (hide) Mount Sumeru, the fierce fire licks up the place of moisture, so things are ever born once more to be destroyed! 1648

'The body is a thing (vessel) of unreality, kept through the suffering of the long night⁴, pampered by wealth, living idly and in carelessness, 1649

'Death suddenly comes and it is carried away as rotten wood in the stream! The wise man expecting these changes with diligence strives against sloth; 1650

'The dread of birth and death acts as a spur to keep him from lagging on the road; he frees himself from engagements, he is not occupied with self-pleasing, he is not entangled by any of the cares of life, 1651

'He holds to no business, seeks no friendships, engages in no learned career, nor yet wholly separates himself from it; for his learning is the wisdom

¹ Who were as Īśvaradeva.

² Literally, 'to conquer emptiness;' it may mean to 'surpass the sky'—to climb to heaven.

³ They were ground to dust and disappeared.

⁴ The suffering of the 'long night' (the period of constant transmigration) keeps and guards it.

of not-perceiving¹ wisdom, but yet perceiving that which tells him of his own impermanence; 1652

‘Having a body, yet keeping aloof from defilement, he learns to regard defilement as the greatest evil. (He knows) that tho’ born in the Arûpa world, there is yet no escape from the changes of time; 1653

‘His learning, then, is to acquire the changeless body; for where no change is, there is peace. Thus the possession of this changeful body is the foundation of all sorrow. 1654

‘Therefore, again, all who are wise make this their aim—to seek a bodiless condition; all the various orders of sentient creatures, from the indulgence of lust, derive pain; 1655

‘Therefore all those in this condition ought to conceive a heart, loathing lust; putting away and loathing this condition, then they shall receive no more pain; 1656

‘Though born in a state with or without an external form, the certainty of future change is the root of sorrow; for so long as there is no perfect cessation of personal being, there can be, certainly, no absence of personal desire; 1657

‘Beholding, in this way, the character of the three worlds, their inconstancy and unreality, the presence of ever-consuming pain, how can the wise man seek enjoyment therein? 1658

‘When a tree is burning with fierce flames how

¹ ‘The wisdom of not perceiving;’ the symbol ‘sheu’ corresponds with ‘vedanâ,’ perception, or sensation. The meaning therefore is that true wisdom depends not on the power of sense; but yet he perceives by his senses that he (his body) is impermanent.

can the birds congregate therein? The wise man, who is regarded as an enlightened sage, without this knowledge is ignorant; 1659

‘ Having this knowledge, then true wisdom dawns; without it, there is no enlightenment. To get this wisdom is the one aim, to neglect it is the mistake of life. 1660.

‘ All the teaching of the schools should be centred here; without it is no true reason. To recount this excellent system is not for those who dwell in family connection; 1661 .

‘ Nor is it, on that account, not to be said¹, for religion concerns a man individually [is a private affair]. Burned up with sorrow, by entering the cool stream, all may obtain relief and ease; 1662

‘ The light of a lamp in a dark room lights up equally objects of all colours, so is it with those who devote themselves to religion,—there is no distinction between the professed disciple and the unlearned (common). 1663

‘ Sometimes the mountain-dweller (i.e. the religious hermit) falls into ruin, sometimes the humble householder mounts up to be a *Rishi*; the want of faith (doubt) is the engulfing sea, the presence of disorderly belief is the rolling flood, 1664

‘ The tide of lust carries away the world; involved in its eddies there is no escape; wisdom is the handy boat, reflection is the hold-fast. 1665

‘ The drum-call of religion (expedients), the barrier (dam) of thought, these alone can rescue from

¹ This and the preceding line are obscure. The sense of the whole passage seems to point to the adaptation of religion for the life of all persons, laïc or cleric.

the sea of ignorance.' At this time the king sincerely attentive to the words of the All-wise¹, 1666

Conceived a distaste for the world's glitter and was dissatisfied with the pleasures of royalty, even as one avoids a drunken elephant, or returns to right reason after a debauch. 1667

Then all the heretical teachers, seeing that the king was well affected to Buddha, besought the king (mahârâga), with one voice, to call on Buddha to exhibit² his miraculous gifts. 1668

Then the king addressed the lord of the world: 'I pray you, grant their request!' Then Buddha silently acquiesced³. And now all the different professors of religion, 1669

The doctors who boasted of their spiritual power, came together in a body to where Buddha was; then he manifested before them his power of miracle; ascending up into the air, he remained seated, 1670

Diffusing his glory as the light of the sun he shed abroad the brightness of his presence. The heretical teachers were all abashed, the people all were filled with faith. 1671

Then for the sake of preaching to his mother, he forthwith ascended to the heaven of the thirty-three gods; and for three months dwelt in heavenly mansions⁴. There he converted the occupants (Devas) of that abode, 1672

¹ The words of him who knew all things.

² To substantiate his claim by exhibiting miraculous power.

³ By his silence showed his acquiescence.

⁴ There is an account of Buddha's ascent to this heaven in the Manual of Buddhism, pp. 298 seq. Also in Fā-hien, cap. xvii. There are pictures (sculptures) of the scene of his descent in Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xvii, and in the account of the Stūpa of Barahut.

And having concluded his pious mission to his mother, the time of his sojourn in heaven finished, he forthwith returned, the angels accompanying him on wing¹; he travelled down a seven-gemmed ladder, 1673

And again arrived at Gambudvīpa. Stepping down he alighted on the spot where all the Buddhas return², countless hosts of angels accompanied him, conveying with them their palace abodes (as a gift); 1674

The people of Gambudvīpa with closed hands looking up with reverence, beheld him. 1675

VARGA 21. ESCAPING THE DRUNKEN ELEPHANT AND DEVADATTA.

Having instructed his mother in heaven with all the angel host, and once more returned to men, he went about converting those capable of it. 1676

Gutika, Gīva(ka)³, Sula, and Kūrma, the noble's son Aṅga and the son of the fearless king (Abhaya) 1677

Nyagrodha⁴ and the rest; Śrīkutaka (or, Śrī-

¹ It would be curious, if this translation were absolutely certain, to find that Arvaghoṣha had heard of angels with 'wings.' In the sculptures the Devas are represented as ordinary mortals. The Chinese may, however, simply mean 'accompanying him, as if on wing,' i.e. following him through the air.

² That is, at Sankisa (Sāṅkāśya), [see the Archæological Survey of India, 1862-1863.]

³ This I suppose is the physician Gīvaka. The names of many of the persons in the context may be found in Spence Hardy, M. B., *passim*.

⁴ For Nyagrodha, see M. B., p. 39.

guptaka), Upâli the Nirgrantha¹, (all these) were thoroughly converted. 1678

So also the king of Gandhâra, whose name was Fo-kia-lo (Pudgala?); he, having heard the profound and excellent law, left his country and became a recluse. 1679

So also the demons Himapati and Vâtagiri, on the mountain Vibhâra, were subdued and converted; 1680

The Brahma-kârin Prayan(tika), on the mountain Vagana (Po-sha-na), by the subtle meaning of half a gâtha, he convinced and caused to rejoice in faith; 1681

The village of Dânamati (Khânumat)² had one Kûtadanta, the head of the twice-born (Brahmans); at this time he was sacrificing countless victims; 1682

Tathâgata by means (upâya, expedients) converted him, and caused him to enter the true path. On Mount Bhatika³ (?) a heavenly being of eminent distinction, 1683

Whose name was Pañkasikha⁴, receiving the law, attained Dhyâna⁵; in the village of Vainu-

¹ For Upâli the Nirgrantha, see M. B., p. 267.

² The village Dânamati must be the same as that called Khânumat by Spence Hardy, M. B., p. 271.

³ For this event, see Spence Hardy's M. B., p. 288. He calls the mountain or rock by the name of Wédi.

⁴ For Pañkasikha and his conversion, see M. B., p. 289; also Fā-hien, cap. xxviii. [I may here correct my translation of the passage in my 'Buddhist Pilgrims' (p. 110), instead of 'each one possessing a five-stringed lute,' it should be 'attended by the divine musician Pañkasikha.'] For Pañkasikha, see Childers' Pali Dict., sub voce Pañcasikho; also Eitel's Handbook.

⁵ Or attained rest, or a fixed mind.

shā, he converted the mother of the celebrated Nanda¹; 1684

In the town of Añḍavari (Aṅḍāvatī), he subdued the powerful (mahābāla) spirit; Bhanabhadra (patāla), Sronadanta; 1685

The malevolent and powerful Nāgas, the king of the country and his harem, received together the true law, as he opened to them the gate of immortality (sweet dew). 1686

In the celebrated Viggī village (or in the village Paviggī) Kina and Sila, earnestly seeking to be born in heaven, he converted and made to enter the right path; 1687

The Aṅgulimāla², in that village of Sumu, through the exhibition of his divine power, he converted and subdued; 1688

There was that noble's son, Purigīvana, rich in wealth and stores as Punavattī (punyavattī?), 1689

Directly he was brought to Buddha (Tathāgata) accepting the doctrine, he became vastly liberal. So in that village of Padattī he converted the celebrated Patalī (or, Potālī), 1690

And also Pātala, brothers, and both demons. In Bhidhavalī (Pi-ti-ho-fu-li) there were two Brahmins, 1691

One called Great-age (Mahāyus?), the other Brahma-age (Brahmāyus?). These by the power of a discourse he subdued, and caused them to attain knowledge of the true law; 1692

¹ The mother of Nanda was Pragāpatī; for her conversion, see M. B., p. 307. She was the foster-mother of Buddha.

² For the history of the conversion of the Aṅgulimāla, see M. B., p. 249.

When he came to Vaisâlt, he converted all the Raksha demons, and the lion (*Simha*) of the *Likkhavis*, and all the *Likkhavis*, 1693

*Saka*¹ the Nirgrantha, all these he caused to attain the true law. Hama kinkhava had a demon Potala, 1694

And another Potalaka (in) Potalagâma [these he converted]. Again he came to Mount Ala, to convert the demon Alava, 1695

And a second called Kumâra, and a third Asidaka; then going back to Mount Gaga (*Gayâsirsha*) he converted the demon *Kaṅgana*, 1696

And Kamo (kin-mau) the Yaksha, with the sister and son. Then coming to Benares, he converted the celebrated *Katyâyana*²; 1697

Then afterwards going, by his miraculous power, to Sruvala (*Sou-lu-po-lo*), he converted the merchants Davakin and Nikin (?), 1698

And received their sandal-wood hall, exhaling its fragrant odours till now. Going then to Mahivatt, he converted the *Rishi* Kapila, 1699

And the Muni remained with him; his foot stepping on the stone, the thousand-spoked twin-wheels appeared, which never could be erased. 1700

Then he came to the place Po-lo-na (*Prâna*), where he converted the demon Po-lo-na; coming to the country of Mathurâ, he converted the demon Godama (*Khadama* ?); 1701

In the Thurakusati (?neighbourhood of Mathurâ)

¹ For *Saka* the Nirgrantha, see M. B., p. 255; also Dhammapada from the Chinese, p. 126.

² That is, Mahâkâtâyâna. There was another Kâtâyâna, mentioned by Hiouen Tshang, who lived 300 years after the *Nirvâna*.

he also converted *Pindapâla* (or, *vara*); coming to the village of *Vairañga*, he converted the Brahman; 1702

In the village of *Kalamasa* (or *Kramasa*), he converted *Savasasin*, and also that celebrated *Agirivasa*. 1703

Once more returning to the *Srāvastī* country, he converted the *Gautamas Gâtisruna* and *Dakâtīli*; 1704

Returning to the *Kosala* country, he converted the leaders of the heretics *Vakrapali* (or, *Vikravari*) and all the *Brahmakârins*. 1705

Coming to *Satavaka*, in the forest retreat, he converted the heretical *Rishis*, and constrained them to enter the path of the Buddha *Rishi*. 1706

Coming to the country of *Ayodhyâ*, he converted the Demon *Nâgas*; coming to the country of *Kimbila*, he converted the two *Nâgarâgas*; 1707

One called *Kimbila*, the other called *Kâlaka*. Again coming to the *Vaggi* country, he converted the *Yaksha* demon, 1708

Whose name was *Pisha*¹, the father and mother of *Nâgara*, and the great noble also, he caused to believe gladly in the true law. 1709

Coming to the *Kausâmbī* country, he converted *Goshira*², and the two *Upastkâs*, *Vaguttarâ* 1710

And her companion *Uvarī*; and besides these, many others, one after the other. Coming to the

¹ *Pi-sha*, i. e. *Vaisravaṇa*, the Regent of the North: converted by Buddha.

² For *Goshira*, see *Jul. II*, 285; *Fā-hien* cap. xxxiv.

country of Gandhâra he converted the Nâga Apalâla¹; 1711

Thus in due order all these air-going, water-loving natures he completely converted and saved, as the sun when he shines upon some dark and sombre cave. 1712

At this time Devadatta², seeing the remarkable excellences of Buddha, conceived in his heart a jealous hatred; losing all power of thoughtful abstraction, 1713

He ever plotted wicked schemes, to put a stop to the spread of the true law; ascending the *Gridhra-kûta* (*Ghiggakûta*) mount he rolled down a stone to hit Buddha³; 1714

The stone divided into two parts, each part passing on either side of him. Again, on the royal highway he loosed a drunken, vicious elephant⁴; 1715

With his raised trunk trumpeting as thunder (he ran), his maddened breath raising a cloud around him, his wild pace like the rushing wind, to be avoided more than the fierce tempest; 1716

His trunk and tusks and tail and feet, when touched only, brought instant death. (Thus he ran) through the streets and ways of Râgagriha, madly wounding and killing men; 1717

Their corpses lay across the road, their brains

¹ For the conversion of Apalâla, see Jul. II, 135.

² Devadatta, the envious; he was the son of Suprabuddha, the father-in-law of Buddha, M. B., p. 61.

³ This event is related by Fă-hien, cap. xxix, p. 115 (*Buddhist Pilgrims*). Fă-hien says, 'The stone is still there,' but he does not say that it was divided. See also M. B., p. 383, where the account somewhat differs.

⁴ This story of the drunken elephant is related in nearly all the 'lives of Buddha.' The sculptures at Amarâvatî and Barahut also include this episode. See also Fă-hien, p. 113.

and blood scattered afar. Then all the men and women filled with fear, remained indoors; 1718

Throughout the city there was universal terror, only piteous shrieks and cries were heard; beyond the city men were running fast, hiding themselves in holes and dens. 1719

Tathâgata, with five hundred followers, at this time came towards the city; from tops of gates and every window, men, fearing for Buddha, begged him not to advance; 1720

Tathâgata, his heart composed and quiet, with perfect self-possession, thinking only on the sorrow caused by hate, his loving heart desiring to appease it, 1721

Followed by guardian angel-nâgas, slowly approached the maddened elephant. The Bhikshus all deserted him¹, Ânanda only remained by his side; 1722

Joined by every tie of duty, his steadfast nature did not shake or quail. The drunken elephant, savage and spiteful, beholding Buddha, came to himself at once, 1723

And bending, worshipped at his feet² just as a mighty mountain falls to earth. With lotus hand the master pats his head, even as the moon lights up a flying cloud. 1724

And now, as he lay crouched before the master's feet, on his account he speaks some sacred words: 'The elephant cannot hurt the mighty dragon³, hard it is to fight with such a one; 1725

¹ It is said, in the later accounts, that 'they rose into the air.'

² See Tree and Serpent Worship, plate lviii; also Burgess' Western Caves, plate xvii.

³ Buddha was also called the great Nâga or dragon.

‘The elephant desiring so to do will in the end obtain no happy state of birth; deceived by lust, anger, and delusion, which are hard to conquer, but which Buddha has conquered. 1726

‘Now, then, this very day, give up this lust, this anger and delusion! You! swallowed up in sorrow’s mud! if not now given up, they will increase yet more and grow.’ 1727

The elephant, hearing Buddha’s words, escaped from drunkenness, rejoiced in heart; his mind and body both found rest, as one athirst (finds joy) who drinks of heavenly dew. 1628

The elephant being thus converted, the people around were filled with joy; they all raised a cry of wonder at the miracle, and brought their offerings of every kind. 1729

The scarcely-good arrived at middle-virtue, the middling-good passed to a higher grade, the unbelieving now became believers, those who believed were strengthened in their faith. 1730

Agâtasatru, mighty king, seeing how Buddha conquered the drunken elephant, was moved at heart by thoughts profound; then, filled with joy, he found a twofold growth of piety. 1731

Tathâgata, by exercise of virtue, exhibited all kinds of spiritual powers; thus he subdued and harmonised the minds of all, and caused them in due order to attain religious truth; 1732

And through the kingdom virtuous seeds were sown, as at the first when men began to live (i.e. were first created). But Devadatta, mad with rage, because he was ensnared by his own wickedness, 1733

At first by power miraculous able to fly, now fallen, dwells in lowest hell¹. 1734

VARGA 22. THE LADY ÂMRA² (ÂMRAPÂLÎ) SEES
BUDDHA.

The lord of the world having finished his wide work of conversion conceived in himself a desire (heart) for Nirvâṇa. Accordingly proceeding from the city of Râgagrîha, he went on towards the town of Pa-lin-fo (Pâṭaliputra)³. 1735

Having arrived there, he dwelt in the famous Pâṭali *ketiya*⁴. Now this (town of Pâṭaliputra) is

¹ For a full account of the deeds and punishment of Devadatta, see M. B., pp. 328, 329. We are told that Suprabuddha, the father of Devadatta, also went to hell, M. B., p. 339 seq.

² This lady is called Ambapâlî, the courtesan, in the southern records.

³ Pâṭaliputra, so called, as it seems, from a flower, pâṭali (*Bignonia suaveolens*). It was otherwise called Kusumapura, 'the city of flowers.' The Palimbothra of the Greeks, Arrian, Hist. Ind. p. 324 (ed. Gronovii); supposed to be the modern Patna. The story found in the text, viz. that the place was an unfortified village or frontier station of Magadha when Buddha was seventy-nine years old, compared with the statement that in the time of Megasthenes it was one of the largest and most prosperous towns of India (Arrian, as above), seems to show that some considerable time had elapsed between the Nirvâṇa and the period of the Greek conquest. It is singular however (as I stated in Buddhist Pilgrims, p. lxiv) that Fā-hien in his account of this town (cap. xxvii) makes no allusion to the Buddhist council said to have been held there under Dharmāsoka. (For further notice of Pâṭaliputra, compare Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, pp. 16, 17; also Bigandet, p. 257, and Spence Hardy, passim.)

⁴ There is no mention of the Pâṭali *ketiya* (unless the rest-house is the same as the *Ketiya* hall) in the Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta, but in Bigandet, p. 257, it is stated that the people prepared the 'dzeat,' or hall, for his use. This 'dzeat' had been erected by

the frontier town of Magadha, defending the outskirts of the country. 1736

Ruling the country was a Brahman¹ of wide renown and great learning in the scriptures (sûtras); and (there was also) an overseer of the country, to take the omens of the land with respect to rest or calamity. 1737

At this time the king of Magadha sent to that officer of inspection (overseer) a messenger to warn and command him to raise fortifications in the neighbourhood (round) of the town for its security and protection. 1738

And now the lord of the world, as they were raising the fortifications, predicted that in consequence of the Devas and spirits who protected and kept (the land), the place should continue strong and free from calamity (destruction). 1739

king Agâtasatru for receiving the *Likkhavi* princes of Vaisâli, who had come to a conference at this place to settle their affairs with the king. This hall is probably represented at Agantâ, Cave xvi (see Burgess' Report, vol. i, plate xiii, fig. 2; also Mrs. Speirs' *Ancient India*, p. 197); at least it would seem so from the exact account left us of the position Buddha took on this occasion, 'he entered the hall and took his seat against the central pillar of the hall' (Rhys Davids and Bigandet in loc.) Does this hall, built by king Agâtasatru, and called in our text a 'Ketiya hall,' bear any resemblance to a Basilica?

¹ Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 18) tells us that 'the chief magistrates of Magadha Sunîdha and Vassakâra were building a fortress at Pâ'aligâma to repel the Vaggians;' I have therefore in my translation supposed the 'ku kwô' and the 'yang kwan' to be the two officers referred to. It would seem that these titles 'ruling the country' and 'overseer' were recognised at the time. The text, however, would bear another translation, making the Brahman ruler the same as the omen-taking overseer.

On this the heart of the overseer greatly rejoiced¹, and he made religious offerings to Buddha, the law, and the church. Buddha now leaving the city gate went on towards the river Ganges. 1740

The overseer from his deep reverence for Buddha named the gate (through which the lord had passed) the 'Gautama gate².' Meanwhile the people all by the side of the river Ganges went forth to pay reverence to the lord of the world. 1741

They prepared for him every kind of religious offering, and each one with his gaudy boat (decorated boat)³ invited him to cross over. The lord of the world, considering the number of the boats, feared lest by an appearance of partiality in accepting one, he might hurt the minds of all the rest. 1742

Therefore in a moment by his spiritual power he transported himself and the great congregation (across the river), leaving this shore he passed at once to that, 1743

Signifying thereby the passage in the boat of wisdom⁴ (from this world to Nirvâṇa), a boat large enough to transport all that lives (to save the world), even as without a boat he crossed without hindrance the river (Ganges). 1744

¹ The account here given is less exact than that of the Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta, and it would seem as if it were borrowed from a popular form of that work.

² This is in agreement with the Southern account (see Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 21).

³ There is no mention here made of the river being 'brimful and overflowing' as in the Southern books, nor of the search for rafts of wood or basket-work.

⁴ Compare the account given by Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 21) and the verse or song there preserved.

Then all the people on the bank of the river, with one voice, raised a rapturous shout¹, and all declared this ford should be called the Gautama ford. 1745

As the city gate is called the Gautama gate, so this Gautama ford is so known through ages; and shall be so called through generations to come². 1746

* Then Tathâgata, going forward still, came to that celebrated Kuli³ village, where he preached and converted many; again he went on to the Nâdi⁴ village, 1747

Where many deaths had occurred among the people. The friends of the dead then came (to the lord) and asked, 'Where have our friends and relatives deceased, now gone to be born, after this life ended⁵?' 1748

Buddha, knowing well the sequence of deeds, answered each according to his several case. Then going forward to Vaisâlî⁶, he located himself in the Âmra grove⁷. 1749

The celebrated Lady Âmrâ, well affected to Buddha, went to that garden followed by her waiting

¹ Or rather 'shouted out, "miraculous!"'

² Is there any name corresponding to the 'Gautama' ford known near Patna?

³ No doubt the same as Kośīgâma (op. cit., p. 23) called Kantikama by Bigandet, p. 259.

⁴ 'Come, Ânanda, let us go to the villages of Nâdika,' Rhys Davids, p. 24.

⁵ The names of the dead are given in the Pâli; the account here is evidently an abstract only.

⁶ 'Come, Ânanda, let us go on to Vesâlî,' Rh. D., p. 28.

⁷ 'And there at Vesâlî the Blessed One stayed at Ambapâlî's grove,' Rh. D., p. 28.

women, whilst the children from the schools¹ paid her respect. 1750

Thus with circumspection and self-restraint, her person lightly and plainly clothed, putting away all her ornamented robes and all adornments of scent and flowers, 1751

As a prudent and virtuous woman goes forth to perform her religious duties, so she went on, beautiful to look upon, like any Devī in appearance. 1752

Buddha seeing the lady in the distance approaching, spake thus to all the Bhikshus²: 'This woman is indeed exceedingly beautiful, able to fascinate the minds (feelings) of the religious; 1753

'Now then, keep your recollection straight! let wisdom keep your mind in subjection! Better fall into the fierce tiger's mouth, or under the sharp knife of the executioner, 1754

'Than to dwell with a woman and excite in yourselves lustful thoughts. A woman is anxious to exhibit her form and shape³, whether walking, standing, sitting, or sleeping. 1755

'Even when represented as a picture, she desires most of all to set off the blandishments of her beauty, and thus to rob men of their steadfast heart! How then ought you to guard yourselves? 1756

'By regarding her tears and her smiles as enemies, her stooping form, her hanging arms, and all her disentangled hair as toils designed to entrap man's heart. 1757

¹ So I translate ts'iang tsin; it may mean grown-up scholars, however, or 'students.'

² This sermon against 'woman's wiles' is not found in the Pāli.

³ Tsz' t'ai, her bewitching movements or airs.

‘Then how much more (should you suspect) her studied, amorous beauty! when she displays her dainty outline, her richly ornamented form, and chatters gaily with the foolish man! 1758

‘Ah, then! what perturbation and what evil thoughts, not seeing underneath the horrid, tainted shape, the sorrows of impermanence, the impurity, the unreality! 1759

‘Considering these as the reality, all lustful thoughts die out; rightly considering these, within their several limits, not even an Apsaras would give you joy. 1760

‘But yet the power of lust is great with men, and is to be feared withal; take then the bow of earnest perseverance, and the sharp arrow points of wisdom, 1761

‘Cover your head with the helmet of right-thought, and fight with fixed resolve against the five desires. Better far with red-hot iron pins bore out both your eyes, 1762

‘Than encourage in yourselves lustful thoughts, or look upon a woman’s form with such desires. Lust beclouding a man’s heart, confused with woman’s beauty, 1763

‘The mind is dazed, and at the end of life that man must fall into an “evil way.” Fear then the sorrow of that “evil way!” and harbour not the deceits of women. 1764

‘The senses not confined within due limits, and the objects of sense not limited as they ought to be, lustful and covetous thoughts grow up between the two, because the senses and their objects are unequally yoked. 1765

‘Just as when two ploughing oxen are yoked

together to one halter and cross-bar, but not together pulling as they go, so is it when the senses and their objects are unequally matched. 1766

‘Therefore, I say, restrain the heart, give it no unbridled license.’ Thus Buddha, for the Bhikshus’ sake, explained the law in various ways. 1767

And now that Âmrâ lady gradually approached the presence of the lord; seeing Buddha seated beneath a tree, lost in thought and wholly absorbed by it, 1768

She recollected that he had a great compassionate heart, and therefore she believed he would in pity receive her garden grove. With steadfast heart and joyful mien and rightly governed feelings, 1769

Her outward form restrained, her heart composed, bowing her head at Buddha’s feet, she took her place as the lord bade her, whilst he in sequence right declared the law: 1770

‘Your heart (O lady!) seems composed and quieted, your form without external ornaments; young in years and rich, you seem well-talented as you are beautiful. 1771

‘That one, so gifted, should by faith be able to receive the law of righteousness is, indeed, a rare thing in the world! The wisdom of a master¹, derived from former births, enables him to accept the law with joy, this is not rare; 1772

‘But that a woman, weak of will, scant in wisdom, deeply immersed in love, should yet be able to delight in piety, this, indeed, is very rare. 1773

‘A man born in the world, by proper thought comes to delight in goodness, he recognises the

¹ That is, of a man.

impermanence of wealth and beauty, and looks upon religion as his best ornament. 1774

‘He feels that this alone can remedy the ills of life and change the fate of young and old; the evil destiny that cramps another’s life cannot affect him, living righteously; 1775

‘Always removing that which excites desire, he is strong in the absence of desire; seeking to find, not what vain thoughts suggest, but that to which religion points him. 1776

‘Relying on external help, he has sorrow; self-reliant, there is strength and joy. But in the case of woman, from another comes the labour, and the nurture of another’s child. 1777

‘Thus then should every one consider well, and loath and put away the form of woman.’ Āmrā the lady, hearing the law, rejoiced. 1778

Her wisdom strengthened, and still more enlightened, she was enabled to cast off desire, and of herself dissatisfied with woman’s form, was freed from all polluting thoughts. 1779

Though still constrained to woman’s form, filled with religious joy, she bowed at Buddha’s feet and spoke: ‘Oh! may the lord, in deep compassion, receive from me, though ignorant, 1780

‘This offering, and so fulfil my earnest vow.’ Then Buddha knowing her sincerity, and for the good of all that lives, 1781

Silently accepted her request, and caused in her full joy, in consequence; whilst all her friends attentive, grew in knowledge, and, after adoration, went back home. 1782

KIOUEN V.

VARGA 23. BY SPIRITUAL POWER FIXING HIS (TERM OF) YEARS¹.

At this time the great men among the *Likkhavis*², hearing that the lord of the world had entered their country and was located in the *Âmra* garden, 1783

(Went thither) riding in their gaudy chariots with silken canopies and clothed in gorgeous robes, both blue and red and yellow and white, each one with his own cognizance. 1784

Accompanied by their body guard surrounding them, they went; others prepared the road in front; and with their heavenly crowns and flower-bespangled robes (they rode), richly dight with every kind of costly ornament. 1785

Their noble forms resplendent increased the glory of that garden grove; now taking off the five dis-

¹ This title may also be rendered, 'By spiritual power stopping his years of life.' It probably refers to the incident related by Mr. Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 35), 'Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come.' There is no mention, however, in the text of Buddha's sickness, which caused the determination here referred to. The sickness is mentioned in the Chinese copy of the *Parinirvâna Sûtra*, which in the main agrees with the Pâli.

² The *Likkhavis* were residents of *Vaisâli*. I have shown elsewhere (*Journal of the R. A. S.*, Jan. 1882) that they were probably of Scythic origin. The account given in the text of their gorgeous chariots, cognizances, &c. is quite in keeping with the customs of the Northern nations. The account given in the *Mahâ-parinibbâna-Sutta* is in agreement with the text (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 31).

tinative ornaments¹, alighting from their chariots, they advanced afoot. 1786

Slowly thus with bated breath, their bodies reverent (they advanced). Then they bowed down and worshipped Buddha's foot², and, a great multitude, they gathered round the lord, shining as the sun's disc, full of radiance. 1787

(There was) the lion *Likkhavi*³, among the *Likkhavis* the senior, his noble form (bold) as the lion's, standing there with lion eyes, 1788

But without the lion's pride, taught by the Sākya lion⁴ (who thus began): 'Great and illustrious personages, famed as a tribe for grace and comeliness! 1789

'Put aside, I pray, the world's high thoughts, and now accept the abounding lustre⁵ of religious teaching. Wealth and beauty, scented flowers and ornaments like these, are not to be compared for grace with moral rectitude! 1790

¹ These five distinctive ornaments were, probably, crowns, earrings, necklets, armlets, and sandals.

² The worship of the foot of Buddha is exemplified in many of the plates of the Sanchi and Amarâvatî sculptures, where we see worshippers adoring the impression of his foot on the stool before the throne (plates lviii, lxxi, &c.)

³ This and following lines are somewhat obscure, as it is not plain whether the reference is to one, or all the *Likkhavis*. I have preferred to refer it to one of them, the chief or leader; for so we read in Spence Hardy's Manual, p. 282: 'A number of the Lichavi princes then went to the king (i. e. the chief of their tribe), whose name was Maha-li.' It would seem as if 'li' were a component part of the name *Likkhavi*, and meant 'a lion,'—the chief would then be 'the great lion.' Compare the root 'ur' in the Assyrian *urmakh*, 'great lion;' and the Hebrew *layish*, 'a great or strong lion.'

⁴ The Sākya lion was Buddha, the lion of the Sākyas (*Sākyasimha*).

⁵ The 'abounding lustre,' that is, the additional glory or lustre of religion. The sermon appears to be addressed principally against pride of person, and anger.

'Your land productive and in peaceful quiet—this is your great renown; but true gracefulness of body and a happy people depend upon the heart well-governed. 1791

'Add but to this a reverent (joyful) feeling for religion, then (a people's) fame is at its height! a fertile land and all the dwellers in it, as a united body, virtuous¹! 1792

'To-day then learn this virtue², cherish with carefulness the people, lead them as a body in the right way of rectitude³, even as the ox-king leads the way across the river-ford. 1793

'If a man with earnest recollection ponder on things of this world and the next, he will consider how by right behaviour⁴ (right morals) he prepares, as the result of merit, rest in either world. 1794

'For all in this world will exceedingly revere him, his fame will spread abroad through every part, the virtuous will rejoice to call him friend, and the outflowings of his goodness will know no bounds for ever. 1795

'The precious gems found in the desert wilds are all from earth engendered; moral conduct, likewise, as the earth, is the great source of all that is good⁵. 1796

¹ Much of this discourse seems to refer to the fertility of the land occupied by these *Likkhavis* in the valley of the Ganges, and to their good rules of government. The character of their government is alluded to in pp. 3, 4, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi.

² The symbol 'tīh,' which I have translated by 'virtue,' means 'quality' (*guṇa*) or 'lustre' (*tejas*).

³ The literal rendering of this line is 'lead the body of them all in the clear and right (path).'

⁴ Right behaviour, right morality, here refer to the Buddhist rules of right conduct (*sīla*).

⁵ All that is illustrious (*śhen*).

‘By this, without the use of wings, we fly through space, we cross the river needing not a handy boat; but without this a man will find it hard indeed to cross (the stream of) sorrow (or, stay the rush of sorrow). 1797

‘As when a tree with lovely flowers and fruit, pierced by some sharp instrument, is hard to climb, so is it with the much-renowned for strength and beauty, who break through the laws of moral rectitude! 1798

‘Sitting upright in the royal palace (the palace of the conqueror) the heart of the king was grave and majestic¹; with a view to gain the merit of a pure and moral life, he became a convert of a great *Rishi*. 1799

‘With garments dyed and clad with hair, shaved, save one spiral knot² (he led a hermit’s life), but, as he did not rule himself with strict morality, he was immersed in suffering and sorrow. 1800

‘Each morn and eve he used the three ablutions, sacrificed to fire and practised strict austerity, let his body be in filth as the brute beast, passed through fire and water, dwelt amidst the craggy rocks, 1801

‘Inhaled the wind, drank from the Ganges’ stream, controlled himself with bitter fasts—but all! far short of moral rectitude³. 1802

¹ This line is difficult; I was prepared to regard 端坐 as a proper name. Dr. Legge, however, has kindly suggested the translation in the text. But who is the king referred to?

² The spiral knot of hair may be seen in many of the sculptures (e.g. plate lxx, Tree and Serpent Worship).

³ This is a free rendering; I have supposed that the description throughout refers to the ‘king’ alluded to above; this line may mean, ‘(he did all this) having put aside right morals.’

‘For though a man inure himself to live as any brute, he is not on that account a vessel of the righteous law¹; whilst he who breaks the laws of right behaviour invites detraction, and is one no virtuous man can love; 1803

‘His heart is ever filled (ever cherishes) with boding fear, his evil name pursues him as a shadow. Having neither profit nor advantage in this world, how can he in the next world reap content (rest)? 1804

‘Therefore the wise man ought to practise pure behaviour (morals); passing through the wilderness of birth and death, pure conduct is to him a virtuous guide. 1805

‘From pure behaviour comes self-power, which frees a man from (many) dangers; pure conduct, like a ladder, enables us to climb to heaven. 1806

‘Those who found themselves on right behaviour, cut off the source of pain and grief; but they who by transgression destroy this mind, may mourn the loss of every virtuous principle. 1807

‘(To gain this end)² first banish every ground of

¹ A vessel of righteousness.

² I have supplied this, although the sentence would make complete sense without it. In the context ‘every ground of self’ (‘ngo sho) seems to refer to the aim after selfish ends. The sermon from this point refers to ‘pride of self,’ and its evil consequences; in the latter portion he joins hatred or anger with pride; the whole reminds us of Milton’s description :

‘Round he throws his baleful eyes
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay
Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate.’

Paradise Lost, I, 57, 58.

Whilst the war of Devas and Asuras is just Milton’s idea when he says,

"self;" this thought of "self" shades every lofty (good) aim, even as the ashes that conceal the fire, treading on which the foot is burned. 1808

'Pride and indifference shroud this heart, too, as the sun is obscured by the piled-up clouds; supercilious thoughts root out all modesty of mind, and sorrow saps the strongest will. 1809

'(As) age and disease waste youthful beauty, (so) pride of self destroys all virtue; the Devas and Asuras, thus from jealousy and envy, raised mutual strife. 1810

'The loss of virtue and of merit which we mourn proceeds from "pride of self," throughout; and as I am a conqueror (*Gina*) amid conquerors¹, so he who (they who) conquers self, is one with me. 1811

'He who little cares to conquer self, is but a foolish master; beauty (or, earthly things), family renown (and such things), all are utterly inconstant, and what is changeable can give no rest of interval². 1812

'Storming fury rose

And clamour, such as heard in heaven till now

Was never.'

Ibid. VI, 207-209.

¹ Here there is allusion to Buddha's name 'Deva among Devas.' The construction of these sentences is obscure on account of the varied use of the word 'I' ('ngo'); this symbol is used sometimes, as in the line under present consideration, as a pronoun, but in the next line it means the evil principle of 'self.' I have found it difficult to avoid comparing this use of the word 'I,' meaning the 'evil self,' with the phrase the 'carnal mind.' The question, in fact, is an open one, whether the Buddhist teaching respecting the non-existence of 'I,' i.e. a personal self or soul, may not justly be explained as consisting in the denial of the reality of the 'carnal self.'

² I should like to translate it no 'interval of rest,' but it seems to

'If in the end the law of entire destruction (is exacted) what use is there in indolence and pride? Covetous desire (lust) is the greatest (source of) sorrow, appearing as a friend in secret 'tis our enemy. 1813

'As a fierce fire excited from within (a house), so is the fire of covetous desire: the burning flame of covetous desire is fiercer far than fire which burns the world (world-fire). 1814

'For fire may be put out by water in excess, but what can overpower the fire of lust? The fire which fiercely burns the desert grass (dies out), and then the grass will grow again; 1815

'But when the fire of lust burns up the heart, then how hard for true religion there to dwell! for lust seeks worldly pleasures, these pleasures add to an impure karman¹; 1816

'By this evil karman a man falls into perdition (evil way), and so there is no greater enemy to man than lust. Lusting, man gives way to amorous indulgence (lit. "lust, then it brings forth love"), by this he is led to practise (indulge in) every kind of lustful longing; 1817

'Indulging thus, he gathers frequent sorrow (all sorrow, or accumulated sorrow, referring to the second of the "four truths"). No greater evil (excessive evil) is there than lust. Lust is a dire disease, and the foolish master stops (i.e. neglects) the medicine of wisdom. 1818

'(The study of) heretical books not leading to

mean the only rest given is momentary, no rest from interval, i.e. constant change.

¹ The impure karman is, of course, the power of evil (in the character) to bring about suffering by an evil birth.

right thought, causes the lustful heart to increase and grow, for these books are not correct (pure) on the points of impermanency, the non-existence of self, and any object (ground) for "self¹." 1819

'But a true and right apprehension through the power of wisdom, is effectual to destroy that false desire (heretical longing), and therefore our object (aim or purpose) should be to practise this true apprehension. 1820

'Right apprehension (views) once produced then there is deliverance from covetous desire, for a false estimate of excellency produces a covetous desire to excel, whilst a false view of demerit produces anger (and regret); 1821

'But the idea of excelling and also of inferiority (in the sense of demerit) both destroyed, the desire to excel and also anger (on account of inferiority) are destroyed. Anger! how it changes the comely face, how it destroys the loveliness of beauty! 1822

'Anger dulls (clouds) the brightness of the eye (or, the bright eye), chokes all desire to hear the principles of truth, cuts and divides the principle of family affection, impoverishes and weakens every worldly aim². 1823

¹ The meaning is, that heretical books, i. e. books of the Brahmans and so on, teach no sound doctrine as to the unreality of the world, the non-existence of a 'personal self,' and the impropriety of any personal selfish aim, and therefore not teaching these, men who follow them are taken up with the idea that there is reality in worldly pleasures, that there is a personal self capable of enjoying them, and that the aim after such enjoyment is a right aim. All this Buddha and his doctrine exclude.

² I am not sure whether this is a right translation, it appears rather to contradict Buddha's teaching about the unreality of the world; literally the line is this, 'it makes the world what is light and poor.'

'Therefore let anger be subdued, yield not (a moment) to the angry impulse (heart); he who can hold his wild and angry heart is well entitled "illustrious charioteer." 1824

'For men call such a one "illustrious team-breaker"¹ (who can) with bands restrain the unbroken steed; so anger not subdued, its fire unquenched, the sorrow of repentance burns like fire. 1825

'A man who allows wild passion to arise within, himself first burns his heart, then after burning adds the wind² thereto which ignites the fire again, or not (as the case may be)³. 1826

'The pain of birth, old age, disease, and death press heavily upon the world, but adding "passion" to the score, what is this but to increase our foes when pressed by foes? 1827

'But rather, seeing how the world is pressed by throngs of grief, we ought to encourage in us love⁴ (a loving heart), and as the world (all flesh) produces grief on grief, so should we add as antidotes unnumbered remedies.' 1828

Tathâgata, illustrious in expedients, according to

¹ This expression and that in the verse preceding is allied to the Pâli purisadammasârathi, 'trainer or breaker-in of the human steer,' the unconverted man being (as Childers says, Dict. sub voce puriso) like to a refractory bullock. In the Northern books the comparison generally refers to a 'breaker-in of horses,' derived doubtless from the associations of the Northern people (converts to Buddhism), who excelled in chariot racing.

² The wind of repentance, the frequent 'sighs' and moans of penitence.

³ It seems to mean that the wind may sometimes revive the fire, but sometimes not.

⁴ This remedy of 'love' is a singular feature in the Buddhist doctrine.

the disease, thus briefly spoke; even as a good physician in the world, according to the disease, prescribes his medicine. 1829

And now the *Likkhavis*, hearing the sermon preached by Buddha, arose forthwith and bowed at Buddha's feet, and joyfully they placed them on their heads¹. 1830

Then they asked both Buddha and the congregation on the morrow to accept their poor religious offerings. But Buddha told them that already *Âmrâ* (the lady) had invited him. 1831

On this the *Likkhavis*, harbouring thoughts of pride and disappointment², (said): 'Why should that one take away our profit?' But, knowing Buddha's heart to be impartial and fair, they once again regained their cheerfulness. 1832

Tathâgata, moreover, nobly (virtuously or illustriously) seizing the occasion (or, following the right plan), appeasing them, produced within a joyful heart; and so subdued, their grandeur of appearance came again, as when a snake subdued by charms glistens with shining skin. 1833

And now, the night being passed, the signs of dawn appearing, Buddha and the great assembly go to the abode of *Âmrâ*, and having received her entertainment, 1834

They went on to the village of *Pi-nau*³ (*Beluva*),

¹ Placing the foot on the head is a symbol of submission—the custom of putting relic-caskets on the head is illustrated in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxxviii.

² 'We are outdone by this mango girl,' *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 31.

³ 'Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at *Ambapâli*'s grove, he addressed *Ânanda*, and said, "Come,

and there he rested during the rainy season; the three months' rest being ended, again he returned to Vaisâli, 1835

And dwelt beside the Monkey¹ Tank; sitting there in a shady grove, he shed a flood of glory from his person; aroused thereby, Mâra Pisuna 1836

Came to the place where Buddha was, and with closed palms² exhorted him thus: 'Formerly, beside the Nairâṅganâ river, when you had accomplished your true and steadfast aim, 1837

'(You said), "When I have done all I have to do, then will I pass at once to Nirvâna;" and now you have done all you have to do, you should, as then you said, pass to Nirvâna.' 1838

Then Buddha spake to Pisuna³: 'The time of my complete deliverance is at hand, but let three months elapse, and I shall reach Nirvâna.' 1839

Then Mâra, knowing that Tathâgata had fixed the time for his emancipation, his earnest wish being thus fulfilled, joyous returned to his abode in heaven⁴. 1840

Ânanda, let us go on to Beluva,"' Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 34.

¹ The Markaḥrada.

² Here the description of Mâra, 'with closed palms,' leaves no doubt that the figure in Tree and Serpent Worship (plate xxvi, fig. 1, 1st ed.) represents Mâra in this scene, 'requesting Buddha to depart.' It is satisfactory to know that the Buddhist idea of the appearance of 'the Wicked One' (Pisuna) was not in agreement with our modern conception of the form of Satan. He is here represented as a Deva, 'lord of the world of desires' (kāmaloka).

³ Compare this account of Mâra's appeal with Rhys Davids (Pâli Suttas, p. 53).

⁴ His abode in heaven. He is represented in Tree and Serpent Worship (plate xxx, fig. 1) as standing on the platform above the

Tathâgata, seated beneath a tree, straightway was lost in ecstasy, and willingly rejected his allotted years, and by his spiritual power fixed the remnant of his life. 1841

On this, Tathâgata thus giving up his years, the great earth shook and quaked through all the limits of the universe; great flames of fire were seen around, 1842

The tops of Sumeru were shaken (fell), from heaven there rained showers of flying stones, a whirling tempest rose on every side, the trees were rooted up and fell, 1843

Heavenly music rose with plaintive notes, whilst angels for a time were joyless. Buddha rising from out his ecstasy, announced to all the world: 1844

‘Now have I given up my term of years; I live henceforth by power of Samâdhi¹ (faith); my body like a broken chariot stands, no further cause of “coming” or of “going;” 1845

‘Completely freed from the three worlds, I go enfranchised, as a chicken from its egg.’ 1846

VARGA 24. THE DIFFERENCES OF THE LIKKHAVIS.

The venerable Ânanda, seeing the earth shaking on every side, his heart was fearful and his hair erect; he asked the cause thereof of Buddha. 1847

Trayastrimsas heaven (where the Devas are worshipping the tiara),—this is his right place as lord of the world of desires.

¹ Rhys Davids says samâdhi corresponds to the Christian faith, Buddhist Suttas, p. 145.

Buddha replied : 'Ānanda! I have fixed three months to end my life, the rest of life I utterly give up ; this is the reason why the earth is greatly shaken.' 1848

Ānanda, hearing the instruction of Buddha, was moved with pity and the tears flowed down his face, even as when an elephant of mighty strength shakes (with a blow) the sandal-wood tree. 1849

Thus was (Ānanda) shaken and his mind perturbed, whilst down (his cheeks) the tears, like drops of perfume, flowed ; so much he loved the lord his master, so full of kindness (was he), and, as yet, not freed from earthly thoughts (desire)¹. 1850

Thinking then on these four things² alone, he gave his grief full liberty, nor could he master it, (but said), ' Now I hear the lord declare that he has fixed for good his time to die (Nirvāṇa), 1851

' My body fails, my strength is gone, my mind is dazed, my soul is all discordant, and all the words of truth forgotten ; a wild deserted waste seems heaven and earth. 1852

' Have pity ! save me, master (lord of the world) ! perish not so soon³ ! Perished with bitter cold⁴, I chanced upon a fire—forthwith it disappeared. 1853

¹ 'Freedom from desire' (vītarāga) was the distinction of an Arhat ; Ānanda had not yet arrived at this condition.

² 'These four things,' or, the things of the world ; 'the four' denoting the 'four quarters,' that is, 'the world.'

³ This and the previous line may otherwise be translated, 'Have pity ! save the world, O lord ! from this so unexpected an end (of your life).'

⁴ These and the succeeding comparisons represent the condition of Ānanda in prospect of Buddha's death.

‘Wandering amid the wilds of grief and pain, deceived, confused, I lost my way—suddenly a wise and prudent guide encountered me, but hardly saved from my bewilderment, he once more vanished. 1854

‘Like some poor man treading through endless mud, weary and parched with thirst, longs for the water, suddenly he lights upon a cool refreshing lake, he hastens to it—lo! it dries before him. 1855

‘The deep blue, bright, refulgent eye¹, piercing through all the worlds, with wisdom brightens the dark gloom, the darkness (but) for a moment is dispelled². 1856

‘As when the blade shoots through the yielding earth, the clouds collect and we await the welcome shower, then a fierce wind drives the big clouds away, and so with disappointed hope we watch the dried-up field! 1857

‘Deep darkness reigned for want of wisdom, the world of sentient creatures groped for light, Tathâgata lit up the lamp of wisdom, then suddenly extinguished it—ere he had brought it out³.’ 1858

Buddha, hearing Ânanda speaking thus, grieved at his words, and pitying his distress, with soothing accents and with gentle presence spake with purpose to declare the one true⁴ law: 1859

¹ That is, the eye of Buddha, about which so much is said in the books.

² Such appears to be the meaning of the passage, implying that the disappearance of darkness is but for a moment.

³ Or, alas! why bring it out!

⁴ The expression here, as in other cases, is a strong affirmative, ‘the true law of truth,’ ‘the only true law;’ the word ‘law’ means religious system.

‘If men but knew their own¹ nature, they would not dwell (indulge) in sorrow; everything that lives, whate’er it be², all this is subject to destruction’s law; 1860

‘I have already told you plainly, the law (nature) of things “joined³” is to “separate;” the principle of kindness and of love⁴ is not abiding, ’tis better then to reject this pitiful and doting heart. 1861

‘All things around us bear the stamp of instant change; born, they perish; no self-sufficiency⁵; those who would wish to keep them long, find in the end no room for doing so. 1862

‘If things around us could be kept for aye, and were not liable to change or separation, then this would be salvation⁶! where then can this be sought? 1863

‘You, and all that lives, can seek in me this great deliverance! That which you may all attain

¹ ‘(The character of) self-nature,’ or as in the text.

² ‘All things that have a personal or individual existence.’ It would be well to compare the spirit of this sermon with the old belief of the Veda, respecting the birth of the ‘one nature’ from which the visible world took shape (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Max Müller, p. 561). It seems that the effort of Buddha was to transcend the time of the birth of this nature, and thus arrive at the condition of the original first cause, which ‘breathed breathless;’ in other words, this is the condition of Nirvāṇa.

³ As in the concluding verse of the *Vagratkṛhedikā Sūtra*, ‘tārakā timiram,’ &c. *Analecta Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, vol. I, part i, p. 46.

⁴ ‘Love’ in the sense of parental love; or the love which produced the world.

⁵ In the *Rig-veda* (according to Dr. Muir) the gods though spoken of as immortal are not regarded as unbeginning or self-existent; see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1864, p. 62.

⁶ That is, there would be no need to seek salvation, for it would be already possessed.

I have already told you, (and tell you) to the end. 1864

‘Why then should I preserve this body? The body of the excellent law¹ shall long endure! I am resolved; I look for rest! This is the one thing needful². 1865

‘So do I now instruct all creatures, and as a guide, not seen before, I lead them; prepare yourselves to cast off consciousness³, fix yourselves well in your own island⁴. 1866

‘Those who are thus fixed (mid-stream), with single aim and earnestness striving in the use of means, preparing quietly a quiet place, not moved by others’ way of thinking, 1867

‘Know well, such men are safe on the law’s island. Fixed in contemplation, lighted by the lamp of wisdom, they have thus finally destroyed ignorance and gloom. Consider well the world’s four bounds, 1868

‘And dare to seek for true religion only; forget “yourself,” and every “ground of self,” the bones, the nerves, the skin, the flesh, the mucus, the blood that flows through every little vein; 1869

¹ The ‘body of the law’ represents the teaching of the word of Buddha, which teaching is supposed to be accompanied with or attended by a living power, ever dwelling with the congregation of the faithful.

² ‘That which is wanting only resides in this.’

³ The Chinese ‘siang’ is equivalent to Sanskrit *saṅgñā*, the third skandha (constituents of personal being). It is the receptive (subjective) power, in distinction to the perceptive power (*vedanā*). Buddha denied the necessity of personal consciousness (i. e. of self-consciousness, or consciousness of self) as an element of life, i. e. life in the abstract.

⁴ This idea of ‘an island’ (*dvīpa*), fixed amid the running stream of life, is found in Dhammapada, verse 25.

‘Behold these things as constantly impure, what joy then can there be in such a body? every sensation born from cause, like the bubble floating on the water. 1870

‘The sorrow coming from (the consciousness of) birth and death and inconstancy, removes all thought of joy—the mind acquainted with the law of production¹, stability, and destruction, (recognises) how again and once again things follow or (succeed one another) with no endurance. 1871

‘But thinking well about Nirvāṇa², the thought of endurance is for ever dismissed, (we see how) the *samskāras*³ from causes have arisen, and how these aggregates will again dissolve, all of them impermanent. 1872

‘The foolish man conceives the idea of “self,” the wise man sees there is no ground on which to build the idea of “self,” thus through the world he rightly looks and well concludes, 1873

‘All, therefore, is but evil (one perverse way)—the aggregate amassed by sorrow must perish (in the end)! if once confirmed in this conviction, that man perceives the truth. 1874

¹ The law of production, stability, and destruction; this refers to the Buddhist theory of the successive stages in the development of the world. The world is produced from chaos, established for a period, and then destroyed; and this law is a perpetual one, extending through all space (the infinite systems of worlds) and through all time.

² Nirvāṇa, quietness and extinction.

³ The *samskāras*, the elements of being, i. e. individual being (for a full account of this term, see Childers' Pāli Dict. sub voce). With regard to the use of the Chinese ‘hing’ for *samskāra*, see Eitel, Handbook, sub *samskāra*; also consult Colebrooke, Hindu Philosophy, p. 254, and Burnouf (Introduction, pp. 504, 505, note 2).

‘This body, too, of Buddha now existing (soon will) perish, the law is one and constant, and without exception.’ Buddha having delivered this excellent sermon, appeased the heart of Ānanda. 1875

Then all the *Likkhavis*, hearing the report¹, with fear and apprehension assembled in a body; devoid of their usual ornaments, they hastened to the place where Buddha was. 1876

Having saluted him according to custom, they stood on one side, wishing to ask him a question, but not being able to find words. Buddha, knowing well their heart, by way of remedy, in the right use of means², spake thus: 1877

‘Now I perfectly understand that you have in your minds unusual thoughts, not referring to worldly matters, but wholly connected with subjects of religion; 1878

‘And now you wish to hear from me, what may be known respecting the report about my resolve to terminate my life, and my purpose to put an end to the repetition of birth. 1879

‘Impermanence is the nature of all that exists³, constant change and restlessness its conditions; unfixed, unprofitable, without the marks of long endurance. 1880

‘In ancient days the *Rishi* kings, *Vasishtha Rishi*,

¹ ‘Hearing it,’ in the original, i.e. hearing the report of Buddha’s approaching death.

² ‘The right use of means’ is the rendering of the Chinese ‘fang pien,’ the Sanskrit upāya; this term may mean ‘by artifice,’ or, ‘by way of expedient;’ but generally it refers to the use of means to an end, where the ‘means’ are evanescent and illusory; the end attained, lasting and real.

³ Here we have the well-known Pāli formula ‘sabbe saṃkhārā anikkhā.’

Māndhātṛi, the *Kakravartin* monarchs, and the rest, these and all others like them, 1881

‘The former conquerors (*Ginas*), who lived with strength like *Īsvara*, these all have long ago perished, not one remains till now; 1882

‘The sun and moon, *Sakra* himself, and the great multitude of his attendants, will all, without exception, perish¹; there is not one that can for long endure; 1883

‘All the Buddhas of the past ages, numerous as the sands of the Ganges, by their wisdom enlightening the world, have all gone out as a lamp²; 1884

‘All the Buddhas yet to come will also perish in the same way; why then should I alone be different? I too will pass into *Nirvāṇa*; 1885

‘But as they prepared others for salvation, so now should you press forward in the path; *Vaiśālī* may be glad indeed, if you should find the way of rest! 1886

‘The world, in truth, is void of help, the “three worlds” not enough for joy—stay then the course of sorrow, by engendering a heart without desire. 1887

‘Give up for good the long and straggling (way of life), press onward on the northern track³, step by

¹ That the gods were considered to be mortal appears, as Wilson says (*Rig-veda*, vol. i, p. 7 n), from the title (*nara*) given to them. Compare also Coxe, *Mythol.* II, p. 13, and Muir, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1864, p. 62.

² This idea of a lamp going out is a fundamental one as a definition of *Nirvāṇa* (*paggotassa nibbānam*). Its meaning has been discussed by Professor Max Müller in his *Introduction to Buddhaghosha's Parables* (by Captain Rogers).

³ That is, the northern track of the sun.

step advance along the upward road, as the sun skirts along (approaches) the western¹ mountains.' 1888

At this time the *Likkhavis*, with saddened hearts, went back along the way; lifting their hands to heaven and sighing bitterly: 'Alas! what sorrow this! 1889

'His body like the pure gold mountain², the marks upon his person so majestic, ere long and like a towering crag he falls; not to live, then why not, "not to love³?" 1890

'The powers of birth and death, weakened awhile, the lord Tathâgata, himself the fount (mother) of wisdom (appeared), and now to give it up and disappear! without a saviour now, what check to sorrow. 1891

'The world long time endured in darkness, and men were led by a false light along the way—when lo! the sun of wisdom rose; and now, again, it fades and dies—no warning given. 1892

'Behold the whirling waves of ignorance engulfing all the world! (Why is) the bridge or raft of wisdom in a moment cut away? 1893

'The loving and the great physician king (came) with remedies of wisdom, beyond all price, to heal the hurts and pains of men—why suddenly goes he away? 1894

'The excellent and heavenly flag of love adorned with wisdom's blazonry, embroidered with the dia-

¹ The idea appears to be, that as the sun advances in his course, he approaches the western mountains as his true setting place, i. e. he approaches the equinoctial point.

² This comparison of Buddha's body to the golden mountain (sumeru) is a very frequent one, and is probably allied in its origin with the idea of Bel, 'the great mountain' (sadu rabu).

³ The sense is, 'if he dies, where is the proof of his love?'

mond heart, the world not satisfied with gazing on it, 1895

'The glorious flag of heavenly worship¹! Why in a moment is it snapped? Why such misfortune for the world, when from the tide of constant revolutions 1896

'A way of escape was opened—but now shut again! and there is no escape from weary sorrow!' Tathâgata, possessed of fond and loving heart, now steels himself and goes away; 1897

He holds his heart² so patient and so loving, and, like the Wai-ka-ni (Vakkani?) flower, with thoughts cast down (irresolute) and tardy, he goes depressed along the road; 1898

Or like a man fresh from a loved one's grave, the funeral past and the last farewell taken, comes back (with anxious look). 1899

VARGA 25. PARINIRVÂNA.

When Buddha went towards the place of his Nirvâna, the city of Vaisâli was (as if) deserted, as when upon a dark and cloudy night the moon and stars withdraw their shining. 1900

The land that heretofore had peace, was now afflicted and distressed; as when a loving father dies, the orphan daughter yields to constant grief. 1901

Her personal grace unheeded, her clever skill but lightly thought of, with stammering lips she finds expression for her thoughts; how poor her brilliant wit and wisdom now! 1902

¹ Religious sacrifices.

² That is, he restrains himself.

Her spiritual powers (spirits¹) ill regulated (without attractiveness²), her loving heart³ faint (poor) and fickle (false), exalted high⁴ but without strength, and all her native grace neglected (without rule)⁵; 1903

Such was the case at Vaisâlt; all outward show⁶ now fallen (sorry-looking), like autumn verdure in the fields bereft of water, withered up and dry; 1904

Or like the smoke of a half-smouldering⁷ fire, or like those who having food before them yet forget to eat, so these forgot their common household⁸ duties, and nought prepared they for the day's emergencies. 1905

Thinking thus on Buddha, lost in deep reflection, silent they sat nor spoke a word. And now the lion-Likkhavis⁹, manfully enduring their great sorrow, 1906

¹ Shin-tung generally means 'spiritual (miraculous) powers,' but here it refers to the 'spirits' or 'good spirits,' i.e. the bearing or cheerful tone of mind.

² Without dignity.

³ That is, her heart capable of love now poor and estranged, i.e. incapable of earnest attachment.

⁴ The symbol 'shing' denotes not only 'power' generally, and hence used for the Sanskrit 'gina,' but also 'a head-dress worn by females.' It thus corresponds with the Greek *ἐξουσία* (1 Cor. xi. 10). The phrase in the text may therefore mean 'her horn (head-dress) exalted, but bereft of power,' where there is a play on the second word 'lih' (power).

⁵ 'Dignified and yet no ruler.'

⁶ Outward glory.

⁷ Like the smoking (ashes) of a fire put out.

⁸ Kung sz' may mean 'public and private,' or as in the text.

⁹ The difficulty here, as before, is to know whether one Likkhavi is referred to, or the whole clan. We may observe that there is an Accadian root 'lig' or 'lik,' meaning 'lion.' Sayce, Assyrian Grammar.

With flowing tears and doleful sighs, signifying thereby their love of kindred, destroyed for ever all their books of heresy, to show their firm adherence to the true law¹. 1907

Having put down all heresy (or heretics), they left it once for all² (never to return); severed from the world and the world's doctrines, convinced that non-continuance (impermanence) was the great disease (evil). 1908

(Moreover thus they thought): 'The lord of men now enters the great quiet place (Nirvâna), (and we are left) without support and with no saviour; the highest lord of "means" (means of saving men) is now about to extinguish all his glory in the final³ place (of death). 1909

'Now we indeed have lost our steadfast will, as fire deprived of fuel; greatly to be pitied is the world, now that the lord gives up his world-protecting (office), 1910

'Even as a man bereft of spiritual power (right reason) throughout the world is greatly pitied. Oppressed by heat we seek the cooling lake, nipped by the cold we use the fire; 1911

'But in a moment all is lost⁴, the world is left without resource⁵; the excellent law (superlative

¹ *K'ing-fā* = saddharma.

² The passage may possibly mean that they sent away all heretics from their city; but the whole verse is obscure.

³ The 'final' or 'highest' place.

⁴ This is a doubtful translation; the original is *sih kwoh in*, 'all openly or widely (gone).'

⁵ Without a place of refuge, or a lodging-place. The line literally translated is, 'All things that live, what refuge have they?'

law), indeed, is left, to frame the world anew, as a metal-caster frames anew his work¹. 1912

‘The world has lost its master-guide, and, men bereaved of him, the way is lost; old age, disease, and death, self-sufficient², now that the road is missed, pervade the world without a way. 1913

‘What is there now throughout the world equal to overcome the springs of these great sorrows? The great cloud’s rain alone can make the raging and excessive fire, that burns the world, go out. 1914

‘So only he can make the raging fire of covetous desire go out; and now he, the skilful maker of comparisons³, has firmly fixed his mind to leave the world! 1915

‘And why, again, is the sword of wisdom, ever ready to be used for an uninvited friend (i. e. on behalf of the friendless), only like the draught of wine given to him about to undergo the torture and to die⁴? 1916

‘Deluded by false knowledge the mass of living things are only born to die again; as the sharp knife divides the wood, so constant change divides the world. 1917

‘The gloom of ignorance like the deep water, lust like the rolling billow, sorrow like the float-

¹ This is the idea, as it seems, of the original, implying that the law of Buddha alone was left to take the place of the teacher.

² Tsz’-tsai, independent, without control.

³ ‘Powerful in making comparisons,’ one of Buddha’s characteristic names. The construction of these lines is unlike Chinese, and is evidently adapted from the Sanskrit original.

⁴ The sense seems to be that the sword of Buddha’s wisdom, instead of rescuing the friendless, has only been used, as the executioner’s draught, to lull the pain of death.

ing bubbles, false views (heresy) like the Makara¹ fish, 1918

‘(Amidst all these) the ship of wisdom only can carry us across the mighty sea. The mass of ills (diseases) are like the flowers of the (sorrow) tree, old age and all its griefs, the tangled boughs; 1919

‘Death the tree’s tap-root, deeds done in life the buds, the diamond sword of wisdom only strong enough to cut down the mundane tree! 1920

‘Ignorance (is like) the burning fire-glass, covetous desire the scorching rays, the objects of the five desires the (dry) grass, wisdom alone the water to put out the fire. 1921

‘The perfect law, surpassing every law, having destroyed the gloom of ignorance, we see the straight road leading to quietness and rest, the end of every grief and sorrow. 1922

‘And now the loving (one), converting men, impartial in his thoughts to friend or foe, the all-knowing, perfectly instructed, even he is going to leave the world! 1923

‘He with his soft and finely modulated voice, his compact body and broad shoulders, he, the great *Rishi*², ends his life! Who then can claim exemption? 1924

‘Enlightened, now he quickly passes hence! let

¹ A mythical sea monster (see for a probable representation of it, Bharhut Stūpa, plate xxxiv, fig. 2).

² The great *Rishi* (Mahesi), even he has come to die, who then can claim exemption? It would seem, from this episode, that the *Likkhavis* were now convinced of the law of impermanence, and this was the lesson they most needed to learn, being of a proud and haughty disposition.

us therefore seek with earnestness the truth, even as a man meets with the stream beside the road, then drinks and passes on. 1925

'Inconstancy, this is the dreaded enemy—the universal destroyer—sparing neither rich nor poor; rightly perceiving this and keeping it in mind, this man, though sleeping, yet is the only ever-wakeful.' 1926

Thus the *Likkhavi* lions, ever mindful of the Buddha's wisdom, disquieted with (the pain of) birth and death, sighed forth their fond remembrance of the man-lion¹. 1927

Retaining in their minds no love of worldly things, aiming to rise above the power of every lustful quality², subduing in their hearts the thought of light or trivial matters, training their thoughts (hearts) (to seek) the quiet, peaceful place; 1928

Diligently practising (the rules) of unselfish, charitable conduct; putting away all listlessness, they found their joy in quietness and seclusion, meditating only on religious truth. 1929

And now the all-wise (omniscient), turning his body round with a lion-turn³, once more gazed upon Vaisâli, and uttered this farewell verse: 1930

¹ That is, of Buddha, the lion of the Sâkya tribe (*Sâkyasimha*). There is here, of course, reference to the *Likkhavi* lion, as contrasted with the Sâkya lion. It will be well to bear in mind that the beautiful pillar described by Stephenson, Cunningham, and others, found near the site of Vaisâli, was surmounted by a 'lion.'

² *Tih*, corresponding to *guna*.

³ In the text it is *yuen shin*, 'his round or perfect body;' in Fā-hien the symbol is *hwui*, 'turning' (cap. xxv). The passage in Fā-hien may be translated 'turning his body with a right-turn-look.' Here the passage is 'turning (*yuen* for *hwui*) his body with a lion-turn;' in the Pāli (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 64) it is 'he

'Now this, the last time this, I leave (wander forth from) Vaisālī—the land where heroes¹ live and flourish! Now am I going to die.' 1931

Then gradually advancing, stage by stage² he came to Bhoga-nagara (Po-ki'a-shing), and there he rested in the Sāla³ grove, where he instructed all his followers (Bhikshus) in the precepts: 1932

'Now having gone on high (ascended into heaven)⁴ I shall enter on Nirvāṇa: ye must rely upon the law (religious truth)—this is your highest, strongest, vantage ground⁵. 1933

'What is not found (what enters not) in Sūtra, or what disagrees with rules of Vinaya, opposing the one true system (of my doctrine), this must not be held by you⁶. 1934

'What opposes Dharma, what opposes Vinaya, or gazed at Vesālī with an elephant look' (nāgapalokitam), on which word Mr. Rhys Davids has an interesting note. The lion appears to be the favourite with Northern Buddhists, the elephant (nāga) with the Southern.

¹ Lih sse, generally translated 'Mallas'; in Fa-hien 'Kin kang lih sse' has been translated by Vagrapāmi (cap. xxiv), but this is not correct; it is singular that 'lih sse'—in old Chinese 'lik sse'—should be applied as another term for *Likkhavis*. As stated above, *lik* is an Accadian root for 'lion'—is the Chinese symbol 'lik,' strong, allied to this?

² The stages according to the Pāli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 66) were from Vesālī to Bhandā-gāma, from Bhandā-gāma to Hatthi-gāma, from Hatthi-gāma to Amba-gāma, from Amba-gāma to Gambu-gāma, and thence to Bhoga-nagara.

³ At the Ānanda Ketiya (in the Pāli, as above).

⁴ This is a singular phrase, 'having ascended into heaven I shall enter Nirvāṇa'—it may refer to the process hereafter named through which the mind of Buddha passed (entering the dhyānas &c.) ere he died; but anyhow, it is a curious phrase.

⁵ This then is the noble, conquering place.

⁶ It will be well to compare this sermon with that in the Pāli (op. cit. pp. 67, 68).

what is contrary to my words, this is the result (speech) of ignorance, ye must not hold such doctrine, but with haste reject it. 1935

'Receiving that which has been said aright (in the light)¹, this is not subversive of true doctrine, this is what I have said², as the Dharma and Vinaya say. 1936

'Accepting that which I, the law, and the Vinaya declare, this is (the truth) to be believed. But words which neither I, the law, nor the Vinaya declare, these are not to be believed. 1937

'Not gathering (explaining) the true and hidden meaning, but closely holding to the letter³, this is the way of foolish teachers, but contrary to my doctrine (religion) and a false way of teaching. 1938

'Not separating the true from false, accepting in the dark without discrimination, is like a shop where gold and its alloys are sold together, justly condemned by all the world. 1939

'The foolish masters, practising (the ways of) superficial wisdom, grasp not the meaning of the truth; but to receive the law (religious doctrine) as it explains itself, this is to accept the highest mode of exposition (this is to accept the true law). 1940

¹ This dictum has been often quoted as illustrating the breadth of Buddha's teaching, 'keep and receive the right (vidyâ) spoken (words),' or 'whatever is according to right reason' (see Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, pp. 18, 68).

² The distinction between Dharma Vinaya and 'what I have said,' seems to point to the numerous discourses which are called 'Fo shwo' (in Chinese, i. e. spoken by Buddha. Compare with this phrase the Pâli 'Tathâgatena vutto,' see Leon Féer, *Études*, p. 192; Childers, Pâli Dict. sub vutti).

³ This 'holding to the letter' is also alluded to in the Pâli (see Childers, sub voce *vyañganam*).

‘Ye ought therefore thus to investigate true principles, to consider well the true law and the Vinaya, even as the goldsmith does who melts and strikes and then selects the true (metal). 1941

‘Not to know the Sûtras and the Sâstras, this is to be devoid of wisdom; not saying properly that which is proper, is like doing that which is not fit to see. 1942

‘Let all be done (accepted) in right and proper order, according as the meaning of the sentence guides, for he who grasps a sword unskilfully, does but inflict a wound upon his hand. 1943

‘Not skilfully to handle words and sentences, the meaning then is hard to know; as in the night time travelling and seeking for a house, if all be dark within, how difficult to find. 1944

‘Losing the meaning, then the law (dharma) is disregarded, disregarding the law the mind becomes confused; therefore every wise and prudent master neglects not to discover the true and faithful meaning.’ 1945

Having spoken these words respecting the precepts of religion, he advanced to the town of Pāvā¹; where all the Mallas (liḥ sse) prepared for him religious offerings of every kind. 1946

At this time a certain householder’s son², whose

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 70. It would seem from the people of Pāvā being called Mallas that they were allied with the *Liḥḥavis*.

² There is nothing said in the text about Kunda being a worker in metals, or about the character of his offering, or its consequences on Buddha’s health. The expression ‘householder’s son’ may be also translated a ‘householder,’ the symbol ‘tseu’ (son) being often used, as Wassiljew (*Buddhismus*, p. 168) has observed, as an honorific expletive.

name was *Kunda*, invited Buddha to his house, and there he gave him, as an offering, his very last repast. 1947

Having partaken of it and declared the law (preached), he onward went to the town of Kusi (Kusinagara), crossing the river Tsae-kieuh (Tsaku) and the *Hiranyavati* (Hi-lan)¹. 1948

Then in that *Sâla* grove, a place of quiet and seclusion (hermit-rest), he took his seat: entering the golden river (*Hiranyavati*) he bathed his body, in appearance like a golden mountain. 1949

Then he spake his bidding thus to *Ânanda*: 'Between those twin *Sâla* trees, sweeping and watering, make a clean space, and then arrange my sitting-mat (couch), 1950

'At midnight coming, I shall die' (enter *Nirvâna*). *Ânanda* hearing the bidding of his master (Buddha), his breath was choked with heart-sadness; 1951

But going and weeping he obeyed the instruction, and spreading out the mat he came forthwith back to his master and acquainted him. *Tathâgata* having lain down with his head towards the north and on his right side, slept thus. 1952

Resting upon his hand as on a pillow with his feet crossed², even as a lion-king; all grief is passed, his last-born body from this one sleep shall never rise. 1953

His followers (disciples) round him, in a circle

¹ Kusinagara is the present Kasia. I do not find any reference in General Cunningham's account of this city (*Archæological Survey of India*, I, 76 seq.) to the river Tsaku, but the *Hiranyavati* is still known as the Hirana.

² 'With one leg resting on the other,' *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 86.

gathered, sigh dolefully: 'The eye of the (great) world is now put out!' The wind is hushed, the forest streams are silent, no voice is heard of bird or beast. 1954

The trees sweat out large flowing drops, flowers and leaves out of season singly fall, whilst men and Devas, not yet free from desire, are filled with overwhelming fear. 1955

(Thus were they) like men wandering through the arid desert, the road full dangerous, who fail to reach the longed-for hamlet; full of fear they go on still, dreading they may not find it, their heart borne down with fear they faint and droop. 1956

And now Tathâgata, aroused from sleep, addressed Ânanda thus: 'Go! tell the Mallas, the time of my decease (Nirvâna) is come; 1957

'They, if they see me not, will ever grieve and suffer deep regret.' Ânanda listening to the bidding of his master (Buddha), weeping went along the road. 1958

And then he told those Mallas all—'The lord is near to death.' The Mallas hearing it, were filled with great, excessive grief (fear). 1959

The men and women hurrying forth, bewailing as they went, came to the spot where Buddha was; with garments torn and hair dishevelled, covered with dust and sweat they came. 1960

With piteous cries they reached the grove, as when a Deva's day of merit (heavenly merit or enjoyment) comes to an end¹, so did they bow

¹ The time when a Deva's sojourn in heaven is approaching its end is indicated by certain signs (fading of the head-garland, restlessness on his couch, &c.), on observing which there is general grief among the Devîs and others, his companions.

weeping and adoring at the feet of Buddha, grieving (to behold) his failing strength. 1961

Tathâgata, composed and quiet, spake: 'Grieve not! the time is one for joy; no call for sorrow or for anguish here; 1962

'That which for ages I have aimed at, now am I just about to obtain; delivered now from the narrow bounds of sense, I go to the place of never-ending rest and peace (purity). 1963

'I leave these things, earth, water, fire, and air, to rest secure where neither birth nor death can come. Eternally delivered there from grief, oh! tell me! why should I be sorrowful? 1964

'Of yore on Śrisha's¹ mount, I longed to rid me of this body, but to fulfil my destiny I have remained till now with men (in the world); 1965

'I have kept (till now) this sickly, crumbling body, as dwelling with a poisonous snake; but now I am come to the great resting-place, all springs of sorrow now for ever stopped. 1966

'No more shall I receive a body, all future sorrow now for ever done away; it is not meet for you, on my account, for evermore, to encourage any anxious fear.' 1967

The Mallas hearing Buddha's words, that he was now about to die (enter the great, peaceful, quiet state), their minds confused, their eyes bedimmed, as if they saw before them nought but blackness, 1968

With hands conjoined, spake thus to Buddha: 'Buddha is leaving now the pain of birth and death, and entering on the eternal joy of rest (peaceful extinction); doubtless we ought to rejoice thereat. 1969

¹ Near Gayâ.

‘ Even as when a house is burnt a man rejoices if his friends are saved from out the flames ; the gods ! perhaps they rejoice—then how much more should men ! 1970

‘ But—when Tathâgata has gone and living things no more may see him, eternally cut off from safety and deliverance—in thought of this we grieve and sorrow. 1971

‘ Like as a band of merchants crossing with careful steps a desert, with only a single guide, suddenly he dies ! 1972

‘ Those merchants now without a protector, how can they but lament ! The present age, coming to know their true case¹, has found the omniscient, and looked to him, 1973

‘ But yet has not obtained the final conquest ;—how will the world deride ! Even as it would laugh at one who, walking o’er a mountain full of treasure, yet ignorant thereof, hugs still the pain of poverty.’ 1974

So spake the Mallas, and with tearful words excuse themselves to Buddha, even as an only child pleads piteously before a loving father. 1975

Buddha then, with speech most excellent, exhibited and declared the highest principle (of truth), and thus addressed the Mallas : ‘ In truth, ’tis as you say ; 1976

‘ Seeking the way, you must exert yourselves and strive with diligence—it is not enough to have seen me ! Walk, as I have commanded you ; get rid of all the tangled net of sorrow ; 1977

¹ Men now living having learned their case, or condition, from the teaching of Buddha.

‘Walk in the way with steadfast aim; ’tis not from seeing me this comes,—even as a sick man depending on the healing power of medicine, 1978

‘Gets rid of all his ailments easily without beholding the physician. He who does not do what I command sees me in vain, this brings no profit; 1979

‘Whilst he who lives far off from where I am, and yet walks righteously, is ever near me! A man may dwell beside me, and yet, being disobedient, be far away from me. 1980

‘Keep your heart carefully—give not place to listlessness! earnestly practise every good work. Man born in this world is pressed by all the sorrows of the long career (night) [of suffering], 1981

‘Ceaselessly troubled—without a moment’s rest, as any lamp blown by the wind!’ The Mallas all, hearing Buddha’s loving instruction, 1982

Inwardly composed, restrained their tears, and, firmly self-possessed, returned. 1983

VARGA 26. MAHÂPARINIRVÂNA.

At this time there was a Brahmakârin whose name was Su-po-to-lo¹ (Subhadra); he was well known for his virtuous qualities (bhadra), leading a pure life according to the rules of morality, and protecting all living things. 1984

When young² he had adopted heretical views and become a recluse among unbelievers—this one, wishing to see the lord, spake to Ânanda thus: 1985

‘I hear that the system of Tathâgata is of a

¹ Called Subhadda in the Southern accounts.

² This may also be translated ‘of small endowments.’

singular character and very profound (difficult to fathom), and that he (has reached) the highest wisdom (anuttarâ(sam)bodhi) in the world, the first of all horse-tamers¹. 1986

'(I hear moreover) that he is now about to die (reach Nirvâna), it will be difficult² indeed to meet with him again, and difficult to see those who have seen him with difficulty, even as it is to catch in a mirror the reflection of the moon. 1987

'I now desire respectfully to see him the greatest and most virtuous guide (of men), because I seek to escape this mass of sorrow (accumulated sorrow) and reach the other shore of birth and death. 1988

'The sun of Buddha now about to quench its rays, O! let me for a moment gaze upon him.' The feelings of Ânanda now were much affected, thinking that this request was made with a view to controversy, 1989

Or that he (i.e. Subhadra) felt an inward joy because the lord was on the eve of death. He was not willing therefore to permit the interview with Buddha (the Buddha-sight). Buddha, knowing the man's (that one's) earnest desire and that he was a vessel fit for true religion (right doctrine), 1990

Therefore addressed Ânanda thus: 'Permit that heretic to advance; I was born to save mankind³, make no hindrance therefore or excuse!' 1991

¹ Compare 'Purisa-damma-sârathi,' as before. We observe, again, how the reference here is to taming of 'horses,' in the Southern accounts to the taming of the 'steer,' showing the associations of the people using the figure.

² 'Sometimes and full seldom do Tathâgatas appear in the world,' Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 104.

³ Here again the construction is inverted and un-Chinese, but

Subhadra, hearing this, was overjoyed at heart, and his religious feelings (his feelings of joy in religion) were much enlarged, as with increased reverence he advanced to Buddha's presence. 1992

Then, as the occasion required¹, he spoke becoming words and with politeness made his salutation², his features pleasing and with hands conjoined (he said): 'Now I desire to ask somewhat from thee; 1993

'The world has many teachers of religion³ (those who know the law) as I am myself; but I hear that Buddha has attained a way which is the end of all, complete emancipation. 1994

'O that you would, on my account, briefly explain (your method), moisten my empty, thirsty soul (heart)! not with a view to controversy or from a desire to gain the mastery (but with sincerity I ask you so to do).' 1995

Then Buddha, for the Brahmaśārin's sake, in brief recounted the eight 'right ways' (noble paths)—on hearing which, his empty soul (meek heart) accepted it, as one deceived accepts direction in the right road. 1996

the sense appears plain, ngo wei to gin sing, 'I, to save men am born.' The idea of Buddha as a saviour of men seems to be a development of his character as 'teacher' or 'sage.' It expanded afterwards in Northern Buddhism into the idea of a universal saviour, and was afterwards merged in the character of Avalokiteśvara, a being 'engaged by an eternal oath (covenant) to save all living things.' The presence of Western modes of thought cannot be doubted here.

¹ According to the occasion; or, as it was customary on such an occasion.

² Compare the Pāli *sarāṇiyam vitisāretvā*; 'wen sun,' however, in the Chinese, appears to correspond with the Pāli *abhivādeti*.

³ These teachers are named in the Pāli.

Perceiving now, he knew that what he had before perceived was not the final way (of salvation), but now he felt he had attained what he had not before attained, and so he gave up and forsook his books of heresy. 1997

Moreover, now he rejected (turned his back) on the gloomy hindrances of doubt (moha), reflecting how by his former practices, mixed up with anger, hate, and ignorance, he had long cherished no real (good) joy¹. 1998

For if (he argued) the ways of lust and hate and ignorance are able to produce a virtuous karman (good works), then 'hearing much' and 'persevering wisdom' (or, wisdom and perseverance (vîrya)) these, too, are born from lust, (which cannot be.) 1999

But if a man is able to cut down hate and ignorance, then also he puts off all consequences of works (karman), and these being finally destroyed, this is complete emancipation. 2000

Those thus freed from works are likewise freed from subtle questionings (investigation of subtle principles), (such as) what the world says 'that all things, everywhere, possess a self-nature².' 2001

But if this be the case and therefore lust, hate, and ignorance possess a self-implemented nature, then this nature must inhere in them; what then means the word 'deliverance?' 2002

For even if we rightly cause³ the overthrow

¹ I think 樂 is for 業, in which case the line would be, 'he had long cherished works (karman) not good' (善).

² This theory of a 'self-nature' (svabhâva) appears to have prevailed widely about the time of Asvaghosha, the Svabhâvika sect of Buddhists perhaps had their origin about this time.

³ That is, 'by the use of right means.'

(destruction) of hate and ignorance, yet if lust (love) remains, then there is a return of birth; even as water, cold in its nature, may by fire be heated, 2003

But when the fire goes out then it becomes cold again, because this is its constant nature; so (we may) ever know that the nature which lust has is permanent [or, 'endurance, we may know, is the nature of lust'], and neither hearing, wisdom, or perseverance can alter it. 2004

Neither capable of increase or diminution, how can there be deliverance? I held aforetime (thus he thought) that (those things capable of) birth and death resulted thus, from their own innate nature; 2005

But now I see that such a belief excludes deliverance; for what is (born) by nature must endure so, what end can such things have? 2006

Just as a burning lamp cannot but give its light; the way (doctrine) of Buddha is the only true one, that lust, as the root-cause, brings forth the things that live (the world); 2007

Destroy this lust (love) then there is Nirvâṇa (quiet extinction); the cause destroyed then the fruit is not produced. I formerly maintained that 'I' (self) was a distinct entity (body), not seeing that it has no maker. 2008

But now I hear the right doctrine preached by Buddha, there is no 'self' (personal self) in all the world, for all things are produced by cause, and therefore there is no creator (Īsvara). 2009

If then sorrow is produced by cause (or, if then cause producing things, there is sorrow), the cause may likewise be destroyed; for if the world is cause-

produced, then is the view correct, that by destruction of the cause, there is an end. 2010

The cause destroyed, the world brought to an end, there is no room for such a thought as permanence, and therefore all my former views (he said) are 'done away,' and so he deeply 'saw' the true doctrine taught by Buddha. 2011

Because of seeds well sown in former times, he was enabled thus to understand the law on hearing it; thus he reached the good and perfect state of quietness, the peaceful, never-ending place (of rest). 2012

His heart expanding to receive the truth, he gazed with earnest look on Buddha as he slept, nor could he bear to see Tathâgata depart and die (leave the world and attain Nirvâna); 2013

'Ere yet,' he said, 'Buddha shall reach the term (of life) I will myself first leave the world (become extinct);' and then with hands close joined, retiring from the holy form (face or features), he took his seat apart, and sat composed and firm¹. 2014

Then giving up his life (years), he reached Nirvâna, as when the rain puts out a little fire. Then Buddha spake to all his followers (Bhikshus): 'This my very last disciple 2015

'Has now attained Nirvâna, cherish him (his remains) properly.' Then Buddha the first night (watch) passed, the moon bright shining and all the stars clear in their lustre, 2016

The quiet grove without a sound, moved by his great compassionate heart, declared to his disciples

¹ Compare this account with the Pâli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 110, and note).

this his bequeathed precepts¹ (his testamentary rules). 'After my Nirvāṇa, 2017

'Ye ought to reverence and obey the Pratimoksha, (receive it) as your master, a shining lamp in the dark night, 2018

'Or as a great jewel (treasured by) a poor man. The injunctions I have ever given, these you ought to obey and follow carefully, and treat in no way different from myself. 2019

'Keep pure your body, words, and conduct, put from you all concerns of daily life (business), lands, houses, cattle, storing wealth or hoarding grain. 2020

'All these should be avoided as we avoid a fiery pit; (so also) sowing the land, cutting down shrubs, healing of wounds or the practice of medicine, 2021

'Star-gazing and astrology, forecasting lucky or unfortunate events by signs (palm signs), prognosticating good or evil, all these are things forbidden. 2022

'Keeping the body temperate, eat at proper times; receive no mission as a go-between; compound no philteries; abhor dissimulation; 2023

'Follow right doctrine, and be kind to all that lives; receive in moderation what is given; receive but hoard not up; these are, in brief, my spoken precepts. 2024

'These form the groundwork of my rules, these also are the ground of full emancipation². Enabled

¹ These 'bequeathed precepts' form a separate tract in the Chinese Buddhist Canon; it is generally bound up with the 'Sūtra of 42 Sections.' I have translated it in my first Report on the Chinese Buddhist Books in the Library of the India Office. [This Sūtra in Chinese is called 'an epitome of the Vinaya.' Is it the 'substance of the Vinaya' referred to in the Bairāt Edict of Asoka?]

² Full emancipation seems here to be a synonym of 'Prati-

thus to live (relying on this law, able to live) this is rightly to receive all (other things). 2025

‘This is true wisdom which embraces all, this is the way (cause) to attain the end ; this code of rules, therefore, ye should hold and keep, and never let it slip or be destroyed. 2026

‘For when pure rules of conduct are observed (not broken), then there is true religion ; without these, virtue languishes ; found yourselves therefore well on these my precepts (moral rules) ; 2027

‘Grounded thus in rules of purity, the springs of feeling (animal feeling) will be well controlled, even as the well-instructed cowherd guides well his cattle (permits them neither to loiter nor hurry on). 2028

‘Ill-governed feelings (senses), like the horse, run wild through all the six domains of sense, bringing upon us in the present world unhappiness, and in the next, birth in an evil way. 2029

‘So, like the horse ill-broken, these land us in the ditch ; therefore the wise and prudent man will not allow his senses licence. 2030

‘For these senses (organs of sense) are, indeed, our greatest foes, causes of misery ; for men enamoured thus by sensuous things cause all their miseries to recur. 2031

‘Destructive as a poisonous snake, or like a savage tiger, or like a raging fire, the greatest evil in the world, he who is wise, is freed from fear of these. 2032

‘But what he fears is only this—a light and trivial heart, which drags a man to future misery (evil way

moksha.’ The rules of the Pratimoksha (250 rules) were probably later in their origin than the rules here given.

of birth)—just for a little sip of pleasure not looking at the yawning gulf (before us); 2033

‘Like the wild elephant freed from the iron curb (aṅkusa), or like the ape that has regained the forest trees, such is the light and trivial heart;—the wise man should restrain and hold it therefore. 2034

‘Letting the heart go loose without restraint, that man shall not attain Nirvâṇa; therefore we ought to hold the heart in check, and go apart from men and seek a quiet resting-place (hermit’s abode). 2035

‘Know when to eat and the right measure; and so with reference to the rules of clothing and of medicine; take care you do not by the food you take, encourage in yourselves a covetous or an angry mind. 2036

‘Eat your food to satisfy your hunger and (drink to satisfy) your thirst, as we repair an old or broken chariot, or like the butterfly that sips the flower destroying not its fragrance or its texture. 2037

‘The Bhikshu, in begging food, should beware of injuring the faithful mind of another¹; if a man opens his heart in charity, think not about his capabilities (i. e. to overtax him), 2038

‘For ’tis not well to calculate too closely the strength of the ox, lest by loading him (beyond his strength) you cause him injury. At morning, noon, and night, successively, store up good works. 2039

‘During the first and after watch at night be not overpowered by sleep, but in the middle watch, with heart composed, take sleep (and rest)—be thoughtful towards the dawn of day. 2040

¹ This seems to refer to the offence given by a Bhikshu in asking food, either seeking much or of different quality to that offered.

‘Sleep not the whole night through, making the body and the life relaxed and feeble; think! when the fire shall burn the body always, what length of sleep will then be possible? 2041

‘For when the hateful brood of sorrow rising through space, with all its attendant horrors, meeting the mind o’erwhelmed by sleep and death, shall seize its prey, who then shall waken it? 2042

‘The poisonous snake dwelling within a house can be enticed away by proper charms, so the black toad that dwells within his heart, the early waker disenchant and banishes. 2043

‘He who sleeps on heedlessly (without plan), this man has no modesty; but modesty is like a beauteous robe, or like the curb that guides the elephant. 2044

‘Modest behaviour keeps the heart composed, without it every virtuous root will die. Who has this modesty, the world applauds (calls him excellent); without it, he is but as any beast. 2045

‘If a man with a sharp sword should cut the (another’s) body bit by bit (limb by limb), let not an angry thought, or of resentment, rise, and let the mouth speak no ill word. 2046

‘Your evil thoughts and evil words but hurt yourself and not another; nothing so full of victory as patience, though your body suffer the pain of mutilation. 2047

‘For recollect that he who has this patience cannot be overcome, his strength being so firm; therefore give not way to anger or evil words towards men in power¹. 2048

¹ So I translate the symbol ‘kia.’

'Anger and hate destroy the true law; and they destroy dignity and beauty of body; as when one dies we lose our name for beauty, so the fire of anger itself burns up the heart. 2049

'Anger is foe to all religious merit, he who loves virtue let him not be passionate; the layman who is angry when oppressed by many sorrows is not wondered at, 2050

'But he who has "left his home"¹ indulging anger, this is indeed opposed to principle, as if in frozen water there were found the heat of fire. 2051

'If indolence (an indolent mind) arises in your heart, then with your own hand smooth down your head², shave off your hair, and clad in sombre (dyed or stained) garments, in your hand holding the begging-pot, go ask for food; 2052

'On every side the living perish, what room for indolence? the worldly man, relying on his substance or his family, indulging in indolence, is wrong; 2053

'How much more the religious man, whose purpose is to seek the way of rescue, who encourages within an indolent mind; this surely is impossible! 2054

'Crookedness and truth (straightness) are in their nature opposite and cannot dwell together more than frost and fire; for one who has become religious, and practises the way of straight behaviour, a false and crooked way of speech is not becoming. 2055

'False and flattering speech is like the magician's

¹ That is, the hermit, or professed disciple.

² Does this refer to smoothing the hair previous to shaving it off? But the sense in any case is obscure, for how could a person admit himself to the 'order'?

art; but he who ponders on religion cannot speak falsely (wildly). To "covet much," brings sorrow; desiring little, there is rest and peace. 2056

'To procure rest (peace of mind), there must be small desire—much more in case of those who seek deliverance (salvation). The niggard dreads the much-seeking man lest he should filch away his property (wealth and jewels), 2057

'But he who loves to give has also fear, lest he should not possess enough to give; therefore we ought to encourage small desire, that we may have to give to him who wants, without such fear. 2058

'From this desiring-little-mind we find the way of true deliverance; desiring true deliverance (seeking salvation) we ought to practise knowing-enough (contentment). 2059

'A contented mind is always joyful, but joy like this is but religion¹; the rich and poor alike, having contentment, enjoy perpetual rest. 2060

'The ill-contented man though he be born to heavenly joys, because he is not contented would ever have a mind burned up by the fire of sorrow. 2061

'The rich, without contentment, endures the pain of poverty; though poor, if yet he be contented, then he is rich indeed! 2062

'That ill-contented man, the bounds of the five desires extending further still, (becomes) insatiable in his requirements, (and so) through the long night (of life) gathers increasing sorrow. 2063

'Without cessation thus he cherishes his careful (anxious) plans, whilst he who lives contented, freed

¹ So the line plainly means fun hi tsih shi fã, 'joy, like this, is but religion.'

from anxious thoughts about relationships (family concerns), his heart is ever peaceful and at rest. 2064

‘And so because he rests and is at peace within, the gods and men revere and do him service. Therefore we ought to put away all cares about relationship (the encumbrance of close or distant relationships). 2065

‘For like a solitary desert tree in which the birds and monkeys gather, so is it when we are cumbered much with family associations; through the long night we gather many sorrows. 2066

‘Many dependents (relationships) are like the many bands (that bind us), or like the old elephant that struggles in the mud. By diligent perseverance a man may get much profit; 2067

‘Therefore night and day men ought with ceaseless effort to exert themselves; the tiny streams that trickle down the mountain slopes (valleys) by always flowing eat away the rock. 2068

‘If we use not earnest diligence in drilling wood in wood for fire, we shall not obtain the spark, so ought we to be diligent and persevere, as the skilful master drills the wood for fire. 2069

‘A “virtuous friend¹” though he be gentle is not to be compared with right reflection (thought)—right thought kept well in the mind, no evil thing can ever enter there. 2070

‘Wherefore those who practise (a religious life) should always think about “the body” (their true condition—themselves); if thought upon oneself be

¹ This ‘virtuous friend’ is here, probably, to be taken in its literal sense. The ‘right reflection’ is *samyak smṛiti*. And so the others that follow are the eight portions of the holy path.

absent, then all virtue (virtuous intentions or purposes) dies. 2071

‘For as the champion warrior relies for victory upon his armour’s strength, so “right thought” is like a strong cuirass able to withstand the six sense-robbers (the robber-objects of the six senses). 2072

‘Right faith¹ (samâdhi) enwraps² the enlightened heart, (so that a man) perceives the world throughout (is liable to) birth and death ; therefore the religious man should practise “samâdhi.” 2073

‘Having found peace (quietness and peace) in samâdhi, we put an end to all the mass of sorrows, wisdom then can enlighten us, and so we put away the rules by which we acquire (knowledge by the senses). 2074

‘By inward thought and right consideration following with gladness the directions of the “true law,” this is the way in which both lay (men of the world) and men who have left their homes (religious men) should walk. 2075

‘Across the sea of birth and death, “wisdom” is the handy bark ; “wisdom” is the shining lamp that lightens up the dark and gloomy (world). 2076

““Wisdom” is the grateful medicine for all the defiling ills [of life] (âsravas); “wisdom” is the axe wherewith to level all the tangled (prickly) forest trees of sorrow. 2077

““Wisdom” is the bridge that spans the rushing stream of ignorance and lust—therefore, in every

¹ Mr. Rhys Davids (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 145) is of opinion that samâdhi in Buddhism corresponds to ‘faith’ in Christianity. There is much to bear out this opinion.

² The *ἐνδύμα* (in a gnostic sense) of the awakened heart; the atmosphere in which the enlightened heart lives.

way, by thought and right attention (listening), a man should diligently inure himself to engender "wisdom." 2078

'Having acquired the threefold¹ wisdom, then, though blind, the eye of wisdom sees throughout; but without wisdom the mind is poor and insincere (false); such things cannot suit (agree with) the man who has left his home. 2079

'Wherefore let the enlightened man lay well to heart that false and fruitless (vain) things become him not, and let him strive with single mind for that pure (refined and excellent) joy which can be found alone in perfect rest and quietude (the place of rest and peace, i. e. Nirvâṇa). 2080

'Above all things be not careless, for carelessness is the chief foe of virtue; if a man avoid this fault he may be born where Sakra-râga dwells. 2081

'He who gives way to carelessness of mind must have his lot where the Asuras dwell. Thus have I done my task, my fitting task, (in setting forth the way of) quietude, the proof (work) of love². 2082

'On your parts be diligent³ (earnest)! with virtuous purpose practise well these rules (works), in quiet solitude of desert hermitage nourish and cherish a still and peaceful heart. 2083

¹ Is this the wisdom of Buddha, dharma and saṅgha? or does it refer to the trividyâs, the knowledge of impermanence, sorrow, and unreality? See Childers, Pâli Dict. sub vijja; also Mr. Rhys Davids' *Tevigga Sutta*, Introduction, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi.

² I have finished my task of love in setting forth to you the way of rest.

³ 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, "Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"' *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi, p. 114.

‘Exert yourselves to the utmost, give no place to remissness, for as in worldly matters when the considerate physician prescribes fit medicine for the disease he has detected, 2084

‘Should the sick man neglect to use it, this cannot be the physician’s fault, so I have told you (now) the truth, and set before you this the one and level road (the road of plain duty). 2085

‘Hearing my words and not with care obeying them, this is not the fault of him who speaks; if there be anything not clearly understood in the principles of the “four truths,” 2086

‘You now may ask me, freely; let not your inward thoughts be longer hid.’ The lord in mercy thus instructing them, the whole assembly remained silent. 2087

Then Anuruddha, observing that the great congregation continued silent and expressed no doubt, with closed hands thus spake to Buddha : 2088

‘The moon may be warm, the sun’s rays be cool, the air be still¹, the earth’s nature mobile; these four things, though yet unheard of in the world, (may happen); 2089

‘But this assembly never can have doubt about the principles of sorrow, accumulation, destruction, and the way (the four truths)—the incontrovertible truths, as declared by the lord. 2090

‘But because the lord is going to die, we all have sorrow (are deeply affected); and we cannot raise our thoughts to the high theme of the lord’s preaching. 2091

‘Perhaps some fresh disciple, whose feelings are

¹ In the sense of ‘fixed’ or ‘solid.’

yet not entirely freed (from other influences) [might doubt]; but we, who now have heard this tender, sorrowful discourse, have altogether freed ourselves from doubt. 2092

‘Passed the sea of birth and death, without desire, with nought to seek, we only know how much we love, and, grieving, ask, why Buddha dies so quickly?’ 2093

Buddha regarding Anuruddha, perceiving how his words were full of bitterness (sorrow-laden), again with loving heart, appeasing him, replied : 2094

‘In the beginning¹ things were fixed, in the end again they separate; different combinations cause other substances, for there is no uniform and constant principle (in nature). 2095

‘But when all mutual purposes be answered (what is for oneself and for another, be done), what then shall chaos and creation do! the gods and men alike that should be saved, shall all have been completely saved! 2096

‘Ye then! my followers, who know so well the perfect law, remember! the end must come (complete destruction of the universe must come); give not way again to sorrow! 2097

‘Use diligently the appointed means; aim to reach the home where separation cannot come; I have lit the lamp of wisdom, its rays alone can drive away the gloom that shrouds the world. 2098

‘The world is not for ever fixed! Ye should

¹ This is a very singular passage; it refers to the Buddhist theory that the world (universe) is continually renewed and destroyed, but here we have the novel addition that in ‘the end’ all this will cease, and there will be no chaos (‘void,’ hung) and no renovation (re-creation).

rejoice therefore! as when a friend, afflicted grievously, his sickness healed, escapes from pain. 2099

‘For I have put away this painful vessel (my painful body), I have stemmed the flowing sea (sea current) of birth and death, free for ever now, from pain (the mass of sorrow)! for this you should exult with joy! 2100

‘Now guard yourselves aright, let there be no remissness! that which exists will all return to nothingness! and now I die. 2101

‘From this time forth my words are done, this is my very last instruction.’ Then entering the Samâdhi of the first Dhyâna, he went successively through all the nine in a direct order; 2102

Then inversely he returned throughout and entered on the first, and then from the first he raised himself and entered on the fourth. 2103

Leaving the state of Samâdhi, his soul without a resting-place (a house to lodge in), forthwith he reached Nirvâna. And then, as Buddha died, the great earth quaked throughout. 2104

In space, on every hand, was fire like rain (it rained fire) [or, possibly, ‘there was rain and fire’], no fuel, self-consuming¹. And so from out the earth great flames arose on every side (the eight points of the earth), 2105

Thus up to the heavenly mansions flames burst forth; the crash of thunder shook the heavens and earth, rolling along the mountains and the valleys, 2106

Even as when the Devas and Asuras fight with sound of drums and mutual conflict. A wind tempestuous from the four bounds of earth arose—

¹ That is, the fire was self-originated, and was supported without fuel.

whilst from the crags and hills, dust and ashes fell like rain. 2107

The sun and moon withdrew their shining; the peaceful streams on every side were torrent-swollen; the sturdy forests shook like aspen leaves, whilst flowers and leaves untimely fell around, like scattered rain. 2108

The flying dragons, carried on pitchy clouds, wept down their tears¹ (five-headed tears); the four kings and their associates, moved by pity², forgot their works of charity. 2109

The pure Devas came to earth from heaven, halting mid-air they looked upon the changeful scene (or, the death scene), not sorrowing, not rejoicing. 2110

But yet they sighed to think of the world, heedless of its sacred teacher, hastening to destruction. The eightfold heavenly spirits³, on every side filled space, 2111

Cast down at heart and grieving, they scattered flowers as offerings. Only Mâra-râga rejoiced, and struck up sounds of music in his exultation. 2112

Whilst Gambudvîpa⁴, shorn of its glory, (seemed to grieve) as when the mountain tops fall down to earth, or like the great elephant robbed of its tusks, or like the ox-king spoiled of his horns; 2113

Or heaven without the sun and moon, or as the lily beaten by the hail; thus was the world bereaved when Buddha died! 2114

¹ This passage is obscure, it may mean the dragons wept tears from their five heads, but it is doubtful.

² Here again is an error in the text, the symbol 舍 being clearly a misprint.

³ That is, Nâgas, Kinnaras, and the rest.

⁴ That is, 'the world,' as Buddhists count it.

VARGA 27. PRAISING NIRVÂNA.

At this time there was a Devaputra, riding on (or in) his thousand¹ white-swan palace² in the midst of space, who beheld the Parinirvâna of Buddha. 2115

This one, for the universal benefit of the Deva assembly, sounded forth at large these verses (gâthas) on impermanence: 'Impermanency is the nature of all (things), quickly born, they quickly die. 2116

'With birth there comes the rush³ of sorrows, only in Nirvâna⁴ is there joy. The accumulated fuel heaped up by the power of karman⁵ (deeds), this the fire of wisdom alone can consume. 2117

'Though the fame (of our deeds⁶) reach up to heaven as smoke, yet in time the rains which descend will extinguish all, as the fire that rages at the kalpa's end is put out by the judgment⁷ (calamity) of water.' 2118

¹ The symbol for 'thousand' is probably an error for the preposition 'u' upon.

² The *hamsa* is the vehicle of Brahmâ. The white *hamsa* is probably the same.

³ The accumulation, or crowd of sorrows.

⁴ Ts'ie mih, quiet extinction, or the destruction ending in quietness.

⁵ The collection of the pile of fuel of the deeds (or beams) of conduct (*samskâras*).

⁶ Or, simply, 'though our fame;' or it may refer to the renown of Buddha.

⁷ Referring to the Buddhist account of the destruction and renovation of the universe; the last 'calamity' or 'judgment' was the destruction by water.

Again there was a Brahma-*Rîshi*-deva, like a most exalted *Rîshi* (a highest-principle *Rîshi*¹), dwelling in heaven, possessed of superior happiness, with no taint in his bliss (heavenly inheritance), 2119

Who thus sighed forth his praises of Tathâgata's Nirvâna, with his mind fixed in abstraction as he spoke: 'Looking through all the conditions of life (of the three worlds), from first to last nought is free from destruction. 2120

'But the incomparable seer dwelling in the world, thoroughly acquainted with the highest truth², whose wisdom grasps that which is beyond the (world's) ken³, he it is who can save the worldly-dwellers⁴. 2121

'He it is who can provide lasting escape (preservation) from the destructive power of impermanence. But, alas! through the wide world, all that lives is sunk in unbelief (heretical teaching).' 2122

At this time Anuruddha, 'not stopped' (ruddha)⁵ by the world, 'not stopped' from being delivered

¹ This may refer to one of the highest *Rîshis*, or Pragâpati *Rîshis*, belonging to the Vedic literature.

² Here is the same phrase, 'ti yih i,' the first, or highest, truth, or principle of truth (paramârtha).

³ Whose wisdom sees that which (*ké*) is above, or superior, (to man.)

⁴ The difficulty is to find a word in English corresponding to the Buddhist phrase 'all in the world;' it is not only 'mankind' (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 133) that are invited to trust in Buddha, but all things that have life. The Chinese phrase is 'kung sing,' all that lives.

⁵ Not 'liu to,' where 'liu to' is equivalent to 'ruddha' in the proper name Anuruddha. I take the word, therefore, in the sense of 'stopped'—it is used, of course, as a figure of speech; so also in the next phrase. Anuruddha is here taken as A-niruddha.

(delivered and not stopped), the stream of birth and death for ever 'stopped'¹ (niruddha), 2123

Sighed forth the praises of Tathâgata's Nirvâna :
'All living things completely blind and dark²! the mass of deeds (*samskâra*) all perishing (inconstant), even as the fleeting cloud-pile³! 2124

'Quickly arising and as quickly perishing! the wise man holds not to such a refuge, for the diamond mace of inconstancy can (even) overturn the mountain of the *Rîshi* hermit⁴ (muni). 2125

'How despicable and how weak the world! doomed to destruction, without strength! Impermanence, like the fierce lion, can even spoil the Nâga-elephant-great-*Rîshi*⁵. 2126

'Only the diamond curtain of Tathâgata can overwhelm⁶ inconstancy! How much more should those not yet delivered from desire (passion), fear and dread its power. 2127

'From the six seeds there grows one sprout⁷, one kind of water from the rain, the origin of the

¹ Ni-liu-to, equal to 'niruddha.'

² 宜 for 冥.

³ The Chinese 'feou' means a 'floating' pile or mass, whether of clouds or fanciful worlds. Hence its use in the later Buddhist development to mean a 'series of worlds' (as in the successive stages of the pagoda).

⁴ Or, the *Rîshi*-hermit-mountain, referring probably to Buddha.

⁵ Referring again to Buddha.

⁶ The literal translation would be, 'only makes impermanence, destruction.' There may be an error in the text, but this sense is sufficiently plain. The meaning of the word 'curtain,' or, perhaps, 'standard,' is not quite so evident in this connection, it is evidently used in opposition to the 'diamond mace,' in the preceding clause.

⁷ This and the following lines are obscure; the reference must be gathered from Sanskrit rather than Chinese. The line before us, rendered literally, is 'six seeds, one bud.'

four points¹ is far removed, five kinds of fruit from the two "koo²;" 2128

'The three periods (past, present, future) are but one in substance; the Muni-great-elephant plucks up the great tree of sorrow, and yet he (even he) cannot avoid the power of impermanence. 2129

'For like the crested³ (sikhin) bird delights (within) the pool (water) to seize the poisonous snake, but when from sudden drought he is left in the dry pool, he dies; 2130

'Or as the prancing steed advances fearlessly to battle, but when the fight has passed goes back subdued and quiet; or as the raging fire burns with the fuel, but when the fuel is done, expires; 2131

'So is it with Tathâgata, his task accomplished he returns⁴ to (find his refuge in) Nirvâna: just as the shining of the radiant moon sheds everywhere its light and drives away the gloom, 2132.

'All creatures grateful for its light, (then suddenly) it disappears concealed by Sumeru; such is the case with Tathâgata, the brightness of his wisdom lit up the gloomy darkness, 2133

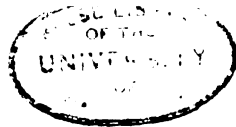
'And for the good of all that lives drove it away, when suddenly it disappears behind the mountain of Nirvâna. The splendour of his fame throughout the world diffused, 2134

¹ The four 'yin' may be the four points of the compass. But the text is without note or comment.

² The Chinese symbol 'koo' means a 'libation cup.'

³ The symbols 'shi-hi' correspond with Sanskrit sikhin; I have therefore taken it in the sense of 'crested.' There may be a bird, however, called Sikhin.

⁴ The expression 'he returns to Nirvâna' is unusual; I have therefore used the alternative meaning which the symbol 'kwei' sometimes has, 'finding refuge in.'



' Had banished all obscurity, but like the stream that ever flows, it rests not with us; the illustrious charioteer with his seven prancing steeds¹ flies through the host (and disappears); 2135

' The bright-rayed² Sûrya-deva, entering the Yen-tsz'³ cave, was, with the moon, surrounded with fivefold barriers; "all things that live," deprived of light, 2136

' Present their offerings to heaven; but from their sacrifice nought but the blacken'd smoke ascends⁴; thus is it with Tathâgata, his glory hidden, the world has lost its light. 2137

' Rare was the expectancy of grateful love⁵ that filled the heart of all that lives; that love, reached its full limit, then was left to perish! 2138

' The cords of sorrow all removed, we found the true and only way; but now he leaves the tangled mesh of life, and enters on the quiet place! 2139

' His spirit (or, by spiritual power) mounting through space, he leaves the sorrow-bearing vessel of his body! the gloom of doubt and the great

¹ This passage is a difficult one; if the construction is closely followed, the rendering would be this, 'The illustrious charioteer (with) his seven swift steeds, the army host quickly (or, the wings of the army host) following him about.' Possibly it must be connected with the lines which follow, and refers to the saptârva-vâhana of Sûrya.

² Kwong-kwong, well-rayed.

³ The Yen-tsz' cave is the fabulous hiding-place of the sun. The fable is a common one, particularly in Japanese mythology. I do not know whether it is found in Sanskrit literature.

⁴ The reference in this and the preceding lines is to the disappearance of the sun and moon, and the darkness of the world, compared to the Nirvâna of Tathâgata.

⁵ This is a free translation; I have taken 'tsiueh' as an intensive particle.

(heaped-up) darkness all dispelled, by the bright rays of wisdom! 2140

'The earthy soil of sorrow's dust his wisdom's water purifies! no more, no more, returns he here! for ever gone to the place of rest! 2141

'(The power of) birth and death destroyed, the world (all things) instructed in the highest doctrine! he bids the world rejoice in (knowledge of) his law, and gives to all the benefit of wisdom! 2142

'Giving complete rest to the world, the virtuous streams¹ flow forth! his fame known (spread) throughout the world, shines still with increased splendour! 2143

'How great his pity and his love to those who opposed his claims, neither rejoicing in their defeat nor exulting in his own success². 2144

'Illustriously controlling his feelings, all his senses completely enlightened, his heart impartially observing events, unpolluted by the six objects (or, fields) of sense! 2145

'Reaching to that unreachd before! obtaining that which man had not obtained! with the water which he provided filling every thirsty soul! 2146

'Bestowing that which never yet was given, and providing a reward not hoped for! his peaceful, well-marked person, perfectly knowing the thoughts³ (prayers) of all. 2147

¹ The streams of his virtuous qualities.

² This verse again is doubtful. The entire section (a hymn of praise in honour of the departed Buddha) is couched in obscure, figurative language.

³ His well-composed and illustrious person, knowing perfectly all the reflections of men. 'Nim' is sometimes used to signify 'prayers' or 'aspirations.'

‘Not greatly moved either by loving or disliking!
overcoming all enemies by the force (of his love)!
the welcome physician for all diseases, the one de-
stroyer of impermanency! 2148

‘All living things rejoicing in religion, fully satis-
fied¹! obtaining all they need (seek), their every
wish (vow) fulfilled! 2149

‘The great master of holy wisdom once gone
returns no more! even as the fire gone out for want
of fuel! 2150

‘(Declaring) the eight rules (noble truths?) with-
out taint²; overcoming the five³ (senses), difficult to
compose! with the three⁴ (powers of sight) seeing
the three (precious ones); removing the three (rob-
bers, i. e. lust, anger, ignorance); perfecting the three
(the three grades of a holy life). 2151

‘Concealing⁵ the one (himself) and obtaining the
one (saintship)—leaping over the seven (bodhyañ-
gas?) and (obtaining) the long sleep; the end of
all, the quiet, peaceful way; the highest prize of
sages and of saints! 2152

¹ Each one satisfied; the sense seems to be that through him, i. e. Buddha, all things obtained the completion of their religious desires.

² Or it may be by way of exclamation, ‘those eight rules which admit of no pollution!’ referring perhaps to the name ‘the noble rules.’

³ I suppose ‘the five’ are the five senses. The expression ‘difficult to compose’ might be also rendered ‘the difficult to compose group.’

⁴ Using (i) ‘the three,’ and yet seeing the ‘three.’ The next line is, ‘removing the three,’ and yet perfecting ‘the three.’

⁵ Or it may be ‘treasuring the one,’ where ‘the one’ may be the one duty of a religious life; but it is difficult to interpret these paradoxes.

‘Having himself severed the barriers of sorrow, now he is able to save his followers, and to provide the draught of immortality (sweet dew) for all who are parched with thirst! 2153

‘Armed with the heavy cuirass of patience, he has overcome all enemies! (now) by the subtle principles of his excellent law (able to) satisfy every heart. 2154

‘Planting a sacred seed (seed of holiness) in the hearts of those practising virtue (worldly virtue¹); impartially directing and not casting off those who are right or not right (in their views)! 2155

‘Turning the wheel of the superlative law! received with gladness through the world by those (the elect) who have in former conditions implanted in themselves a love for religion, these all saved by his preaching! 2156

‘Going forth² among men converting those not yet converted; those who had not seen (learned) the truth, causing them to see the truth! 2157

‘All those practising a false method (heretical) of religion, delivering to them deep principles (of his religion)! preaching the doctrines of birth and death and impermanency; (declaring that) without a master³ (teacher) there can be no happiness! 2158

‘Erecting the standard of his great renown, overcoming and destroying the armies of Mâra (all the Mâras)! advancing to the point of indifference to

¹ The sense seems to be, that in the case of those leading a virtuous life, i. e. a moral life, the seeds of holiness take root.

² All these verses might be introduced with some such exclamation as this, ‘See! how he went forth!’ &c.

³ Perhaps the word ‘ku’ might be rendered ‘a ruling principle,’ viz. of religion.

pleasure or pain, caring not for life, desiring only rest (Nirvâna)! 2159.

‘Causing those not yet converted to obtain conversion! those not yet saved to be saved! those not yet at rest to find rest! those not yet enlightened to be enlightened! 2160

‘(Thus) the Muni (taught) the way of rest for the direction of all living things! alas! that any transgressing the way of holiness should practise impure (not right) works. 2161

‘Even as at the end of the great kalpa, those holding the law who die (or, are dead¹), (when) the rolling sound of the mysterious thunder-cloud severs the forests, upon these there shall fall the rain of sweet dew (immortality). 2162

‘The little elephant breaks down the prickly forest, and by cherishing it we know that it can profit men²; but the cloud that removes the sorrow of the elephant old-age³, this none can bear³. 2163

‘He by destroying systems of religion (sights, i. e. modes of seeing, darsanas) has perfected his

¹ The literal translation of this passage is curious: ‘Even as at the end of the great kalpa, those holding the law, asleep; the mysterious cloud rolling forth its cracking (thunder), riving the forests, there descends as rain sweet dew.’ The end of the great kalpa is the consummation of all things: ‘the religious who sleep’ would mean the good who are dead; ‘the cracking thunder and riven forests’ would point to a general overthrow; ‘the rain of sweet dew’ seems to refer to the good who sleep, receiving immortality, or perfection of life.

² ‘The little elephant’ may mean ‘the young elephant’ in its literal sense; or it may refer to ‘the young disciple.’ ‘By cherishing it we know’ may also be rendered ‘knowledge-cherishing’ is able, &c.

³ ‘The cloud removing the elephant old and sorrowful;’ but what is ‘the cloud’ and who ‘the elephant?’

system, in saving the world and yet saving! he has destroyed the teaching of heresy, in order to reach his independent (self-sufficient) mode (way) [of doctrine]. 2164

‘And now he enters the great quiet (place)! no longer has the world a protector or saviour! the great army host of Māra-rāga, rousing their warrior (spirits), shaking the great earth, 2165

‘Desired to injure the honour’d Muni! but they could not move him, whom in a moment now the Māra “inconstancy” destroys. 2166

‘The heavenly occupants (Devas) everywhere assemble as a cloud! they fill the space of heaven, fearing the endless (mastery of) birth and death! their hearts are full of (give birth to) grief and dread! 2167

‘His Deva eyes clearly behold, without the limitations of near or distant, the fruits of works discerned throughout, as an image perceived in a mirror! 2168

‘His Deva ears perfect and discriminating throughout, hear all, though far away (not near), mounting through space he teaches all the Devas, surpassing his method (limit) of converting men! 2169

‘He divides his body still one in substance, crosses the water as if it were not weak (to bear)¹! remembers all his former births, through countless kalpas none forgotten! 2170

¹ This sentence may perhaps be rendered thus, ‘dividing his body yet one in substance, wading through water and yet not weak,’ but the allusion is obscure. [It refers, probably, to Buddha’s miraculous powers.]

‘His senses (roots) wandering through the fields of sense (limits)¹, all these distinctly remembered; knowing the wisdom learned in every (state of) mind, all this perfectly understood! 2171

‘By spiritual discernment and pure mysterious wisdom equally (impartially) surveying all (things)! every vestige of imperfection (leak) removed! thus he has accomplished all (he had to do). 2172

‘By wisdom rejecting other spheres of life, his wisdom now completely perfected, lo! he dies! let the world, hard and unyielding, still, behold-ing it, relent! 2173

‘All living things though blunt in sense, behold-ing him, receive the enlightenment of wisdom! their endless evil deeds long past, as they behold, are cancelled and completely cleansed! 2174

‘In a moment gone! who shall again exhibit qualities like his? no saviour now in all the world—our hope cut off, our very breath (life) is stopped and gone! 2175

‘Who now shall give us life again with the cool water (of his doctrine)? his own great work accomplished, his great compassion now has ceased to work for long (has long ceased or stopped)! 2176

‘The world ensnared in the toils of folly, who shall destroy the net? who shall, by his teaching, cause the stream of birth and death to turn again? 2177

‘Who shall declare the way of rest (to instruct)

¹ The meaning is, all his births, in which his senses or material body took every kind of shape; all these he knew. The figurative style of this ‘hymn’ may be gathered from this one instance, where instead of saying ‘all his previous births’ it is said ‘his senses wandering through the field (limits or boundaries) of sense.’

the heart of all that lives, deceived by ignorance? Who will point out the quiet place, or who make known the one true doctrine (system of doctrine)? 2178

‘All flesh suffering (receiving) great sorrow, who shall deliver, like a loving father? Like the horse changing his master loses all gracefulness, as he forgets his many words of guidance (so are we)! 2179

‘As a king without a kingdom, such is the world without a Buddha! as a disciple (a Śrāvaka, a “much hearer”) with no power of dialectic (distinguishing powers) left, or like a physician without wisdom, 2180

‘As men whose king has lost the marks of royalty (bright or glorious marks), so, Buddha dead, the world has lost its glory! the gentle horses left without a charioteer, the boat without a pilot left! 2181

‘The three divisions¹ of an army left without a general! the merchantmen without a guide! the suffering and diseased without a physician! a holy king (śakravartin) without his seven insignia (jewels, ratnâni)! 2182

‘The stars without the moon! the loving years (the planet Jupiter?) without the power of life!—such is the world now that Buddha, the great teacher, dies!’ 2183

Thus (spake) the Arhat², all done that should be done, all imperfections quite removed, knowing the meed of gratitude, he was grateful therefore (spake gratefully of his master); 2184

Thus thinking of his master’s love he spake!

¹ Infantry, cavalry, and chariots.

² That is, as it seems, Anuruddha.

setting forth the world's great sorrow; whilst those, not yet freed from the power of passion, wept with many tears, unable to control themselves. 2185

Yet even those who had put away all faults, sighed as they thought of the pain of birth and death. And now the Malla host¹ hearing that Buddha had attained Nirvâna, 2186

With cries confused, wept piteously, greatly moved, as when a flight of herons meet a hawk (kite). In a body now they reach the twin (Sâla) trees, and as they gaze upon Tathâgata dead (entered on his long sleep), 2187

Those features never again to awake to consciousness, they smote their breasts and sighed to heaven; as when a lion seizing on a calf, the whole herd rushes on with mingled sounds. 2188

In the midst there was one Malla, his mind enamoured of the righteous law, who gazed with steadfastness upon the holy² law-king, now entered on the mighty calm, 2189

And said: 'The world was everywhere asleep, when Buddha setting forth his law caused it to awake; but now he has entered on the mighty calm, and all is finished in an unending sleep. 2190

'For man's sake he had raised the standard of his law, and now, in a moment, it has fallen; the sun of Tathâgata's wisdom spreading abroad the lustre of its "great awakening"³, 2191

¹ The Mallas (wrestlers) are termed 'lih-sse,' strong-masters, in Chinese. They dwelt at Kusinagara and Pâvâ. The *Likkhavis* are also called lih-sse.

² The holy law-king, dharmarâga.

³ The 'great awakening' refers, of course, to Buddha as 'the awakened.'

‘Increasing ever more and more in glory, spreading abroad the thousand rays of highest knowledge, scattering and destroying all the gloom (of earth), why has the darkness great come back again? 2192

‘His unequalled wisdom lightening the three worlds, giving eyes that all the world might see, now suddenly (the world is) blind again, bewildered, ignorant of the way; 2193

‘In a moment fallen the bridge of truth (that spanned) the rolling stream of birth and death, the swelling flood of lust and rage and doubt, and all flesh overwhelmed therein, for ever lost.’ 2194

Thus all that Malla host wept piteously and lamented; whilst some concealed their grief nor spoke a word; others sank prostrate on the earth; 2195

Others stood silent, lost in meditation; others, with sorrowful heart, groaned deeply. Then on a gold and silver gem-decked couch¹, richly adorned with flowers and scents, 2196

They placed the body of Tathâgata; a jewelled canopy they raised above, and round it flags and streamers and embroidered banners; then using every kind of dance and music², 2197

The lords and ladies of the Mallas followed

¹ The ‘gem-decked couch’ or palanquin is probably represented in plate lxiv, fig. 1 (Tree and Serpent Worship, first edition). This is the procession of the couch through Kusinagara. The curly-haired men bearing it would indicate that the Mallas and *Likkhavis* of Vaisâlî were the same race.

² The use of ‘dance and music’ at funerals is an old and well-understood custom. Compare Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, pp. 122, 123.

along the road presenting offerings, whilst all the Devas scattered scents and flowers, and raised the sound of drums and music in the heavens. 2198

Thus men and Devas shared one common sorrow, their cries united as they grieved together. Entering the city, there the men and women, old and young, completed their religious offerings. 2199

Leaving the city, then, and passing through the Lung-tsiang gate¹, and crossing over the Hira-nyavati river, they repaired to where the former Buddhas having died, had Kaityas raised to them². 2200

There collecting ox-head sandal wood and every famous scented wood, they placed the whole above the Buddha's body, pouring various scented oils upon the pyre; 2201

Then placing fire beneath to kindle it, three times they walked around; but yet it burned not. At this time the great Kâsyapa had taken his abode at Râ-gagrîha³, 2202

And knowing Buddha was about to die was coming thence with all his followers; his pure mind, deeply moved, desired to see the body of the lord; 2203

And so, because of that his sincere wish, the fire went out and would not kindle. Then Kâsyapa and his followers coming, with piteous sighs looked on the sight 2204

¹ The Nâga or Nâga-Elephant gate.

² Had their Nirvâna-kaityas erected. The account in the text does not agree with the Southern account; but the popular Chinese record of the Nirvâna is the same as the Pâli.

³ He was between Pâvâ and Kusinagara, according to the common account.

And revered at the master's feet; and then, forthwith, the fire burst out. Quenched the fire of grief within; without, the fire has little power to burn. 2205

Or though it burn the outside skin and flesh, the diamond true-bone still remains. The scented oil consumed, the fire declines, the bones they place within a golden pitcher; 2206

For as the mystic world¹ (dharma-dhātu) is not destroyed, neither can these, the bones (of Buddha), perish; the consequence (fruit) of diamond² wisdom, difficult to move as Sumeru. 2207

The relics which the mighty golden-pinioned bird cannot remove or change, they place within the precious vase; to remain until the world shall pass away; 2208

And wonderful! the power of men (the world) can thus fulfil Nirvâna's laws, the illustrious name of one far spread, is sounded thus throughout the universe; 2209

And as the ages roll, the long Nirvâna, by these, the sacred relics (bones), sheds through the world its glorious light, and brightens up the abodes of life. 2210

He perished (quenched his splendour) in a moment! but these relics, placed within the vase, the imperishable signs of wisdom, can overturn the mount of sorrow; 2211

¹ The dharma-dhātu (fă kai) is the mystic or ideal world of the Northern Buddhists. Literally it is the 'limit (*ôpos*) of dharma;' dharma being the universal essence. This bears a striking resemblance to the gnostic (Valentinian) theory of limitation of the Divine essence.

² Diamond wisdom, indestructible wisdom.

The body of accumulated griefs¹ this imperishable mind (*ñi*) can cause to rest, and banish once for ever all the miseries of life. 2212

Thus the diamond substance (body) was dealt with at the place of burning. And now those valiant Mallas, unrivalled in the world for strength, 2213

Subduing all private animosities, sought escape from sorrow in the true refuge. Finding sweet comfort in united love, they resolved to banish every complaining thought. 2214

Beholding thus the death of Tathâgata, they controlled their grieving hearts, and with full strength of manly virtue dismissing every listless thought, they submitted to the course (laws) of nature. 2215

Oppressed by thoughts of grievous sorrow, they entered the city as a deserted wild, holding the relics thus they entered, whilst from every street were offered gifts. 2216

They placed the relics then upon a tower², for men and Devas to adore. 2217

VARGA 28. DIVISION OF THE SARÎRAS.

Thus those Mallas offered religious reverence to the relics, and used the most costly flowers and scents for their supreme act of worship. 2218

Then the kings of the seven countries³, having heard that Buddha was dead, sent messengers to

¹ That is, the body subject to accumulation of sorrow.

² 'In their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows,' Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 131.

³ The seven 'kings' were, the king of Magadha, the *Likkhavis* of Vaisâlî, the *Sâkyas* of Kapilavastu, the *Bulis* of Allakappa, the *Koliyas* of Râmagrâma, the *Brahman* of Vesâdipa, and the *Mallas* of Pāvā; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, pp. 131, 132.

the Mallas asking to share the sacred relics (of Buddha). 2219

Then the Mallas reverencing the body of Tathâgata, trusting to their martial renown, conceived a haughty mind: 2220

'They would rather part with life itself (they said), than with the relics of the Buddha;' so those messengers returned from the futile embassy. Then the seven kings, highly indignant, 2221

With an army, numerous as the rain clouds, advanced on Kusinagara; the people who went from the city filled with terror soon returned 2222

And told the Mallas all, that the soldiers and the cavalry of the neighbouring countries were coming, with elephants and chariots, to surround the Kusinagara city. 2223

The gardens, lying without the town, the fountains, lakes, flower and fruit trees were now destroyed by the advancing host, and all the pleasant resting-places lay in ruins. 2224

The Mallas, mounting on the city towers, beheld the great supports of life¹ destroyed; they then prepared their warlike engines to crush the foe without; 2225

Balistas² and catapults and 'flying torches'³ to

¹ The supports of life, as I take it, are the fields and fountains.

² It may be rendered 'bow catapults' and 'balista-stone-carriages,' or bows, catapults, balistas, and stone carriages (carrying machines?).

³ These flying torches and other instruments were used by the Northern nations from remote antiquity. There is no indication of them, however, in the plate (xxxviii) in Tree and Serpent Worship, which, I take it, represents this scene. Asvaghosha was familiar with Kanishka and his military appliances, and these doubtless included the instruments here referred to.

hurl against the advancing host. Then the seven kings entrenched themselves around the city, each army host filled with increasing courage; 2226

Their wings of battle shining in array as the sun's seven beams of glory shine; the heavy drums¹ rolling as the thunder, the warlike breath (rising) as the full cloud mist. 2227

The Mallas, greatly incensed, opening the gates command the fray to begin; the aged men and women whose hearts had trust in Buddha's law, 2228

With deep concern breathed forth their vow, 'Oh! may the victory be a bloodless one²!' Those who had friends used mutual exhortations not to encourage in themselves a desire for strife. 2229

And now the warriors, clad in armour, grasping their spears and brandishing their swords 'midst the confused noise and heavy drums¹ (advanced). But ere the contest had begun, 2230

There was a certain Brahman whose name was Drona (tuh-lau-na), celebrated for penetration, honour'd for modesty and lowliness, 2231

Whose loving heart took pleasure in religion. This one addressed those kings and said: 'Regarding the unequalled strength of yonder city, one man alone would be enough (for its defence); 2232

'How much less when with determined heart (they are united), can you subdue it! In the beginning³ mutual strife produced destruction, how now can it result in glory or renown? 2233

¹ Is 鍾 for 鐘? If so, it would be cymbals and drums.

² May they subdue those without loss or hurt to themselves.

³ Or, from the beginning.

'The clash of swords and bloody onset done, 'tis certain one must perish! and therefore whilst you aim to vanquish those, both sides will suffer in the fray. 2234

'Then there are many chances, too, of battle, 'tis hard to measure strength by appearances; the strong, indeed, may overcome the weak, the weak may also overcome the strong; 2235

'The powerful champion may despise the snake, but how will he escape a wounded body? there are men whose natures bland and soft, seem suited for the company of women or of children, 2236

'But when enlisted in the ranks, make perfect soldiers. As fire when it is fed with oil, though reckoned weak, is not extinguished easily; so when you say that they (your enemies) are weak, 2237

'Beware of leaning overmuch on strength of body; nought can compare with strength of right (religion). There was in ancient times a *Gina*¹ king, whose name was *Kârandhama* (*Avikshit*), 2238

'His graceful (upright) presence caused such love (in others) that he could overcome all animosity; but though he ruled the world and was high renowned, and rich and prosperous, 2239

'Yet in the end he went back² and all was lost! So when the ox has drunk enough, he too returns. Use then the principles of righteousness, use the expedients of good will and love. 2240

'Conquer your foe by force, you increase his

¹ A *Gina* king, or a conquering king. *Kârandhama* was a name of *Avikshit*.

² Whether it means he went back 'to death,' or he lost his possessions by warfare, is not plain from the text. The phrase 'all was lost,' may also be rendered, 'he gave up all.'

enmity; conquer by love, and you will reap no after-sorrow. The present strife is but a thirst for blood, this thing cannot be endured! 2241

‘If you desire to honour Buddha, follow the example of his patience and long-suffering¹!’ Thus this Brahman with confidence declared the truth; 2242

Imbued with highest principles of peace, he spake with boldness and unflinchingly. And now the kings addressed the Brahman thus: 2243

‘You have chosen a fitting time for giving increase to the seed of wisdom, the essence of true friendship is (leads to) the utterance of truth. The greatest force (of reason) lies in righteous judgment. 2244

‘But now in turn hear what we say: The rules of kings are framed to avoid the use of force when hatred has arisen from low desires (question of the five pleasures); 2245

‘Or else to avoid the sudden use of violence in trifling questions (where some trifling matter is at stake). But we for the sake of law (religion) are about to fight. What wonder is it! 2246

‘Swollen pride is a principle to be opposed, for it leads to the overthrow of society; no wonder then that Buddha preached against it, teaching men to practise lowliness and humility. 2247

‘Then why should we be forbidden to pay our reverence to his body-relics? In ancient days a

¹ ‘Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.
Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.’

Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 133.

But it is not plain how Drona could address the Mallas as ‘reverend sirs,’ unless indeed the brethren were going to fight, which is beyond probability.

lord of the great earth, Pih-shih-tsung¹ Nanda [or two lords, viz. Pih-shih-tsung and Nanda], 2248

'For the sake of a beautiful woman fought and destroyed each other; how much more now, for the sake of religious reverence to our master, freed from passion, gone to Nirvâna, 2249

'Without regard to self, or careful of our lives, should we contend and assert our rights! A former king Kaurava (or belonging to the Kauravas) fought with a Pândava (king), 2250

'And the more they increased in strength the more they struggled, all for some temporary gain; how much more for our not-coveting² master (should we contend), coveting to get his living (relics)? 2251

'The son of Râma, too, the *Rîshi* (or Râma-rishiputra), angry with king Dasaratha, destroyed his country, slew the people, because of the rage he felt; 2252

'How much less for our master, freed from anger, should we be niggard of our lives! Râma, for Sîta's sake, killed all the demon-spirits; 2253

'How much more for our lord, heaven³-received, should we not sacrifice our lives! The two demons A-lai (Alaka) and Po-ku were ever drawn into contention; 2254

'In the first place, because of their folly and ignorance, causing wide ruin among men; how

¹ The character 'tsung' in this name is uncertain, I have not therefore attempted to restore it.

² Not-covetous; here there is a double-entendre, contrasting the absence of covetousness in Buddha with the presence of it in the Pândavas and Kauravas.

³ 天攝受 heaven-taken-up-received.

much less for our all-wise master should we begrudge our lives! 2255

‘Wherefore if from these examples we find others ready to die for no real principle, how shall we for our teacher of gods (Devas) and men, revered by the universe, 2256

‘Spare our bodies or begrudge our lives, and not be earnest in desire to make our offerings! Now then, if you desire to stay the strife, go, and for us demand within the city 2257

‘That they open wide (distribute) the relics, and so cause our prayer to be fulfilled. But because your words are right ones, we hold our anger for a while; 2258

‘Even as the great, angry snake, by the power of charms is quieted.’ And now the Brahman¹, having received the king’s instruction, 2259

Entering the city, went to the Mallas, and saluting them, spoke these true words: ‘Without the city those who are kings among men² grasp with their hands their martial weapons, 2260

‘And with their bodies clad in weighty armour wait eagerly (to fight); glorious as the sun’s rays; bristling with rage as the roused lion. These united are, to overthrow this city. 2261

‘But whilst they wage this religious war, they fear lest they may act irreligiously, and so they have sent me here to say what they require. 2262

‘“We³ have come, not for the sake of territory,

¹ There is nothing like this in the Southern account.

² ‘Kings among men,’ *ἀνακτες ἀνδρῶν*.

³ This is the only way to take the translation, although the pronoun ‘ngo standing alone would signify ‘I’ have come; but

much less for money's sake, nor on account of any insolent feeling, nor yet from any thought of hatred; 2263

“But because we venerate the great *Rishi*, we have come on this account. You, noble sirs! know well our mind! Why should there be such sorrowful contention! 2264

“You honour what we honour, both alike, then we are brothers as concerns religion. We both with equal heart revere the bequeathed spiritual relics of the lord. 2265

“To be miserly in (hoarding) wealth, this is an unreasonable fault; how much more to grudge religion, of which there is so little knowledge in the world! 2266

“The exclusive and the selfishly-inclined, should practise laws of hospitality (civility)¹; but if ye have not rules of honour² such as these, then shut your gates and guard yourselves.” 2267

‘This is the tenor of the words, be they good or bad, spoken by them. But now for myself and my own feelings, let me add these true and sincere words. 2268

‘Let there be no contention either way; reason ought to minister for peace, the lord when dwelling in the world ever employed the force of patience. 2269

‘Not to obey his holy teaching, and yet to offer gifts to him, is contradiction. Men of the world

perhaps the singular implies that Drona used the words of the chief of the kings.

¹ Should practise ‘waiting for guest laws,’ civil conduct. I have given here the sense of the passage.

² Kshatriya rules, rules or laws of chivalry.

for some indulgence, some wealth or land, contend and fight, 2270

‘But those who believe the righteous law, should obediently conform their lives to it; to believe and yet to harbour enmity, this is to oppose “religious principle” to “conduct.” 2271

‘Buddha himself at rest, and full of love, desired to bestow the rest he enjoyed, on all. To adore with worship the great merciful, and yet to gender wide destruction, 2272

‘(How is this possible?) Divide the relics, then, that all may worship them alike; obeying thus the law, the fame thereof wide-spread, then righteous principles will be diffused; 2273

‘But if others walk not righteously, we ought by righteous dealing to appease them, in this way showing the advantage (pleasure) of religion, we cause religion everywhere to take deep hold and abide. 2274

‘Buddha has told us that of all charity “religious charity” is the highest; men easily bestow their wealth in charity, but hard is the charity that works for righteousness.’ 2275

The Mallas hearing the Brahman’s words with inward shame gazed at one another; and answered the Brahmacârin thus: ‘We thank you much for purposing to come to us, 2276

‘And for your friendly and religious counsel—speaking so well, and reasonably. Yours are words which a Brahman ought to use, in keeping with his holy character¹; 2277

‘Words full of reconciliation, pointing out the

¹ 功德 merit, or religious merit.

proper road; like one recovering a wandering horse brings him back by the path which he had lost. 2278

'We then ought to adopt the plan of reconciliation such as you have shown us; to hear the truth and not obey it brings afterwards regretful sorrow.' 2279

Then they opened out the master's relics and in eight parts equally divided them. Themselves paid reverence to one part, the other seven they handed to the Brahman; 2280

The seven kings having accepted these, rejoiced and placed them on their heads¹; and thus with them returned to their own country, and erected Dâgobas for worship over them. 2281

The Brahmacârin then besought the Mallas to bestow on him the relic-pitcher as his portion, and from the seven kings he requested a fragment of their relics, as an eighth share. 2282

Taking this, he returned and raised a *Kaitya*, which still is named 'the Golden Pitcher Dâgoba.' Then the men of Kusinagara collecting all the ashes of the burning, 2283

Raised over them a *Kaitya*, and called it 'the Ashes Dâgoba.' The eight Stûpas of the eight kings, 'the Golden Pitcher' and 'the Ashes Stûpa²,' 2284

Thus throughout *Gambudvîpa* there first were raised ten Dâgobas. Then all the lords and ladies

¹ Placing relics on the head was a token of reverence. Compare plate xxxviii (Tree and Serpent Worship).

² In reference to these *Kaityas* or towers, compare the account given in the Pâli (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 135), and also Fă-hien, cap. xxiii.

of the country holding gem-embroidered canopies, 2285

Paid their offerings at the various shrines, adorning them as any golden mountain¹. And so with music and with dancing through the day and night they made merry, and sang. 2286

And now the Arhats numbering five hundred, having for ever lost their master's presence, reflecting there was now no ground of certainty, returned to Gridhrakûṭa mount; 2287

Assembling in king Sakra's cavern², they collected there the Sûtra Piṭaka; all the assembly agreeing that the venerable Ānanda 2288

Should say (recite), for the sake of the congregation, the sermons of Tathâgata from first to last, 'Great and small, whatever you have heard from the mouth of the deceased Muni.' 2289

Then Ānanda in the great assembly ascending the lion throne, declared in order what the lord had preached, uttering the words 'Thus have I heard.' 2290

The whole assembly, bathed in tears, were deeply moved as he pronounced the words 'I heard;' and so he announced the law as to the time, as to the place, as to the person; 2291

As he spoke, so was it written down from first to last, the complete Sûtra Piṭaka³. By diligent

¹ Or, as the Golden Mountain, i. e. Sumeru.

² Indra silagṛiṭha.

³ Here we have a short account of the first Buddhist Council, called the Council of the 500. It forms no part of the Mahâ-pari-nibbâna-Sutta, although it is found in the Vinaya Piṭaka. Compare Oldenberg, Vinaya Piṭakam, Introduction.

attention in the use of means, practising (the way of) wisdom, (all these) (Arhats) obtained Nirvâna; 2292

Those now able so to do, or hereafter able, shall attain Nirvâna, in the same way. King Asoka¹ born in the world when strong, caused much sorrow; 2293

When feeble², then he banished sorrow; as the Asoka-flower tree, ruling over Gambudvîpa, his heart for ever put an end to sorrow, 2294

When brought to entire faith in the true law; therefore he was called 'the King who frees from sorrow.' A descendant of the Mayûra family, receiving from heaven a righteous disposition, 2295

He ruled equally over the world; he raised everywhere towers and shrines, his private name the 'violent Asoka,' now called the 'righteous Asoka.' 2296

Opening the Dâgobas raised by those seven kings to take the Sarîtras thence, he spread them everywhere, and raised in one day eighty-four thousand towers³; 2297

Only with regard to the eighth pagoda in Râmagrama, which the Nâga spirit protected⁴, the king was unable to obtain those relics; 2298

¹ This episode about Asoka is a curious one. It would seem from it that Asvaghosha knew only of one king of that name, called first 'the fierce,' afterwards 'the righteous.'

² There are one or two Avadânas to be met with in Chinese Buddhist literature, relating to Asoka's sickness, and how he then desired to redeem his character by making offerings to Buddha. But the accounts are too uncertain to be admitted as conclusive evidence in the question of his conversion.

³ This is a story everywhere received in Northern books. These eighty-four thousand towers are supposed to represent the number of sections, or perhaps letters, in the Piñakas.

⁴ See Fā-hien's account, cap. xxiii.

But though he obtained them not, knowing they were spiritually bequeathed relics of Buddha which the Nâga worshipped and adored, his faith was increased and his reverent disposition. 2299

Although the king was ruler of the world, yet was he able to obtain the first holy fruit¹; and thus induced the entire empire to honour and revere the shrines of Tathâgata. 2300

In the past and present, thus there has been deliverance for all. Tathâgata, when in the world; and now his relics—after his Nirvâṇa; 2301

Those who worship and revere these, gain equal merit; so also those who raise themselves by wisdom, and reverence the virtues of the Tathâgata, 2302

Cherishing religion, fostering a spirit of almsgiving, they gain great merit also. The noble and superlative law of Buddha ought to receive the adoration of the world. 2303

Gone to that undying place (*Amṛta*), those who believe (his law) shall follow him there; therefore let all the Devas and men, without exception, worship and adore 2304

The one great loving and compassionate, who mastered thoroughly the highest truth, in order to deliver all that lives. Who that hears of him, but yearns with love! 2305

The pains of birth, old age, disease, and death, the endless sorrows of the world, the countless miseries of 'hereafter,' dreaded by all the Devas, 2306

He has removed all these accumulated sorrows;

¹ That is, the first step in the Buddhist profession of sanctity (*Srotâpanna*).

say, who would not revere him? to escape the joys of after life, this is the world's chief joy! 2307

To add the pain of other births, this is the world's worst sorrow! Buddha, escaped from pain of birth, shall have no joy of the 'hereafter'!¹ 2308

And having shown the way to all the world, who would not reverence and adore him? To sing the praises of the lordly monk, and (declare) his acts from first to last, 2309

Without self-seeking or self-honour, without desire for personal renown, but following what the scriptures say, to benefit the world, (has been my aim.) 2310

¹ The joy of the 'hereafter,' is the joy, as men count it, of future sentient happiness. This, according to the text, it is the happiness of Buddha to have escaped.

NOTES.

- I. COMPARATIVE LIST OF 17 CHAPTERS OF THE SANSKRIT AND CHINESE COPIES OF THE BUDDHAKARITA.
- II. EXAMPLE OF THE STYLE OF THE EXPANDED SÛTRAS, AS TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE.
- III. THE SAME TITLE GIVEN TO DIFFERENT WORKS.

NOTE I.

LIST OF THE TITLES OF 17 CHAPTERS OF
THE SANSKRIT TEXT OF THE BUDDHAKARITA-KÂVYA,
BY ASVAGHOSHA.

॥ इति श्रीबुद्धचरिते महाकाव्ये

- 1 भगवत्प्रसूतिर्नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥
Birth of the Bhagavat.
- 2 अंतःपुरविहारो नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥
Life in the Palace.
- 3 संवेगोत्पत्तिर्नाम तृतीयः सर्गः ॥
Beginning of Inward Trouble.
- 4 स्त्रीविधातनो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥
Separation from his Wife, &c.
- 5 अभिनिष्क्रमणो नाम पंचमः सर्गः ॥
Departure.
- 6 छंदकतिवर्तनं नाम षष्ठः सर्गः ॥
Return of Khandaka.
- 7 तपोवनप्रवेशो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः ॥
Entering the Forest of Penance.
- 8 अंतःपुरविलापो नामाष्टमः सर्गः ॥
Lamentation in the Palace.
- 9 कुमारान्वेषणो नाम नवमः सर्गः ॥
Search after the Crown Prince.
- 10 अश्वघोषकृते श्रेण्यभिगमनो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥
The arrival of Sreni.

NOTE I.

CHINESE TRANSLATION BY DHARMARAKSHA.

佛所行讚經

Lit. 'Buddha's practice-praise-sûtra.'

- 1 生品第一
Birth.
- 2 處宮品第二
Living in the Palace.
- 3 厭患品第三
Disgust at Sorrow.
- 4 離欲品第四
Gives up a Life of Pleasure.
- 5 出城品第五
Leaves the City.
- 6 車匿還品第六
Return of *Khandaka*.
- 7 入苦行林品第七
Enters the Forest of Penance.
- 8 合宮憂悲品第八
The general Grief of the Palace.
- 9 推求太子品第九
Mission despatched to search for the Royal Prince.
- 10 餅沙王詣太子品第十
Bimbisâra Râga goes to visit the Royal Prince.

- 11 अश्वघोषकृते कामविगर्हणो नामैकादशः सर्गः ॥
Renouncing Pleasure.
- 12 अश्वघोषकृतेऽराडदर्शनो नाम द्वादशः सर्गः ॥
Interview with Arâḍa.
- 13 अश्वघोषकृते मारविजयो नाम त्रयोदशः सर्गः ॥
Conquest of Mâra.
- 14 अश्वघोषकृतेऽभिसंबोधनसंस्तवो नाम चतुर्दशः सर्गः ॥
Praise of Enlightenment.
- 15 अश्वघोषकृते धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनाध्येषणं नाम पंचदशः सर्गः ॥
Request to turn the Wheel of the Law.
- 16 अश्वघोषकृते धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनं नाम षोडशः सर्गः ॥
Turning the Wheel of the Law.
- 17 अश्वघोषकृते लुंबिनीयाजादिकं (याचिका?) नाम सप्त-
दशः सर्गः ॥
Going to Lumbinî, &c.

-
- 11 答餅沙王品第十一
The Prince's Reply to Bimbisāra.
- 12 見阿羅藍鬱頭藍品第十二
Interview with Arāḍa and Udrarāma.
- 13 破魔品第十三
Defeats Māra.
- 14 阿惟三菩提品第十四
Abhisambodhi.
- 15 轉法輪品第十五
Turns the Wheel of the Law.
- 16 餅沙王諸弟子品第十六
Bimbisāra Rāga becomes a Disciple.
- 17 大弟子出家品第十七
The Great Disciple quits his Home.

NOTE II.

EXAMPLE OF THE STYLE OF THE EXPANDED SŪTRAS,
AS TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE.

PHŪ YAU KING.

KIOUEN II, § 1.

On the thirty-two miraculous signs which appeared
on the eve of the Birth of Bodhisattva.

Buddha addressed all the Bhikshus and said: Ten months having been fulfilled, Bodhisattva being on the point of birth, at this time there were manifested thirty-two miraculous signs. The first was this: (1) In the after-garden all the trees spontaneously bore fruit. (2) The solid earth produced blue lotus flowers as large as a chariot-wheel. (3) All the decayed trees of the earth produced flowers and leaves. (4) The heavenly spirits drawing the chariots adorned with curtains of seven gems, arrived at the spot. (5) In the middle of the earth (or, in the earth) 20,000 treasures of precious substances appeared of themselves. (6) On every side, far and near, was perceived the agreeable fragrance of celebrated perfumes (ming hiang 名香). (7) From the snowy mountains there came forth 500 white lions, and arranging themselves in front by the gates of the city, stood there without doing harm to any one. (8) Five hundred white elephants, arranging themselves in front of the palace, stood there. (9) The Devas caused a soft and perfumed rain to fall on every hand (the four quarters, i.e. through the world). (10) There appeared in the palace of the king spontaneously a water fountain possessed of the hundred qualities of taste, fit to satisfy the wants of all who were athirst. (11) The Nāga women appearing in the air with half their body visible, remained thus. (12) Ten thousand Devīs, holding in their hands

peacock-feather fans, remained thus above the palace-walls. (13) All the Devīs, holding in their hands 10,000 golden pitchers full of sweet-dew (nectar), remained fixed in space. (14) Ten thousand Devīs, holding in their hands 10,000 vases full of scented water, proceeded and stopped in the air [中 I suppose to be omitted]. (15) Ten thousand Devīs, holding in their hands standards and parasols, stood at attention. (16) All the Devīs arranging themselves in order stood still, whilst every kind of responsive music sounded spontaneously through space. (17) The four great river-drains (the four rivers flowing from the Anavatapta Lake?) remaining at rest, ceased to flow. (18) The sun and moon (the palaces of the sun and moon Devas) ceased to move. (19) The constellation Pushya descending, waited in the rear of all the other stars (or, star-concourse). (20) A net-like precious canopy entirely covered the palace of the king. (21) The divine pearl of the bright moon hanging over the palace hall, shed abroad a brilliant effulgence. (22) The lamps and fires of the palace were (by the superior light without) no longer visible. (23) Baskets and articles of dress appeared placed on their stands. (24) Articles of jewelry and treasures of every kind of precious stone appeared of themselves. (25) The five kinds of poisonous insects suddenly disappeared, whilst the fortunate bird (or bird of good omen) soaring aloft poured forth pleasant songs. (26) The pains inflicted in the different hells were allayed. (27) The earth through a great movement became perfectly level and smooth. (28) The four great highways and the narrower streets appeared perfectly smooth and ornamented with flowers. (29) All valleys and cavernous places were raised and became even. (30) The cruel designs of those who fished in the waters or hunted on the land gave way in a moment to a loving and merciful heart. (31) All the diseases to which children newly born, such as blindness, deafness, &c., are liable, were averted. (32) The tree-Devas, with half their bodies visible, appeared to all beholders, their heads reverently inclined. Such were the thirty-two miraculous signs which appeared on every side of the (palace) enclosures, sufficient to cause wonder and admiration (in

those who beheld them), as indications of the approaching period. At this time the queen being about to give birth (to Bodhisattva), he, i.e. Bodhisattva, by exciting the thought in her mind by his own spiritual energy, caused her to arise at the first watch of the night, and having robed herself to go with her attendants to the place where the king was—(when she addressed him as follows):—‘Listen to my words! for a long time have I thought of entering the garden for the purpose of religious meditation—supposing in every case, O Mahârâga! the idea is not displeasing or troublesome to you; in which case I would at once resort thither to reflect silently on the words of the sacred books.’ The king thereupon answered, ‘Willingly do I consent, saintly lady, that you should go forth to contemplate the flowers of the trees now in full bloom—for at this season, around the palace and its lovely dwellings, are countless kinds of trees, whose fruit and fragrant blossoms cannot but afford unmixed delight (to all beholders).’ The queen, hearing these words, was filled with joy. Then the king commanded the precious chariot known as the ‘cloud-mother’ to be prepared and decorated; followed by a retinue of servants, and surrounded by attendant¹ women, thus the queen went forth to behold the trees in the Lumbinî² garden. The conductors of the inferior chariots were all similar in appearance and colour, distinguished for their splendour as they rode, dazzling the eyes of men. Two hundred white elephants followed and preceded the cortège, all decorated with gems and pearls. The elephants were furnished with six tusks. The king of the elephants, in the midst, was covered with a golden network, to which bells were attached that sounded melodiously³ as the wind blew them one against the other; in other respects also they were fully caparisoned and armed. At this time there was concord and goodwill in the world, an absence of a contentious spirit. Thus surrounded, the queen wandered

¹ The expression is ‘tsae’ 女衆

² The Chinese is ‘Lin-ping’ for ‘Lumbinî’; in the glossary the sound ‘ping’ is given as equal to p(ing)-(m)i, i.e. ‘pi.’

³ The sounds produced by gems striking one another. See glossary.

forth and reposed beneath the trees of the Lumbini garden. Then Sakra-deva and Brahma-rāga and the four heavenly kings descending (flying) from their respective abodes, and scattering flowers, hastily proceeded to the palace to ascertain the state of the case, and entering the different apartments, caused the servants and attendants to receive instructions (i. e. put the thought into their minds) to sweep and prepare the way for the approach of the king on the queen's departure. This being done and reported, the king was filled with joy, and entering the palace of the female attendants, he spoke thus: 'You who desire to give me satisfaction, and to impart joy, will do as I request; let there be no differences among you, but let each one be ready to sit quietly and reflect (on what I say). Decorate yourselves in your most dazzling attire; and anoint yourselves (or, your garments) with the choicest perfumes, pure and sweet; let your bodies be covered with countless ornaments and gems whose sound is delightful to the ear and joy-giving to the beholder, prepare for yourselves every kind of musical instrument, cymbals and pipes and lutes and drums, of every sort, which may accord in producing sweet music, so that the Devis themselves hearing it may have joy. Thus provided, attend the queen as she mounts the lovely chariot; let male and female attendants alike, and the elephants composing the cortège, be decorated in one way, and let no ill sound or discordant note be heard to discompose the mind of the queen.' And now the elephants and horses and the military attendants of every kind, decorated as aforesaid, stood by the gate, and as the queen passed through on her departure there was heard the sound as it were of a great ocean, and the shouts of those who desired her ten thousand years, whilst the ornaments which decorated the chariot, as it moved along, gave forth propitious music. The lion throne, like that of the gods, was composed of (the wood of) the four precious (gem) trees, covered with (carved?) leaves and flowers of every possible description so as to perfect it. And now the ducks and geese and the peacocks raised their piteous notes in unison, whilst banners and flags decorated with the seven precious substances were placed as a canopy over the chariot.

Then the Devas who dwell in space, surrounding the chariot as it advanced, likewise sang together in melodious strains. As soon as the queen sat down upon the lion throne the great universe (chilocosm) was six times (or in six manners) shaken, and all the Devas scattered flowers (as they cried): 'The holy one to-day is about to be born even here beneath a tree of the Lumbini (garden), it is he who is a god among gods.' The four heavenly kings conduct the chariot, the divine Sakra purifies and prepares the way, whilst Brahma Devarāga leads on before, attended by a hundred thousand Devas, who ever turn towards the chariot and adore (the queen) with heads inclined.

And now the king, the father, seeing all this, was filled with joy in his heart, and reflecting with himself he exclaimed: 'This (child) must be in truth the king of gods and men, whom all the Devas, the four heavenly kings, Sakra and Brahma, attending, agree to honour; he must indeed be one who shall attain to the condition of Buddha; for never yet in the three worlds has one received such adoration, whether Deva or Nāga or divine Sakra or Brahma, and yet escaped with life (unsplit head). Such a one then receiving these honours must of necessity in the end prove himself a holy person (divine).' Thus the queen (advanced), escorted by 84,000 chariots drawn by horses, the same number drawn by elephants, and by the same number of chariot drivers, fully adorned, and surrounded by soldiers, spearmen and halbard bearers of approved courage and strength on the right hand and on the left, and by others in front and rear, whilst before and behind was a surrounding concourse of 60,000 attendant women accompanied by 40,000 nobles all of the family of king Suddhodana, whilst others, the attendants of 64,000 kings, took part in the cortège that surrounded the mother of Bodhisattva. Moreover, there were 84,000 female attendants of the Devas, the Nāgas, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Asuras, all sumptuously decorated with jewels and ornaments, provided with drums and musical instruments, producing harmonious sounds although differing in character, whilst with their voices they sang of the perfections (virtues) of Bodhisattva's mother. Thus

surrounded and attended they approach the Lumbini grove, the road prepared carefully and the ground perfumed with scented water and covered with divine flowers, whilst the trees themselves budded forth and blossomed and the scented oil of choicest sandal-wood was produced on every side. This, indeed, was by the express interference of the gods. And now the queen having arrived, descended¹ from her precious chariot, and accompanied by Devas and Devis she proceeded onwards through the garden, whilst the trees in honour of her presence shed abroad their brilliant hues and their fragrant scent. The queen now observed one tree of conspicuous beauty, made perfect by every kind of pearl and precious ornament. The stalks and twigs, the branches and leaves of this tree were all in truth full of fragrance, whilst its lovely verdure spread around on every side drooped to the ground, pliant and pure as silky grass. Like a vestment of some heavenly being it covered the earth—even as had been the case from old time with respect to the laws (relating to the birth) of all the Buddhas. And now all the Devas and men, at once, strike their drums, and from innumerable instruments the followers of the queen join in the strain, as she goes forward and arrives beneath the tree. By the influence of Bodhi-sattva the spirit inhabiting the tree bending down a branch of its own accord rendered assistance to the queen. All the Devas who inhabit space bending down their heads did obeisance, the sun and moon shed abroad a pure unsullied light, whilst the Devas and their female attendants, filled with admiration, gathered round to render meritorious service (to the queen as she stood) beneath the tree. Meantime the tree Deva was filled with joy in considering the reason of the presence of all this vast multitude, and reasoned thus: ‘Now may we all well endure to bear these bodies of ours, whilst we employ them in rendering service and obedience, for from the lowest hell² to the highest heavens of the Trāyastriṃśas all sorrow must cease, all darkness disappear, whilst now the holy one is about to be

¹ I have substituted 下 for 上 in the text.

² I have been obliged here to substitute 閻 for 擇.

born. So it is the trees are covered with flowers and foliage, whilst innumerable Devas gathered around do homage, and the great earth is shaken in six ways. The sun and moon shed abroad a pure and serene light, and music from innumerable instruments is heard around; yea, moreover, all impure desire is put away, and all the Devas are filled with joy; for to-day the holy one is to show his pity for all creatures, and therefore Brahma and Sakra and all the gods rejoice and worship; this is the honourable one among men, whose merits surpass the sun and moon. It is he, now dwelling in the womb, who shines forth like gold with a brightness eclipsing the light of heaven; all the Devas, Brahma, Sakra and the rest, and all the denizens of the countless worlds of space, putting away evil ways and thoughts, are now at peace, without remnant of sorrow or grief; and therefore the Devas, countless in number, offer the sacrifice of scattered flowers and music, and by their indomitable might cause the very ground to produce of itself flowers composed of the seven precious substances.' And now as Bodhisattva was born from the right side of his mother, suddenly there appeared a precious lotus flower on which he stood, and then taking seven steps he declared in words of the Fan language (or, with the voice of Brahma;—Brahmaghosha) the character of impermanency in accordance with his (subsequent) teaching (and added): 'I am now about to save and deliver all those in heaven and earth (above the heaven and below the heaven), as the lord of Devas and men to deliver (detach) them from the misery of (repeated) birth and death, as the highest in the universe (the three worlds) to cause all creatures to arrive at the condition of non-individuality (wu-wei) and thus obtain enduring rest.' Then Sakra-rāga and Brahma caused every kind of scented water to descend suddenly for the purpose of washing (the person of) Bodhisattva, whilst the nine dragons who dwelt in space above, caused other scented streams to descend for the purification of the holy master. The washing being finished (he stood) perfectly pure in body and soul (heart), raised far above the position which for the present he occupied as wayfarer, born of a noble parentage, like a perfect and true gem

uniting in itself every rare quality and excellency: about to turn the wheel of the law, or as a wheel king (*Kakravartin*) (if he continue in the world (the three worlds)) to bring all the quarters (the ten regions) under one overshadowing government. And there arose in the heart of *Suddhodana-rāga* a rapturous exultation. At this time there were born children of 5000 attendants (blue-clad), who were presented to the king to become his personal guards (*lih-sse*, the words used generally for *vriggi*); 800 young nurses also were delivered of sons; 100,000 elephants likewise produced their young; (as many) white mares produced their foals, their colour white as snow, their coats glossy and smooth; (as many) yellow sheep produced their lambs. At the same time there appeared two myriads of curtained precious chariots¹ for the holy one's use, (whilst those who brought them), bending their heads, desired to know whither he would go; and beyond all this the *Devas* caused innumerable apparitional forms to present themselves, to offer various services, and caused a glorious radiance to fill the place: 5000 *Apsarases*, their persons breathing fragrance, each holding a jar of scented unguents, came to the place where stood the mother of *Bodhisattva*, 5000 others came to escort her to the city; having flowers and heavenly garments, whilst many youths and others came with jewels and ornaments for her person. *Bodhisattva* arriving at the condition 'free from fear' must complete the way of *Buddha*². Then *Buddha* addressed the *Bhikshus*: 'At the time of *Bodhisattva*'s birth, his mother was perfectly at ease, no disagreeable malady or accompanying inconvenience disturbed her; but she was in the condition which most became her. At the same time, both in front and behind her, were 5000 female attendants providing divine incense and holding scented oil as an offering to the mother of *Bodhisattva*, whilst without intermission they paid her lowest reverence: there were, moreover, 5000 female attendants who offered her divine medicaments, 5000 others who presented her with

¹ Before the word for 'precious,' the text has an expression *kia-u-lu*, which is said to mean curtain.

² This clause comes in without any apparent connection with the context.

jewels and necklets (or, precious necklaces), 5000 others who offered her divine robes for her person, 5000 others who offered her (or, attended her with) divine music, all these paid to her constant and reverent attention.'

And now it came to pass that there were five *Rîshis* with supernatural powers passing over this country through the air who suddenly appeared in the presence of *Suddhodana-râga*¹. Buddha, moreover, addressed the *Bhikshus* and said : ' At the time of *Bodhisattva*'s birth, during seven days from morning till evening, there was continual music, whilst all the assembly offered a hundred different sorts of food beneath the *Lumbini* tree, presenting to the mother of *Bodhisattva* the fruits of merit resulting from the exercise of the *paramitâs* of charity, morality, patience, and perseverance. At this time 32,000 *Brahmakârins* from day to day, without intermission, offered their gifts without stint, whatever (the mother of *Bodhisattva*) desired ; *Sakra-deva* and *Brahma*, assuming the appearance of young *Brahmans* (students), having taken conspicuous places amongst the assembled *Brahmakârins*, repeated these *Gâthâs* :

"Having put an end to all evil ways of birth (in himself)
 He has now sent universal peace among men ;
 All creatures enjoying concord and rest
 Are free from sorrow everywhere.
 As the brightness of the sun scatters darkness,
 So the glory of all the *Devas* withers,
 His glorious merit scatters all their brightness,
 And causes it to decay and disappear.
 (We do) not (now) consider the time when he shall have exhausted
 karman (i. e. be born as a *Buddha*),
 Nor shall we hear again of such a time,
 For now the glory of *Buddha* has appeared,
 And he has become the great saint of the world ;
 No more for him of labour or the ills of sense (dust),
 His loving heart compassionates all living creatures,
 And so innumerable *Devas* of the *Brahma* heaven (or, innumerable
 Brahma devas)
 Have come to offer him boundless sacrifice.
 And therefore also the trees covered with flowers
 Rest in quiet upon the peaceful (or level) earth,
 (In proof that) all the world will come to him for refuge (salvation),
 And that all will fully rely on him.

¹ These parenthetical clauses appear to have crept into the text, and remained there without any immediate connection.

Just as in this lower world
 The lotus springs from the midst of the mire,
 Thus is Prabhāpāla¹ now born in the world,
 About to nourish and govern all that lives.
 For like as a pliant delicate robe
 Is redolent with heavenly perfume,
 So if there be a man diseased or sick
 He will for his sake become 'the chief physician.'
 And as by his presence he has caused an absence of all lustful desire,
 And peace and goodwill dwell in the world of form,
 (And as) with hands clasped (all these) render him worship,
 He is surely worthy to be called the 'protector of all,'
 And as the Devas, and their followers,
 All with compliant hearts
 Mix freely with men in their common worship,
 He will be in truth the 'great master of all.'
 And as the pure unsullied water (rain)
 Is universally diffused and causes luxuriant vegetation,
 So by the right apprehension (*samyakdrishī*) of the truth of this one's
 doctrine,
 There shall ever be both rest and quiet."

Buddha, moreover, addressed the Bhikshus and said :
 'Seven days after the birth of Bodhisattva his mother died.'
 On this the thought occurred to the Bhikshus, it must have
 been on account of some fault on the part of Bodhisattva
 that such an event occurred ; on which Buddha resumed :
 Let not such a thought present itself ; and why ? Because
 her destiny was even so, that the birth of Bodhisattva should
 be the term of her life ; and hence at her birth, when she
 came down for the purpose of bearing Bodhisattva in her
 womb, all the Devas attended her and provided her with
 heavenly clothing and food. And it has ever been thus.
 The mothers of all the Buddhas have always died seven
 days after their birth ; and so because at the time of
 Bodhisattva's birth the bodily functions of his mother were
 all in perfect condition, she was born as the result of her pre-
 vious merit in the *Trāyastriṃsas* heaven. And before this,
 Bodhisattva not yet born, she had gone up thither, on which
 occasion all the Devas attending her offered her a palace
 to dwell in, and awaiting her in the great preaching hall
 they offered the queen 5000 pitchers containing the rarest
 scented waters ; 5000 Apsarases presented her with thrones

¹ In Chinese 'hu-ming:' this was the name of Bodhisattva whilst resident in the Tusita heaven.

to sit on; 5000 others, holding caps of state in their hands, sprinkled before her on the ground perfumed water; 50,000 Brahma devas, holding golden pitchers, saluted her with expressions that she might live 10,000 years; 20,000 Nāgas with necklaced bodies, 20,000 white elephants with pearl-covered bodies, 20,000 chariots with flags and jewelled canopies surrounded her, and behind these 40,000 armed attendants, heroes of marked courage, and Bodhisattva himself in the rear. Moreover, on this occasion there were countless thousand Devas, who caused to appear in space in a moment yellow golden parapets, along which they offered worship to the mother of Bodhisattva. On that night Bodhisattva was conceived in the womb, on which occasion 20,000 damsels attendants on Māra, proceeding from the great and superbly-adorned palace of the Kāmaloka heavens, and holding in their hands precious silken tissues, came to the place to wait on the mother of Bodhisattva; and so likewise 20,000 men (male Devas?) with highly decorated bodies, to do honour to the occasion. On that night between every two attendant women was one Apsaras¹; the attendant women beholding the beauty of her face felt the risings of desire. And now by the power of the divine merit of Bodhisattva in the midst of this great city of Kapilavastu, 500 nobles, all of the Sākya race, each laid the foundation of a palace for residence, 500 in all, so that when he entered the gates of the city, they addressed him as they paid him reverence and said, 'Oh! would that Sarvārthasiddha would condescend to enter this divine abode (place²), this perfectly pure abode. Oh! thou whose eye beholds all things (samantaśakshus), thou hast come down into this world (yeou = bhava), (condescend to enter) this great palace called "Hu-tsing-fa" (defend-pure-flower), a fitting residence for Bodhisattva.'

Then the great Brahma-kārins and the principle princes of

¹ I take this from the French translation of the *Lalita Vistara*; the Chinese expression is 嫫女.

² Ku-tien-kü; the French translation from the Tibetan renders this 'God above gods,' and so in the next phrase, tsing-tsing-kü, 'perfectly pure abode or place,' the Tibetan refers this also to Bodhisattva, and translates it, 'Oh! thou pure being.' I do not see how to bring the Chinese text into harmony with the Tibetan in this passage.

the Sākya tribe addressing Suddhodana said, 'It would be perhaps convenient if the prince would condescend to agree to enter these abodes and remain in them (use them).' Bodhisattva therefore entered the 500 abodes. (Moreover they said, 'Who is there¹) of conspicuous merit, and of complacent disposition, who can protect and order (Bodhisattva) aright?' Then 500 *Khandakas*², each one said, 'We can nourish and cherish the prince.' But others replied, 'It is a difficult task to train aright and lead into obedience one possessed of such saintlike wisdom as the prince, especially such as are in the prime of their beauty and youth, for when he begins to grow up who then will be able to attend on him and direct him aright?' Then they all agreed that Mahāpragāpatī alone was able to nourish (the child), and with loving heart to protect him from the heats and damps of his abode, and to feed him with child's food (pap) by which he might grow to maturity. Mahāpragāpatī, the prince's maternal aunt, pure and faultless, she, they said, is the one to protect and cherish, and ever be near the person of the prince. Then Suddhodana-rāga and the Sākya princes, being all agreed on this point, went together to the abode of Mahāpragāpatī and expressed their wishes on the point: 'The prince's mother being dead, we beg you, his maternal aunt, to take charge of him and bring him up, that he may grow up (to manhood).' So Mahāpragāpatī undertook the office.

The king now called an assembly of the Sākyas, wishing to find out, by enquiring of them, whether the prince was to be the lord of the kingdom, or if he was to become a recluse; desiring to solve this doubt (he called them together). Then the Sākyas all replied and said, 'We have heard that in the snowy mountains there is a *Rishi*, a *Brahmakārin*, called Asita (A-i-to), of advanced age, and possessed of much wisdom, and thoroughly understanding all qualities and substances³ (i. e. the nature of all things).'

¹ I have been obliged to supply this, the text being evidently corrupt.

² Ku-nih. This is the transcription for *Khandaka*, the coachman of Bodhisattva. It is possible it may here represent 'a personal attendant' only, whether male or female. In the *Lalitā Vistara* we read *Sākyabadhū*, the wives of the Sākyas.

³ I take *siang* here in its usual (Buddhist) sense as equal to 'lakṣaṇa,' and *fā* as equal to 'dharma' in the sense of 'substance.'

The king on hearing this was filled with joy, and caused a white elephant to be sumptuously equipped for the purpose of bringing to the place this learned man¹. Then all the Devas and Nāgas and spirits assembled in countless numbers and in various shapes accompanied the cortège as it left the city. Then Asita, seeing the transformed appearances of the Devas, knew that Suddhodana-rāga had a holy son, whose spiritual (divine) glory outshone that of all the Devas and men, and so his heart was rejoiced, and he desired to go to behold him. On this the world-honoured one (i.e. Buddha) again, for the sake of the assembly, repeated these Gāthās:

'The Brahman Rishi Asita
Beholding the Devas flying thro' space,
Their forms beautiful and of golden colour,
Seeing them, was filled with joy.
Devas, Asuras, and Garuḍas (golden-wings)
Chanting² their praises in honour of Buddha,
Hearing these verses, how great his joy.
Then looking by his divine sight thro' the world,
And considering the various examples of men of renown,
Whose excellences were as the mountain tops,
Or like the well-set and glossy flowers of the tree,
Wherever dwelt the lord of the three wrlds,
There the wide-spreading earth would be level as the palm of the hand,
There would be heavenly and unmixed joy,
There would be abundance as the treasures of the sea king.
Regarding thus the declarations ("reason," or "way") of the law,
That one should come who would destroy evil and put an end to
sorrow,
Whilst he saw the Devas flying thro' space,
And listened to their melodious songs (sounds),
Regarding these fortunate and rare occurrences,
Asita looked through the world,
And narrowly scanning (the territory of) Kapila (and the family of)
Suddhodana-rāga³,
He saw that a child had there been born with fortunate signs.

¹ Taou gin, this is another instance of the use of this expression not for a Buddhist, but for a religious man generally.

² Kun-to, which I can only restore to *Kāṇḍas*, in the sense of a verse or singing a verse.

³ The sentence is elliptical and difficult; literally rendered it would be 'scanning Ka-i-pih-wang,' where I take Ka-i to be a form for Kapi(la) (just as the expression Kiu-i, so commonly met with as the name of Bodhisattva's wife, may be restored to Gopī) and pih-wang (the white king) to be a contracted form of Suddhodana-rāga.

Seeing this, rejoicing he set out,
 And (arriving) stood at the king's palace gate;
 He beheld there an innumerable concourse of people,
 When spying out a servant (grey-clothes), he asked and said:
 "All hail! where dwells the king?
 I desire to have an audience with the lord of the kingdom;"
 The servant seeing the *Rishi* venerable for age,
 With joy elated, entered the palace and delivered the message.
 The king then ordered him to cause the *Rishi* to appear before him,
 And spreading a seat he went forthwith to meet him.
 Asita, hearing (the message), was glad at heart,
 And filled with a yearning desire¹,
 He asked where dwelt the lord, the holy one,
 For he was failing now in years and had but few to live.
 The king, commanding him to be seated,
 Asked him wherefore he had come²?
 Because (he said) of the many signs he had seen, he had come,
 Hearing of the excellency (superiority) of the son he had,
 The thirty-two signs on his body,
 He wished to behold him and inspect the fortunate indications,
 Therefore (he said again) have I come.
 "Welcome! (said the king) I rejoice (to see you) [or, I rejoice (to hear it)].
 Now for a moment the child sleeps in peaceful rest,
 But wait for a little while until he wakes,
 And you shall see him beautiful as the moon at 'full.'"

On this the mind of Asita being much perplexed, he replied to the king in the following Gāthās and said :

'From endless Kalpas
 With perseverance³ accumulating meritorious conduct,
 From time long past inspired with wisdom,
 How is it possible that such a one can again take his rest in sleep?
 Thro' ages past exercising the virtue of charity,
 Feeling deep compassion for the poor,
 Grudging nothing which he possessed,
 How can such a one again seek rest in sleep?
 Reverencing the rules of pure conduct (*śīla*),
 Observing the moral law without transgression,
 Desiring to relieve and save all that lives,
 How can such a one still find rest in sleep?
 Always practising patience and equanimity,
 His mind harbouring no resentment,
 Controlling his heart (firm) like the solid earth,
 How can such a one still repose in sleep?
 Persevering steadily, as the moon from its first appearance,

¹ Literally, 'in his heart harbouring-hungry-void.'

² Why himself invited, or condescended to come.

³ *Virya*.

His eye ever looking onward without a moment's hesitation,
 Regarding the example of the Buddhas of the ten regions (the universe),
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 With equal mind¹ ever lost in contemplation (dhyāna),
 Without at any time disturbance or confusion,
 The mind fixed as a great mountain,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Possessed of wisdom (prāṇā) without limit,
 With divine penetration like the sun's brightness,
 Able to open out and explain every subject of enquiry,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Always cherishing the fourfold qualities²,
 Practising love and pity, joy and equanimity
 Ceaselessly and without neglect as Brahma³ himself,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Reverently practising the four gracious acts⁴—
 Benevolence, charity, humanity, and love—
 Doing all for the good of men and that they again may profit others,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Reverently performing the thirty-seven divisions⁵,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Always exercising the cross-method of indirect means (upāya),
 Taking advantage of the occasion to open out and convert (explain and
 so convert),
 Aiming in every turn to save the whole creation,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 His heart always at perfect rest,
 His mind fixed with no approach to indifference,
 Entering thus on the deep and impenetrable samādhi,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Seeing clearly the beginning and ending (of the history) of that and
 this (i. e. of all),
 Beholding as though present all the Buddhas,
 Explaining that they (i. e. the Buddhas) are essentially without be-
 ginning,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Ever practising (or using) the three gates of salvation,
 (Viz.) (the gate of) perfect void, without qualities, incessant effort
 (prayer or vow),
 (Teaching) that the ideas of real existence (bhava),
 And the absence of such existence, are without solid foundation,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Great in love, of unfailing compassion,

¹ Yih-sin generally corresponds to the Sanskrit samyak; it denotes the condition enjoyed during samādhi.

² Viz. the four qualities of heart named in the next line.

³ Fan.

⁴ Yan-hing, these four are named in the line following.

⁵ The thirty-seven perfections necessary to the attainment of Bodhi. I have not thought it necessary to name these in the text.

As a boat of the law (vessel of religion) passing through the three worlds,
 To save and deliver the living and the dead,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 His religious merit (virtue) vast as space,
 Himself born in this lower world for the sake of all creatures,
 Under a vow to deliver these by means of the three vehicles¹,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Able to pass thro' the vastness of space,
 Knowing the hidden depths of the wide sea,
 Able to count the number of every tree and shrub,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Let the king hear my words,
 The virtues (excellences) of his son are without compare,
 His wisdom infinite (beyond the number of the dust),
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?
 Descending as a god into his mother's womb,
 So as to save countless beings,
 Not omitting even the least in his intention,
 How can such a one again repose in sleep?'

And now Bodhisattva having awoke from his sleep and arisen, Mahāpragāpati, enfolding him in a white and silk-like robe, came with him to the place where the king was. The king then offered to the *Rishi* (man of reason) a purse of gold and one of silver (yellow gold, white silver), which he declined to receive. Then unfolding the robe in which he was wrapped, (Asita) proceeded to observe the distinctive marks on the person of the prince. Of these he perceived thirty-two, viz. his entire body of a golden colour, on the summit of his head a fleshy excrescence, his hair of a purplish dark colour²; between the eyebrows a white soft hairy circle, from the top of his head a bright light like that of the sun, the iris of the eye of a deep blue, moving the eyes up and down with ease, forty teeth in the mouth, the teeth white and even and square, the jaw-bones wide and long, the tongue long and full, his breast and shoulder broad and square like a lion's, his fingers long, his heels full and round, the fingers and toes connected by a thin filament, the wheel with a thousand spokes under the feet, that which ought to be hidden³ concealed,

¹ That is, the three degrees of *Śrāvaka*, *Pratyeka Buddha*, and *Bodhisattva*.

² This colour seems to correspond with the Greek *κῆνος*; compare *κῆνο-χάρις* as applied to Poseidon.

³ Concealed, as in the horse; but the whole of this part of the text is involved. This refers to the thirteenth *lakṣaṇa*, *Kośhopagatavastiguhyatā*.

his leg (calf of leg) like the stag's¹, the hair of the head curling to the right, every hair with a distinct opening, the hair or the skin soft and pliant, free from perspiration², on his breast the figure . Asita beholding these signs was overcome with emotion, the tears fell from his eyes, and he was unable to speak. On this, the king and Mahâpragâpati were moved at heart, and with reverence (closed hands) addressed him thus: 'Is there then something unlucky? oh! tell us then its purport.' With closed hands, and raised in reverence, he replied: 'Fortunate and without the least ill omen. Let me venture to felicitate the king on the birth of this divine being (spiritual man). Undoubtedly it was on this account that the heavens and earth were greatly shaken on the evening of yesterday; and now as I understand the meaning of these signs, I will tell the king. The child possesses the thirty-two marks of a great man; if he remains in the world (i.e. a secular man) he will be a holy wheel-king (cakravartin) to whom the seven precious things will of themselves arrive, and his thousand sons will rule the world in righteousness; but if he leaves the world (i.e. becomes a recluse) he will of himself become a Buddha (perfectly enlightened), and be the saviour of all living things. And now because I am old, I shall assuredly not in after days behold the Buddha, nor hear his sacred instructions (sûtras), and therefore I give way to grief.' Then the king, perfectly understanding his ability in interpreting signs, caused a palace to be erected with three halls fit for the three seasons—each in a different place—one for the cool season, and this he called the Autumn Hall; one for the warm season, and this was the Cool Hall; one for the winter season, and this was the Warm Hall: and then he selected 500 dancing women of rare beauty, neither too stout nor too thin, neither too tall nor too short, neither too fair nor too dark, skilful in all feminine arts and blandishments, all of them provided with pearl and other famous

¹ There is a phrase here used 鈎鎖 hook-lock, which may possibly refer to the hooked form of the leg of the stag, though this would hardly be a sign of beauty in a human being. [It is explained in the glossary as denoting the bones well knit together.]

² Dust-water.

jewelled necklaces for their persons. A hundred men, each in turn, guarded the place by night. Before the several palaces were every kind of sweet fruit trees, and between the trees tanks of water, in which were every kind of aquatic flower, whilst an innumerable number (or a large number)¹ of birds with shining plumage and of different species (sounded their joyful notes on every side). The king hoped thus to amuse and please the prince, so as to prevent the rising of any desire to awaken reason (to become Buddha). The palace windows were all well secured, and the gates on opening and shutting could be heard at a distance of forty lis.

And now Buddha addressed the Bhikshus: 'When Bodhisattva was born, the great-spirit illustrious Deva (i.e. Mahesvara) addressed all the pure-abode (Devas) [i.e. the *Suddhāvāsakāyikas*] (and said), "Bodhisattva Mahāsattva (ta-sse) through countless ages having heaped up merit and acquired (tied as in a string) virtuous conduct, by his purity which has been to him a sacred enclosure², by his charity which has been everywhere celebrated, by his moral conduct (*sīla*) purifying himself throughout, diligently practising right conduct, his great love and pity leading him willingly to undertake the protection of all creatures and to lay a foundation of great rest (peace) in the world, Bodhisattva thus persevering with unflagging determination to fulfil the great vow he made in ages gone by before the Buddha then living (i.e. *Dīpaṅkara*) to plant the root of all virtues in himself, to be distinguished by possessing the glorious and holy substance of a hundred (sources) of merit, by which to cause peace and agreement amongst all creatures, and to cause them to rise above perverse thoughts (disagreements), and by perfect purity and rejection of all that is vile, in this way to lay the foundation

¹ 千百, which is a phrase often used for 'a great number;' see Notices on Chinese Grammar [part i, by Philo-Sinensis, Batavia, 1842], p. 70; and compare Fā-hien, p. 161 (English edition), where M. Stanislas Julien has suggested another reading.

² *Taou-kang*, reason enclosure; this is the usual phrase for the Bodhi mandala, or enclosure round the Bodhi tree; it is difficult to translate in the text.

in himself for arriving at perfect wisdom, and (unfurl) the infinitely high standard of religion for the rescue of those who profess only natural powers (for their salvation), of himself to subdue (the evil powers that govern) the great universe, to become the leader and guide of gods and men, to perform fully that great sacrifice which directs men in the way from ignorance, and leads them to accumulate the excellent qualities of wisdom, to cut off the very source of repeated birth and death, to put in motion and make manifest the great vehicle—this one has just been born on the lower earth, and dwells in the king's palace—; oh then ! let all living things—putting aside all private feelings (or intentions), those who have arrived at wisdom and those not yet arrived—go straightway and adore with bowed heads, let them admire his merit and virtue, let them offer their sacrifice and bestow their gifts; and as for the rest, those Devas who are not subject to religion, but are puffed up in their own estimation, not knowing that the chief true one is manifested to point out the great way, whose destiny is of infinite worth, surpassing that of Bodhisattvas unknown in number,—let all these too come and adore, let them behold this land of the king of the country of Srāvastī¹, let² them acquire merit by declaring the wisdom and majesty of Sarvārthasiddha, who has been born there, let them examine his true wisdom, and thus attain to the highest method of salvation;” and then they chanted thus :

“The merits (virtues) of Siddhārtha³ are as the sea (for extent),
 And so declares Mahesvara with propriety,
 Through ages too numerous to mention,
 Preparing to be accepted as the honourable among men.
 And now the countless host of the Devas of the pure abodes,
 With glorious bodies resplendent as gems,
 Are come with dignity and decorum in a body,

¹ Tsang-yeh, increase and augment. Used for Srāvastī. Perhaps it should be Kapilavastu.

² In the original it is ‘let them &c. of born-time.’ I take born-time to be a form of Bodhisattva's name, ‘Sarvārthasiddha,’ because when this name was given him, the king said, ‘At the time of his birth all was prosperous.’ But it is obscure.

³ Sing-shi.

To offer to the most honourable one, in person, their respectful worship.
 These Devas, secure from the sufferings of the long night ¹,
 Fixed (or safe) in the pure gate ² of all virtue,
 Glorious with (or like) precious jewels,
 Beautiful in appearance as the full moon,
 Shining with radiance, but not equal to the holy one,
 In reputation not to be compared with him,
 They dare not pass over the royal precinct,
 (Denizens of) the three worlds are unable to take so great responsibility,
 Though from their persons issued such pure effulgence,
 Though their words were harmonious (sweet) beyond rivalry,
 Though richly (deeply) endowed with moral excellence
 Beyond all other Devas,
 Yet they could but offer to him their incomparable perfumes,
 (They could but) reverence and adore
 The Prince, unequalled for dignity,
 And sacrifice to him as a god among gods.
 Asita now informed (sent to) Suddhodana
 (This message), 'The sign-interpreter desires to be admitted to see
 The incomparably-beautiful divine holy one.'
 The king, hearing the message, rejoiced exceedingly;
 The gate-keeper respectfully announces, 'the king (desires you) to enter.'
 The (sage), honoured by men, hearing this,
 His hand holding a flower, was glad,
 And like a divine person entered the holy abode.
 And now the king beholding him enter,
 Immediately rose with hands clasped together,
 And arranged for him a gilded jewelled couch,
 With the request that his excellency would sit on this (prepared) couch;
 Immediately sitting, he examined carefully the four (quarters).
 The king then desired to know wherefore he had come.
 The child just born, his body replete with excellent tokens,
 His conduct true, this one I am come to see;
 Provided with marks and signs (indicating) his holy intelligence,
 Not knowing any cause to return quickly,
 Therefore do I wait here on the chair,
 Expecting to be permitted to behold the glorious marks and signs.
 And ³ now this attendant company (of Devas) arriving,
 Quietly and joyfully they took their places above the Royal Prince,
 And with reverence they behold him;
 Lost in wonder, they reported to those without his unequalled (beauty)
 And now, at length, (when) the exceedingly excellent lord and master,
 Resplendent as gold, awaking, holy and graceful,
 Raised himself, and showed his countenance,

¹ Kang-ye, viz. the long night of pain.

² The expression 'gate,' e.g. 'gate of the law,' means generally a 'mode' or 'method' (of salvation); hence the Devas are here said to be safe in the 'pure mode' or 'method,' i.e. to be Suddhāvāsikas.

³ Here the arrival of the Devas is again referred to.

They bowed their heads to hide their eclipsed glory.
 The old man (Asita), beholding him, rejoiced,
 His incalculable (top unseen) excellences and endowments,
 The white hair, unknown¹ among the Devas,
 (A sign) that he would reach the condition of a Buddha and conquer
 all the hosts of Māra,—
 (Seeing these) he sighed in astonishment at the very perfect (true) excellences (virtues, adornments),
 Which were a sign that he would bring down and destroy the enticements of the senses,
 And that the renowned (precious) Lion had come into the world,
 Who would destroy (curse) the pollutions of birth and death.
 Throughout the three worlds the fire of the three impurities (rages),
 From the act of thought springs up the pollution of the poisons,
 The rain of the law falling on the chiliocosm,
 As the water of life (amrita), destroys the fire of the senses;
 Armed with the cuirass of love, beholding
 (These sorrows) the workings (aroma) of pity (arises),
 And with his pliant, sweet voice of Brahma,
 He instructs fully the three thousand worlds;
 His mouth resounds the news of the great law as a drum;
 It is he who is able to destroy the teaching (sūtras) of the heretical schools,
 And the complications (bands) of all evil practices,
 His teaching, not being heard without avail,
 Shall mightily prevail for the reformation of the age,
 Like the shadow of a mighty tree,
 His powerful teaching shall overshadow the world;
 His wisdom able to survey the condition of all men,
 His knowledge by its brightness able to scatter all darkness,
 The only illustrious benefactor of Devas,
 The only source of purity and truth,
 Able to empty (the way of) wickedness and profit the way of heaven,
 The faultless treasure found amongst men.
 Then the assembled Devas, showering down flowers,
 Worshipped and turned round him to the right,
 After which, felicitating Buddha and the land of his birth,
 Ascending into the air, they returned to heaven.”

END OF KIOUEN II.

¹ 跣 a character of uncertain signification.

NOTE III.

THE SAME TITLE GIVEN TO DIFFERENT WORKS.

The Chinese translators in making new translations of foreign texts, often give as their reason for doing so that the former translation or translators could not be understood or relied on. But in explanation of this we must remember that the originals themselves in the hands of successive translators, though bearing the same name, were not always copies of the same works. For instance, in the case of the work *Fo-pan-ni-pan-king*, that is, the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, translated into Chinese by *Pih-fā-tsu*, between 290 and 306 A.D. We cannot doubt that the text used by this translator was another form of the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta* embodied in the Southern Canon¹.

But how widely another work bearing the same title, viz. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, and translated into Chinese by *Dharmaraksha*, the same priest who turned the *Buddha-karita* into that language, differs from the simple *Sūtra* just named, the following brief extract will show. We will select the incident of *Kunda's* offering, which is thus expanded in the last work :

MAHĀPARINIRVĀṆA SŪTRA,

TRANSLATED BY DHARMARAKSHA.

KIOUEN II, § I.

'At this time, in the midst of the congregation, there was a certain *Upāsaka* (lay-disciple) of the city of *Kusinagara*, the son of a blacksmith, whose name was *Kunda* ; this man, with his whole family, fifteen persons in all, had devoted himself to a religious life. At this juncture then it was that *Kunda*, rising from his seat, addressed Buddha

¹ See some remarks on this point in the eleventh volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, p. xxxvi.

in the orthodox way and said : " Oh that the world-honoured (Tathâgata) and the members of this great assembly would receive our poor offering, the very last to be presented, for the sake of bringing the benefit thereof to innumerable creatures ! World-honoured one ! from this time we are without a master, without a friend, with no means of advance, no helper, no refuge. Oh that Tathâgata would of his great compassion deign to receive this offering of ours before he enters Nirvâṇa. World-honoured ! it is as though a Kshatriya, or a Brahman, or a Vaisya, or Sûdra were to be reduced by poverty so far as to be compelled to go to another land, and there by industry prepare a piece of ground for cultivation. He procures a serviceable ox for the plough, and carefully roots up all the noxious weeds, and removes all stones and broken vessels from the ground, and then only awaits the grateful rain from heaven to crown his endeavours—so it is with me, the ox yoked to the plough is this body of mine, the cleared land (is the work of) supreme wisdom, the impediments and weeds removed are all the sources of sorrow which I have put away, and now we only await the rain of the sweet dew of the law ! Look upon us, we are poor and perishing from want, without a friend, no help, no refuge ; oh that Tathâgata would pity us even as he had compassion on his son Rahula ! "

' Then Tathâgata replied : " Well said ! well said ! Kunda. For your sake I will relieve the poverty of the world, and cause the rain of the insurpassable law to descend upon the field, and bring forth abundant fruit. Whatever your request, it shall be granted and I receive your offering. For as I accepted the gift of the shepherd girls before arriving at supreme wisdom, so now will I accept your corresponding gift before entering Nirvâṇa, and thus enable you to accomplish fully the Pâramitâ of charity." Kunda replied : " Let not Tathâgata say that the merit of these two gifts is the same, for surely when the shepherd girls offered their food, the world-honoured one had not entirely got rid of all the sources of sorrow, or completed every growth of the seeds of wisdom ; nor was he able at that time to cause others to complete the Pâramitâ of charity by accepting their gifts ; but this last offering is like a God in the midst of gods.

The first offering was made for the support of the body of Tathâgata still suffering from human wants: this last offering is made to Tathâgata possessing an eternal, sorrowless, and unchangeable (*vagra*) body, the body of the law; everlasting, boundless. In these (and other) respects, then, it seems to me the two offerings differ in character and in merit." Tathâgata answered: "Illustrious youth! for ages innumerable (countless *asaṅkhyeyas* of *kalpas*) Tathâgata has possessed no such body as that you named, as suffering from human wants or necessities—nor is there such an after-body as that you describe as eternal, illimitable, indestructible. To those who as yet have no knowledge of the nature of Buddha, to these the body of Tathâgata seems capable of suffering, liable to want (but to others it is not so). At the time when Bodhisattva received the offering of food and drink at the hands of the shepherd girls, he entered into the *Samâdhi* known as *vagra*, and beheld the nature of Buddha, and so obtained the highest and most complete enlightenment (and thus was supposed to have eaten the food); so now as he receives your offering he enters the same condition; in this (and other respects) the offerings differ not in character. But principally for this reason, that as he then began to declare his law and preach it for the good of men, but did not completely exhaust the twelve portions of it, so now, having received your offering, he will preach the law in its entire form (i. e. including the *Vaipulya*, or last section) for the good of the assembly. But still, as in the former case, he ate not, so neither does he now eat."

'At this time the congregation having heard that the world-honoured would preach the law in its fulness after receiving the offering of *Kunda*, rejoiced with exceeding joy, and opened their mouths with one accord in these words of praise: "Well done! well done! exceedingly fortunate *Kunda*! Thy name is now established (in meaning), well art thou called *Kunda*, for thou hast established a most excellent method of deliverance, and, therefore, thou art well named. Now shall your name be much honoured among men. Well done, *Kunda*! it is indeed seldom that a Buddha appears in the world, and to be born when he is

born is exceedingly difficult ; to believe in him and listen to his law is difficult ; but how much more so to have the privilege of offering to him the last gift before he enters Nirvāṇa. Glory to Kunda ! Glory to Kunda ! Like the autumn moon on the 15th day of the month, your merit is full, and as all men look up to the cloudless moon with admiration and reverence, so do we reverence thee. Glory to Kunda ! Now then Buddha has received from you his very last offering ! thus have you completed the Pāramitā of charity ! Glory to Kunda !" &c. Then the assembly uttered these verses :

"Although born in the rôle of men,
 Already hast thou overleapt the six heavens,
 And therefore this united congregation
 With supreme reverence make this request (of thee) ;
 The most adorable amongst men
 Is now about to enter Nirvāṇa !
 You then, we pray, to pity us,
 And respectfully entreat Buddha (on our behalf)
 For a longer period to remain in the world,
 To bring profit and advantage to countless assemblies ;
 And to declare fully the treasures of wisdom,
 The sweet dew of the most exalted law.
 If you consent not to make this request,
 Our destiny will be yet incomplete ;
 We therefore, on this account, and with this view,
 Respectfully entreat thee as our leader."

' At this time Kunda, overjoyed as a man whose father or mother, after having been conveyed to the tomb, suddenly re-appears alive, again prostrated himself before Buddha and repeated the following verses :

"Oh ! fortunate one that I am—to have gained such distinction,
 To have been born thus happily as a man !
 To have cast away covetousness and folly,
 To have got rid for ever of the three evil ways of life,—
 Oh ! fortunate one that I am, to have gained this !
 To have found such a treasure of gold and gems,
 To have met with such a distinguished teacher,
 To have rescued myself from birth as a beast¹.
 The appearance of Buddha in the world is like that of the Udumbara flower ;
 It is difficult to have faith in him when born,

¹ That is, in any inferior position in the animal creation.

And having met with him, to sow the seeds of virtue,
 Whereby for ever to escape the sorrows of hell (Pretas),
 And to destroy and put to rout
 The combined power of all the Asuras (this also is difficult).
 Truly to attain this when Buddha is born
 Is as difficult as to cast a mustard seed on the point of a spear.
 But now having completed (the Pāramitā) of charity,
 It is my happy privilege to deliver both Devas and men from life and death.

The law of Buddha is an uncontaminated law,
 Like the pure flower on the surface of the water,
 Able to deliver to the utmost (those highest in existence),
 Able to rescue eternally from the waters of birth and death.
 It is difficult when born to be born as a man,
 To meet with Buddha in the world is difficult,
 Even as it is hard for a blind turtle
 To find the hole in a piece of wood floating on the great ocean.
 And now on the ground of this offering of food,
 I aspire to attain the highest recompense,
 Deliverance from the whole concourse of sorrows,
 To destroy them and be held by them no more.
 I desire not as my aim in this
 To be born as a man or a Deva,
 Like others who look only for this recompense:
 And when obtained find no real delight.
 But now Tathāgata, by receiving my offering,
 Has inspired me with true and lasting joy,
 Even as the Hiraṇya (golden?) flower
 Placed on (or in a setting of) scented sandal-wood,—
 So my body, like that flower,
 Is now filled with joy in consequence of Tathāgata;
 Like that sandal-wood (setting), having received my gift,
 Such is the delight that now fills my soul.
 And my present reward is equally great,
 Beyond any other in point of excellence,
 For Sakra, and Brahma, and all the gods
 Here present, adore and reverence (bring their offerings to) me.
 But alas! all the world
 Is filled with unutterable sorrow,
 In the knowledge that the world-honoured Buddha
 Is about to enter Nirvāṇa.
 And the cry is heard on every hand,
 'The world is left without a ruler.'
 But it is not well thus to leave mankind,
 They should rather be looked on as an only son,
 And Tathāgata dwelling in their midst
 Should completely expound the supreme law—
 That law, grand as the precious Sumeru,
 Planted firmly in the midst of the great sea.
 The wisdom of Buddha is able completely to dissipate
 The dark gloom of our ignorance,

Even as when in the midst of space
 A rising cloud is suddenly dispersed.
 Tathâgata is able to destroy for ever
 The entire concourse of sorrows,
 Even as the sun, when he bursts forth,
 Disperses with his brightness the blackness of the cloud.
 So it is that now the entire world
 Laments and weeps with affliction
 On account of the torrents of suffering
 Which fall heavily upon all in their passage thro' birth and death.
 On this account, therefore, the world-honoured
 Ought to strengthen and increase the faith of men,
 That they may escape these sorrows,
 And to remain a longer while in the world."

'Then Buddha replied to *Kunda*: "Even so! even so! it is as you say—the birth of a Buddha in the world is rare as the appearance of the *Udumbara* flower, and to be able to believe in him is also a matter of extreme difficulty; but infinitely more difficult is it to be selected as the one to present a last offering to him before he enters *Nirvâna*. What room, then, O *Kunda*, is there for sorrowful thoughts? your heart should rather dance for joy! for you are the one thus selected to offer the last offering, and so complete your work of charity. Make not, then, such a request that Buddha should remain longer in the world, for you should now be able to realise (*kuan*) even the highest truth [the province or domain (*keng kiai*) of all the Buddhas], the impermanency of all things, that all systems of religion (or, elements of being)—(*hing*) both as to their nature and attributes—are also impermanent. And then for the sake of *Kunda* he repeated these *Gâthâs*:

"All things in the present world
 Being produced, must return to destruction;
 Although the term of life were immeasurably long,
 Yet it must in the end come to a close.
 Prosperity gives place to adversity,
 Plenty is succeeded by want,
 Youth before long yields to decay,
 The ruddy colour of health is paled by disease,
 Life, also, is followed by death,
 There is no such thing as permanency.
 The most absolute monarchs,
 Whose might none can dispute,
 These also come to naught and change,
 The years of their life are just the same,

Involved in the wheel of transmigration.
 The rolling stream of life goes on,
 And there is no continuing place for any.
 There is no real joy to be found in the world,
 For the mark set upon all these things
 Is that they are all empty and unreal,
 Liable to destruction and change,
 Ever accompanied by sorrow,
 Tinctured with fears and regrets,
 And the bitterness of old age, disease, and death,
 Even as an insect born in filth.
 What wise man would desire
 To continue in the midst of such things as these (or find his joy therein)?
 So the sorrows to which the body is joined,
 Are even like this impure substance.
 Surrounded, as it were, with these, man lives
 Without any reasonable hope of escape.
 And so even the bodies of the Devas
 Are likewise perishable and impure;
 All things liable to desire are unreal,
 And, therefore, I have cast off this cloak of covetousness.
 I have discarded the very thought of desire,
 And so I have arrived at the only truth,
 And passed beyond the boundary of Being.
 To-day I shall reach Nirvâna—
 To-day I shall cross to that shore;
 I have for ever got rid of sorrow,
 And therefore it is to-day
 I shall be (or am) ravished with unutterable joy.
 In this way and by these means it is
 I have arrived at the one reality:
 For ever free from the bonds of grief,
 To-day I shall reach Nirvâna.
 No more disease, old age, or death,
 The days of my life interminable, inexhaustible.
 Now shall I enter Nirvâna!
 Just as a great fire which is extinguished.
 Kunda! you ought not therefore
 To think of measuring the truth of Tathâgata,
 You should rather contemplate his true nature.
 As the great Mount Sumera,
 So am I resting on Nirvâna,
 Receiving and keeping in me the only joy.
 This is the law of all the Buddhas.
 Weep, then, and lament no more!"

INDEX.

- Abhisambodhi, the condition that stands face to face with wisdom, page 156.
- Aga, king, 92.
- Agastya, a *Rishi*, 43.
- Agitavati, name of a river, meaning invincible, 1.
- Âgñâta kaundinya, he who knows, name of a disciple, 178.
- Agnidatta Kâsyapa, same as Eggidatta, description of, 197.
- Aila, grandchild of Soma, 149.
- Ala, mount, 244.
- Alava, a demon, 244.
- Ambrosia, 'sweet dew,' 15.
- Âmra, garden of, 257.
- Anâthapindada, friend of the orphan, conversion of, 201.
- Ahگیرas, name of a *Rishi*, 95.
- Âñkavari, town of, 243.
- Anomâ, a river, 111.
- Antideva râga, an old king, 12.
- Ârâda, abode of, 137.
- Ârâda Kâlâma, name of *Rishi*, 130.
- Ârâda Râma, a *Rishi*, 131.
- Ârâda Udrarâma, 131.
- Asidaka, a demon, 244.
- Asita, a *Rishi*, 12.
- Ârokarâga, temple of, xiii.
- Âravas, extinction of the, 187 n.
- Atri, an old king, 111.
- Avalokitesvara, the god who looks down, 207.
- Avodhyâ, country of, 245.
- Barahut, Cunningham's, 231.
- Baranâ, river in India, 171.
- Bhângavides, hermitage of, 59.
- Bhrigu, *Rishi*, 10.
- Bigandet, story of Eggidatta (Legend, p. 180), 197.
- Bimbisâra râga, becomes a disciple, 180.
- prince's reply to, 119.
- visits the prince, 111.
- Bird, double-headed, 89.
- Bodhi, capable of receiving, 145.
- tree, 146.
- Bodhisattva, addressed as 'Kshatriya' by Mâra, 149.
- birth of, 2.
- Bournouf's Introduction to Indian Buddhism, 138.
- Brahma, voice of. See Childers, sub voce, 196.
- Brahmadeva, an ascetic, 12.
- Brahmaloka heavens, 138.
- Brahman, a soothsayer, 7, 137.
- Brihaspati, Devas pay worship to, 78.
- Buddha, ascended to the heavens of the thirty-three gods, 240.
- birth of, 4.
- death of, 307.
- first instance of mendicant life of, 169.
- Romantic History of, 72.
- the eye of. See Childers' Pâli Dict., sub voce, 165.
- the Lady Âmrâ sees, 249.
- wonders wrought by. See Spence Hardy's Manual and Beal's Romantic Legend, 185.
- Buddha's foot worshipped, 258.
- Buddhaghosha's Parables, by Captain Rogers, 275.
- Buddhiques, Études (Leon Féer), 168.
- Buddhism, Manual of (Spence Hardy), 193.
- Buddhist Birth Stories, 111.
- literature, 117.
- sculptures, 112.
- Buddhists' denial of 'soul' (by Northern Buddhists), 204.
- Burgess, Western Caves, 247.
- Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, 39.
- Childers' Pâli Dict., 4.
- Colebrooke, Essays, 132.

- Conversion of supporter of orphans, 201.
 Cunningham, General, Archæological Report, 171.
- Davids, Dr. Rhys, xxxvi, 170, 176, 201, 203.
 Death, the prince hearing the name of, 37.
 Desire, putting away, 38.
 Devadatta, son of Suprabuddha, 246 n.
 Devaputra, the sun or the moon, 72.
 Deva-râga, of the pure abode, 32.
 Dharmaraksha, an Indian priest, i, xxv.
 Dhyânas, first state, condition of ecstasy, 138.
 — second state, tasting of great joy, 138.
 — third state, wishing no further excellence, 138.
 — fourth state, all joys and sorrow done away, 138.
 Dipavamsa, statement made in, xii.
 Disgust at sorrow, 29.
- East Market, slaughter post of the, 124.
 Eitel, Handbook, sub Mûrddhâ-bhishikta, 4.
 Elephant-dragon, 41.
 Elephant, escaping the drunken, 241.
 Erythrina fulgens (see Bournouf's Lotus, p. 306), 164.
- Fa-hien, 58, 112, 193, 198.
 Fan-fu, philosophers or students, 132.
 Fang-kwang-tai-kwang-yan-king, Life of Buddha, xxviii.
 Five outward marks of dignity, 94.
 Fo-pen-hing, Life of Buddha, xxviii.
 Fo-pen-hing-king, xvi.
 Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king, Life of Buddha, xxix.
 Fo-shwo-kung-hu-mo-ho-ti-king, Life of Buddha, xxx.
- Gaga mount, 244.
 Gandhâra, king of, 242.
 Gandharvas, heavenly musicians, 25.
 Ganges, river, 111, 171.
 Gautama, fall of, 39.
 — ford, near Patna, 252.
 — gate of, 252.
 Gautamas Gâtisruna and Dakâtîli, 245.
- Godama, a demon, 244.
 Golden mount, 51.
 Great-age, a Brahman, 245.
 Gridhrakûta mount, 246.
- Gaigîshavya, a Rishi, 139.
 Gambu tree, 48.
 Gambudvîpa, continent of, 241.
 Gambunada gold, 23.
 Ganaka, a Rishi, 111.
 Ganta, description of, xxvii.
 Gayanta, a Brahman, 92.
 Geta, the heir-apparent, 216.
 Getavana, the monastery at Srâvastî, 230.
 Getavana Vihâra, receiving of, 230.
- Hama kinkhava, 244.
 Haug, Parsis, 167 n.
 Heaven of the thirty-three gods, 23.
 Hermit, the great disciple becomes a, 192.
 Hetuvidyâ sâstra, 209.
 Hin-tsing, heaven, 138.
 Hiranyavati, golden river, 286.
- 'I,' the soul, 191.
 Îkshvâku, family of, 1, 72.
 Îsvara, banner of, 112.
- Kalamasa, village of, 245.
 Kalpa-fire, 237.
 Kamo, the Yaksha, 244.
 Kaṣṭhana, a demon, 244.
 Kapila, a Rishi, 244.
 Kapilavastu, the people of, 64.
 Kârandhama, a Gina king, 328.
 Kashâya, coloured robe, 68.
 Kâsyapa, a hermit, 183.
 — Shi-ming-teng, a sage, 197.
 Kauṇḍinya, tribe of, 172.
 Kauṇḍî, country of, 245.
 Kavaṅgara, a Rishi, 44.
 Kia-k'ba, a king, 3.
 Kilas (Kailâsa), palace of mount, 231.
 Kimbila, country of, 245.
 Kin-pu râga, 234.
 Konḍinya (see Kauṇḍinya), family of, 178.
 Korala, country of, 230, 245.
 Ku'i, town of, 180.
 Kusi, a Rishi, 11.
 Kusi, town of, 286.
 Kusinagara, a city of, 326.
 Kwong-yin heaven, 138.

- Kaitya, tower, 334.
 Kandradevaputra, a Rishi, 44.
 Kbandaka, return of, 59.
 Kundadana, of the Sākya family, 226.
 Kung-pen-k'i-king, Life of Buddha, xxiv.

 Lay Sermons, Huxley, 204.
 Leaving the city, 47.
 Likkavi lions, 282.
 Likkbavis, residents of Vairāṇī, 250.
 Lo-me-po-ti, royal prince, 98.
 Lord Sakra, 51.
 Lumbini, garden of, 2, 6, 17.
 Lung-tsiang, gate of, 323 n.

 Magadha, king of, 250.
 — town of, 250.
 Mahā Kāryapa, a great sage, 199.
 Mahāpragāpatī Gotamī, foster-mother of Bodhisattva, 84.
 Mahāvati, country of, 244.
 Makara fish, 281.
 Ma-kia-ka-li, aunt attendant on Māra, 153.
 Mandāra flowers, 5.
 Manto, king, 2.
 Māra, the heavenly king, 6.
 Māra Devarāga, enemy of religion, 147.
 Max Müller, Professor, 10, 19, 275.
 Māyā, mother of Buddha, 1, 23, 87.
 Mi-tsang-yau, miraculous, 7.
 Monkey tank, 267.
 Muṣga grass, 139.
 Muni, virtues of a, 146.

 Nairāṅganā, river, 142, 144, 267.
 Nalakūvara, the son of Vairavana, 20.
 Na-lo-sha-po-lo, a king, 97.
 Neng-yueh-gin, daughter of Māra rāga, 147.
 Ngai-loh, daughter of Māra rāga, 148.
 Nirvāna, idea of, 51.
 Nung-sha, 122.

 On-tai-tieh, a Brahman, 108.
 O-wei-san-pou-li, 156.

 Padatti, village of, 243.
 Pa-lin-fo, town of, 249.
 Pañśikha, a heavenly being, 242.
 Pao-yun, companion of Fa-hien, xxvii.

 Parāśara, a Rishi, 44.
 Patali, 243.
 Pāraligrāma, town of, 250.
 Pāraliputra, town of, 249.
 Paviggi, village of, 243.
 Phū-yau-king, Life of Buddha, xxv.
 Pindapāla, a demon, 245.
 Pi-po-lo-'an-ti, king, 97.
 Pi-sha, Regent of the North, 245.
 Pisuna, name of Māra, 267.
 Pi-ti-ho-fu-li, town of, 243.
 Pi-ti-o-ke-na, king, 97.
 Po-ke-lo-po-yau, king, 97.
 Po-lo-na, a demon 244.
 Po-lo-sa, son of Sārasvata, 10.
 Po-sha-na, a mountain, 242.
 Po-sun-tau, brother of Asura, 125.
 Potala, a demon, 243.
 Potalagāma, a demon, 244.
 Potalaka, a demon, 244.
 Pou-na, a star, 96.
 Pushya, a star, 96.

 Rāgagriha, town of, 131.

 Rishyasringa, son of a Muni, 39.

 Saddharma, minister of religion, 111.
 Saketa bird, 93.
 Samādhi, condition of religious ecstasy, 48.
 Sammata, condition of ecstasy, 205 n.
 Samskāra, i.e. the five skandhas, 163.
 Samyak-Sambodhi, state of, 8.
 Sanatkumāra, son of Brahma deva, 24.
 Sāng-kia-lo-c'ha-sho-tsih-fo-hing-king, Life of Buddha, xxviii.
 Satavaka, name of place, 245.
 Savasasin, a convert, 245.
 Sāvattthi, country of, 245.
 Shin-t'ung-yaou-hi-king, last version of the Lalita Vistara, xxx.
 Siau-pen-k'i-king, Life of Buddha, xxiii.
 Siddhārtha, name for Bodhisattva, 23.
 Siu-hing-pen-k'i-king, a work translated into Chinese by two Śramaṇas from India, xvii.
 Study of heretical books, 263.
 Sumeru, mount, 9.
 Sūryadeva, the sun deva, 72.
 Sūtra Piraka, 335.

- Sakradevendra, palace of, 171.
 Sakra-putra, 51.
 Sākya lion, 258.
 — Muni, 198.
 — tribe, 226.
 Sāriputra, disciple of Kapila, 194.
 Subhakra'sna heaven, 138.
 Ta-tseu-sui-ying-pen-k'i-king, Life of Buddha, xxiii.
 Teou-lau-ma, king, 97.
 Topes of the eight kings, 334.
 To-tsin, tower, 198.
 Trāyastriṃśas, name of the thirty-three heavens, 68.
 Triple staff, 197.
 Udāyi, a Brahmaputra, 38.
 Udra, a Rishi, 142.
 Udraka Rāmaputra, 167.
 Upādāna, cleaving to existence, 161.
 Upaka, a young Brahman, 168.
 Upāli, son of Atālī, 227.
 Upatissa, twice-born, 195.
 U-pi-lo Kāśyapa, 185.
 Uvari, companion to Goshira, 245.
 Vaggi, country of, 245.
 Vaisālī, a town, 244.
 Vairavana, the heavenly king, 20.
 Vāshpa, a disciple, 180.
 Vasishṭha, priest, 12.
 Vasu Devas, one of the eight, 72.
 Vessels of the seven precious substances, 20.
 Vimala, a Rishi, 149.
 Vinaya Pīṭaka, xxvi.
 Viśvāmitra, a Rishi, 39.
 Vṛiddha Parāśara, a Rishi, 139.
 Vṛihatphala heaven, 138.
 Vulture Peak, 111.
 Yasa, a noble's son, 180.
 Yarodharā, a lovely maiden, 24, 86.
 Yen-tsz' cave, fabulous hiding-place of the sun, 133.
 Yuh-yen, daughter of Māra rāga, 147.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 228, verse 1598, for 'reigns' read 'reins.'

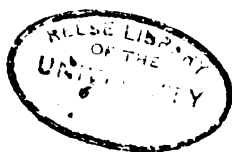
In the spelling of Chinese words, the Canton form has sometimes been used inadvertently, as in 'Fo-sho' for 'Fo-so.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𑀓	𐭅	ک	ك	כ	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𑀘	𐭆	خ	خ	ח	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𑀓	𐭇	گ	گ	ג	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𑀚	𐭈	غ	غ	ז	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	𑀡	𑀡	𐭉	ق	ق	ק	.
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	𑀢	{ 𑀢 (ng) 𑀣 (N) 𑀤 (ṅ/ho)	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𑀢	𐭊	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	.	.	𑀣	𑀣	.	.	.	.	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	𑀤	𑀤	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	𑀥	𑀥	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	𑀦	𑀦	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	𑀧	𑀧	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	𑀨	𑀨	𐭋	ک	ک	כ	k
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	𑀩	𑀩	𐭌	خ	خ	ח	kh
15 Media	.	g	.	𑀪	𑀪	𐭍	گ	گ	ג	.
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	𑀫	𑀫	𐭎	غ	غ	ז	.
17 " Nasalis	.	ṅ	.	𑀬	𑀬	𐭏	ق	ق	ק	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬚 ^{init.} 𐬚𐬚𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								𐬚𐬚
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚
24 " aspirata	th			थ						𐬚𐬚
25 " assibilata										
26 Media	d		TH	द	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	
27 " aspirata	dh			ध	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚	𐬚𐬚
34 " asper 2		s								
35 " lenis	z									
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)							𐬚𐬚
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)							𐬚𐬚

VOWELS	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlev.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0									ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē									ā
3 " labialis	ō									ā
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ						
9 " longa	ū			ऊ						
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			र						
11 " longa	rī			ऋ						
12 Labialis brevis	u			व						u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		वृ						ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	ه	ה	e
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	ه	ה	ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		ऋ	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	ه	ה	āi
17 " " ei (ēi)	ei (ēi)			ॠ	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	ه	ה	ei, ēi
18 " " oi (ōu)	oi (ōu)			ॡ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	ه	ה	oi, ēi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	و	ו	o
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		औ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	و	ו	ō
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		ॠ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	و	ו	āu
22 " " eu (ēu)	eu (ēu)			ॡ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	و	ו	eu
23 " " ou (ōu)	ou (ōu)			ॡ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	و	ו	ou
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ						ü
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ						ü
26 Labialis fracta	ü			उ						ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ऊ						ü



SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

THE RIGHT HON. F. MAX MÜLLER.

*** This Series is published with the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State for India in Council.*

REPORT presented to the ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS, May 11, 1883, by M. ERNEST RENAN.

'M. Renan présente trois nouveaux volumes de la grande collection des "Livres sacrés de l'Orient" (Sacred Books of the East), que dirige à Oxford, avec une si vaste érudition et une critique si sûre, le savant associé de l'Académie des Inscriptions, M. Max Müller. . . La première série de ce beau recueil, composée de 24 volumes, est presque achevée. M. Max Müller se propose d'en publier

une seconde, dont l'intérêt historique et religieux ne sera pas moindre. M. Max Müller a su se procurer la collaboration des savans les plus éminens d'Europe et d'Asie. L'Université d'Oxford, que cette grande publication honore au plus haut degré, doit tenir à continuer dans les plus larges proportions une œuvre aussi philosophiquement conçue que savamment exécutée.'

EXTRACT from the QUARTERLY REVIEW.

'We rejoice to notice that a second series of these translations has been announced and has actually begun to appear. The stones, at least, out of which a stately edifice may hereafter arise, are here being brought together. Prof. Max Müller has deserved well of scientific history. Not a few minds owe to his enticing words their first attraction to this branch of study. But no work of his, not even the

great edition of the Rig-Veda, can compare in importance or in usefulness with this English translation of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been devised by his foresight, successfully brought so far by his persuasive and organising power, and will, we trust, by the assistance of the distinguished scholars he has gathered round him, be carried in due time to a happy completion.'

Professor E. HARDY, Inaugural Lecture in the University of Freiburg, 1887.

'Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft datirt von jenem grossartigen, in seiner Art einzig dastehenden Unternehmen, zu welchem auf Anregung Max Müllers im Jahre 1874 auf dem

internationalen Orientalistencongress in London der Grundstein gelegt worden war, die Übersetzung der heiligen Bücher des Ostens' (*the Sacred Books of the East*).

The Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING, 'Words on Existing Religions.'

'The recent publication of the "Sacred Books of the East" in English is surely

a great event in the annals of theological literature.'

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

FIRST SERIES.

VOL. I. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. The *Khândogya-upanishad*, The *Talavakâra-upânishad*, The *Aitareya-âraṇyaka*, The *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, and The *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Upanishads contain the philosophy of the Veda. They have become the foundation of the later Vedânta doctrines, and indirectly of Buddhism. Schopenhauer, speaking of the Upanishads, says: 'In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.'

[See also Vol. XV.]

VOL. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas,

As taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. Âpastamba and Gautama. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Sacred Laws of the Âryas contain the original treatises on which the Laws of Manu and other lawgivers were founded.

[See also Vol. XIV.]

VOL. III. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. The *Shû King*, The Religious Portions of the *Shih King*, and The *Hsiâo King*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

Confucius was a collector of ancient traditions, not the founder of a new religion. As he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. his works are of unique interest for the study of Ethnology.

[See also Vols. XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL.]

VOL. IV. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part I. The *Vendîdâd*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

The Zend-Avesta contains the relics of what was the religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, and, but for the battle of Marathon,

might have become the religion of Europe. It forms to the present day the sacred book of the Parsis, the so-called fire-worshippers.

[See also Vols. XXIII and XXXI.]

VOL. V. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast lâ-shâyast. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

The Pahlavi Texts comprise the theological literature of the revival of Zoroaster's religion, beginning with the Sassanian dynasty. They are important for a study of Gnosticism.

[See also Vols. XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, and XLVII.]

VOLS. VI AND IX. The Qur'ân.

Parts I and II. Translated by E. H. PALMER. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation, carried out according to his own peculiar views of the origin of the Qur'ân, was the last great work of E. H. Palmer, before he was murdered in Egypt.

VOL. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu.

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

A collection of legal aphorisms, closely connected with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the Kathas, but considerably added to in later time. Of importance for a critical study of the Laws of Manu.

VOL. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtîya, and The Anugîtâ.

Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The earliest philosophical and religious poem of India. It has been paraphrased in Arnold's 'Song Celestial.'

VOL. X. The Dhammapada,

Translated from Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and

The Sutta-Nipâta,

Translated from Pâli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Dhammapada contains the quintessence of Buddhist morality. The Sutta-Nipâta gives the authentic teaching of Buddha on some of the fundamental principles of religion.

VOL. XI. Buddhist Suttas.

Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 1. The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta; 2. The Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana Sutta. 3. The Tevigga Suttanta; 4. The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta; 5. The Ketokhila Sutta; 6. The Mahā-sudassana Suttanta; 7. The Sabbāsava Sutta. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

A collection of the most important religious, moral, and philosophical discourses taken from the sacred canon of the Buddhists.

VOL. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part I. Books I and II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

A minute account of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedic age. It contains the earliest account of the Deluge in India.

[See also Vols. XXVI, XLI, XLIII, and XLIV.]

VOL. XIII. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. The Pātimokkha. The Mahāvagga, I-IV. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Vinaya Texts give for the first time a translation of the moral code of the Buddhist religion as settled in the third century B.C.

[See also Vols. XVII and XX.]

VOL. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas,

As taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishṭha, and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XV. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. The Kaṭha-upanishad, The Munda-ka-upanishad, The Taittirīyaka-upanishad, The Bṛihadāraṇyaka-upanishad, The Svetāśvatara-upanishad, The Prasṇa-upanishad, and The Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad. Second Edition. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XVI. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. The Yī King. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.]

VOL. XVII. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. The Mahāvagga, V-X. The Kullavagga, I-III. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. The Dādistān-i Dīnīk and The Epistles of Mānūsīthar. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XIX. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king.

A Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

This life of Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, A.D. 420. It contains many legends, some of which show a certain similarity to the Evangelium infantiae, &c.

VOL. XX. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part III. The Kullavagga, IV–XII. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XXI. The Saddharma-pundarīka ; or, The Lotus of the True Law.

Translated by H. KERN. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

'The Lotus of the True Law,' a canonical book of the Northern Buddhists, translated from Sanskrit. There is a Chinese translation of this book which was finished as early as the year 286 A.D.

VOL. XXII. Gaina-Sūtras.

Translated from Prākṛit by HERMANN JACOBI. Part I. The Ākārāṅga-Sūtra and The Kalpa-Sūtra. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The religion of the Gainas was founded by a contemporary of Buddha. It still counts numerous adherents in India, while there are no Buddhists left in India proper.

[See Vol. XLV.]

VOL. XXIII. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part II. The Sīrōzahs, Yasts, and Nyāyis. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XXIV. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. Dīnā-i Mainōg-Khirad, Sikand-gūtmānīk Vigār, and Sad Dar. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

SECOND SERIES.

VOL. XXV. Manu.

Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation is founded on that of Sir William Jones, which has been carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native Commentaries. An Appendix contains all the quotations from Manu which are found in the Hindu Law-books, translated for the use of the Law Courts in India. Another Appendix gives a synopsis of parallel passages from the six Dharma-sûtras, the other Smritis, the Upanishads, the Mahâbhârata, &c.

VOL. XXVI. The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part II. Books III and IV. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOLS. XXVII AND XXVIII. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. The Lî Kî, or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or Ceremonial Usages. 8vo, cloth, 25s.

VOL. XXIX. The Grîhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part I. Sâṅkhâyana, Âsvalâyana, Pâraskara, Khâdira. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XXX. The Grîhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part II. Gobhila, Hiranyakesin, Âpastamba. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Âpastamba, Yagña-paribhâshâ-sûtras. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

These rules of Domestic Ceremonies describe the home life of the ancient Âryas with a completeness and accuracy unmatched in any other literature. Some of these rules have been incorporated in the ancient Law-books.

VOL. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta.

Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Âfrînagân, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XXXII. Vedic Hymns.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 18s. 6d.

[See also Vol. XLVI.]

VOL. XXXIII. The Minor Law-books.

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nârada, Brîhaspati. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XXXIV. The Vedânta-Sûtras, with the Commentary by Saṅkarâkârya. Part I.

Translated by G. THIBAUT. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

[See also Vol. XXXVIII.]

VOLS. XXXV AND XXXVI. The Questions of King Milinda.

Translated from the Pâli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XXXVII. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part IV. The Contents of the Nasks, as stated in the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Dînkard. 15s.

VOL. XXXVIII. The Vedânta-Sûtras. Part II. 8vo, cloth, with full Index to both Parts, 12s. 6d.

VOLS. XXXIX AND XL. The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Tâoism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

VOL. XLI. The Satapatha - Brâhmana. Part III.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XLII. Hymns of the Atharva-veda.

Translated by M. BLOOMFIELD. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

VOL. XLIII. The Satapatha-Brâhmana.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part IV. Books VIII, IX, and X. 12s. 6d.

VOL. XLIV. The Satapatha-Brâhmana.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part V. Books XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. 18s. 6d.

VOL. XLV. The Gaina-Sûtras.

Translated from Prakrit, by HERMANN JACOBI. Part II. The Uttarâdhyayana Sûtra, The Sûtrakrîtânga Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XLVI. Vedic Hymns. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

VOL. XLVII. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part V. Marvels of Zoroastrianism. 8s. 6d.

VOL. XLVIII. The Vedânta-Sûtras, with Râmânuga's Sribhâshya.

Translated by G. THIBAUT.

[In the Press.]

VOL. XLIX. Buddhist Mahâyâna Texts. Buddha-

karita, translated by E. B. COWELL. Sukhâvatî-vyûha, Vagrakkhedikâ, &c., translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra, translated by J. TAKAKUSU. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

Anecdota Oxoniensia.**ARYAN SERIES.*****Buddhist Texts from Japan. I. Vagrakkhedikâ ; The Diamond-Cutter.***

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Small 4to, 3s. 6d.

One of the most famous metaphysical treatises of the Mahâyâna Buddhists.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. II. Sukhâvatî-Vyûha : Description of Sukhâvatî, the Land of Bliss.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO. With two Appendices: (1) Text and Translation of Saṅghavarman's Chinese Version of the Poetical Portions of the Sukhâvatî-Vyûha; (2) Sanskrit Text of the Smaller Sukhâvatî-Vyûha. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

The *editio princeps* of the Sacred Book of one of the largest and most influential sects of Buddhism, numbering more than ten millions of followers in Japan alone.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. III. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Pragñâ-Pâramitâ-Hridaya-Sûtra and the Uśnîṣa-Vigaya-Dhâraṇî.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER, C.I.E. With many Plates. Small 4to, 10s.

Contains facsimiles of the oldest Sanskrit MS. at present known.

Dharma-Saṃgraha, an Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms.

Prepared for publication by KENJIU KASAWARA, a Buddhist Priest from Japan, and, after his death, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WENZEL. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

Kâtyâyana's Sarvânukramant of the Rîgveda.

With Extracts from Śaṅkara's Commentary entitled Vedârthadîpikâ. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.

The Buddha-Karita of Asvaghosha.

Edited, from three MSS., by E. B. COWELL, M.A. 12s. 6d.

The Mantrapâṭha, or the Prayer Book of the Âpa-stambins.

Edited, together with the Commentary of Haradatta, and translated by M. WINTERNITZ, Ph.D. *First Part.* Introduction, Sanskrit Text, Varietas Lectionis, and Appendices. Small quarto, 10s. 6d.

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UC-NRLF

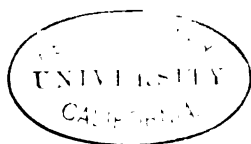


B 3 021 322





THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST



London

HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

AMEN CORNER

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

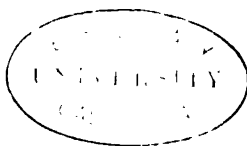
TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXI



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1884

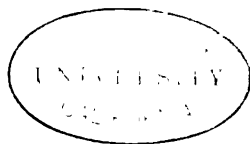
[*All rights reserved*]

50188

THE
SADDHARMA-PUNDARÎKA

OR
THE LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW

TRANSLATED BY
H. KERN



Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1884

[All rights reserved]

685
M946
V.21

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix
CHAPTER 1. Introductory	I
„ 2. Skilfulness	30
„ 3. A Parable	60
„ 4. Disposition	98
„ 5. On Plants	118
„ 6. Announcement of Future Destiny	142
„ 7. Ancient Devotion	153
„ 8. Announcement of the Future Destiny of the Five Hundred Monks	191
„ 9. Announcement of the Future Destiny of Ânanda, Râhula, and the Two Thousand Monks	205
„ 10. The Preacher	213
„ 11. Apparition of a Stûpa	227
„ 12. Exertion	255
„ 13. Peaceful Life	262
„ 14. Issuing of Bodhisattvas from the Gaps of the Earth	281
„ 15. Duration of Life of the Tathâgata	298
„ 16. Of Piety	311
„ 17. Indication of the Meritoriousness of Joyful Acceptance	328
„ 18. The Advantages of a Religious Preacher	336
„ 19. Sadâparibhûta	354
„ 20. Conception of the Transcendent Power of the Tathâgatas	363
„ 21. Spells	370
„ 22. Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyaâga	376

	PAGE
CHAPTER 23. Gadgadasvara	393
„ 24. The All-sided One	406
„ 25. Ancient Devotion	419
„ 26. Encouragement of Samantabhadra	431
„ 27. The Period	440
INDEX	443

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Trans-	
lations of the Sacred Books of the East	451



INTRODUCTION.

THE Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is one of the nine Dharmas which are known by the titles of—1. *Aṣṭasahasrikā Pra-gñāpāramitā*; 2. *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*; 3. *Daśabhūmīśvara*; 4. *Sa-mādhi-rāga*; 5. *Laṅkāvatāra*; 6. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*; 7. *Tathāgata-guhyaka*; 8. *Lalita-vistara*; 9. *Suvarṇa-pra-bhāsa*.

These nine works, to which divine worship is offered, embrace (to use the words of the first investigator of Nepalese Buddhism¹) 'in the first, an abstract of the philosophy of Buddhism²'; in the seventh, a treatise on the esoteric doctrines; and in the seven remaining ones, a full illustration of every point of the ordinary doctrine and discipline, taught in the easy and effective way of example and anecdote, interspersed with occasional instances of dogmatic instruction. With the exception of the first, these works are therefore of a narrative kind; but interwoven with much occasional speculative matter.'

As to the form, it would seem that all the Dharmas may rank as narrative works, which, however, does not exclude in some of them a total difference in style of composition and character. The *Lalita-vistara* e.g. has the movement of a real epic, the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* has not. The latter bears the character of a dramatic performance, an undeveloped mystery play, in which the chief interlocutor, not the only

¹ B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Language, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 13; cf. p. 49.

² As the Perfect Praṇā is she who has produced all Tathāgatas, the mother of all Bodhisattvas, Pratyakabuddhas, and Disciples (see Cowell and Eggeling, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, VIII, p. 3), we must infer that the work is chiefly intended to set forth the principia rerum. It begins with chaos (*pradhāna* or *pragñā*); and hence its place at the commencement of the list. We may, perhaps, best designate it as an abstract of mystic-natural or materialistic philosophy.

one, is Sâkyamuni, the Lord. It consists of a series of dialogues, brightened by the magic effects of a would-be supernatural scenery. The phantasmagorical parts of the whole are as clearly intended to impress us with the idea of the might and glory of the Buddha, as his speeches are to set forth his all-surpassing wisdom. Some affinity of its technical arrangement with that of the regular Indian drama is visible in the prologue or Nidâna, where Mañḡusrî at the end prepares the spectators and auditors—both are the same—for the beginning of the grand drama, by telling them that the Lord is about to awake from his mystic slumber and to display his infinite wisdom and power.

In the book itself we find it termed a Sûtra or Sûtrânta of the class called Mahâvaipulya. In a highly instructive discussion on the peculiar characteristics and comparative age of the different kinds of Sûtras, Burnouf arrives at the conclusion that the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras are posterior to the simple Sûtras in general¹. As there are two categories of simple Sûtras, 1. those in which the events narrated are placed contemporary with the Buddha, 2. those which refer to persons living a considerable time after his reputed period, e.g. Asoka², it follows that the composition of the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras must be held to fall in a later time than the production of even the second category of simple Sûtras. Now in one of the latter, the Asoka-Avadâna, we read of Asoka using the word dînâra³, which leads us to the conclusion that the said Avadâna was composed, not only after the introduction of dînâra from the West, in the first century of our era or later, but at a still more modern time, when people had forgotten the foreign origin of the coin in question.

The results arrived at by Burnouf may be right so far as any Mahâvaipulya Sûtra, as a whole, is concerned; they cannot be applied to all the component parts of such a work. Not to go further than the Saddharma-puṇḍarîka

¹ Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien, pp. 103-128.

² Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 218 seq.

³ Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 423; cf. p. 431, where Pushyamitra is made to speak of Dînâras; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.* p. 245.

and the Lalita-vistara, it can hardly be questioned that these works contain parts of very different dates, and derived from various sources. The material discrepancies between the version in prose and that in verse are occasionally too great to allow us to suppose them to have been made simultaneously or even by different authors conjointly at work¹. Further it can be shown that the Mahāvaiṣṭya Sūtras are partially made up of such materials as must be referred to the oldest period of Buddhism. Let me adduce some examples to render more clear what I mean.

If we compare Lalita-vistara (Calc. ed.), p. 513, 13-p. 514, 2, with Mahāvagga (ed. Dr. Oldenberg) I, 5, 2, we perceive that the passages are to a great extent literally identical, and that the variations amount to little more than a *varietas lectionis*.

The passage adduced is in prose; now let us take some stanzas. In Mahāvagga I, 5, 3, the Lord utters the following slokas:

*kikkhena me adhigatam halam dāni pakāsitum,
rāgadosaparetehi nāyam dhammo susambudho.
paṇisotagāmi nipunam gambhīram duddasam anum
rāgarattā na dakkhanti tamokhandhena āvutā.*

This does not materially differ from Lalita-vistara, p. 515, 16 seq.:

*pratisrotagāmiko mārgo gambhīro durdriso mama,
na tam drakshya(n)ti² rāgāndhā alam tasmāt prakāsitum.
anusrotam pravāhyante kāmeshu patitāḥ pragāḥ;
krikkhrena me'yam samprāptam(!) alam tasmāt prakāsitum.*

Though there is some difference in the wording and arrangement of the verses, it is of such a kind as to exclude all idea of the compiler of the Lalita-vistara having composed the distichs himself. Even the words *ayam dhammo susambudho* and *nipunam* of the Pāli text were known to him, as appears from the passage in prose immediately preceding the slokas quoted: *gambhīraḥ*

¹ See e.g. the foot-note, p. 413.

² An erroneous Sanskritisation of the present tense *dakkhanti*.

khalv ayam, Mahâbrahman, mayâ dharmo 'bhisambuddha^h sūkshmo nipuna^h. What follows, api ka me, Brahman, ime gâthe abhîkshnam pratibhâsata^h¹, is but a slight, not very felicitous modification of what we read in the Mahâvagga l. c.: api 'ssu bhagavantam imâ anak^hhariyâ gâthâyo patibhamsu pubbe assuta-pubbâ.

Evidently from the same source are the verses in Trishubh uttered by the god Brahma, Mahâvagga I, 5, 7, and those found in Lalita-vistara, p. 517, 3 seq. The former text has:

pâturahosi Magadhesu pubbe
dhammo asuddho samalehi kintito,
apâpur' etam amatassa dvâram
suvantu dhammam vimalenânubuddham².

The other runs thus:

vâdo babhûva samalair vikintito
dharmo hy³ asuddho Magadhesu pûrvam;
amritam mune tad vivrinîshva dvâram
srinvanti⁴ dharma vipulam⁵ vimalena buddham.

On comparing the two texts we may infer that the Pâli version is purer, that vâdo babhûva is a corruption of pādû babhûva or something like it, answering to a Sanskrit prâdur babhûva, but we cannot deny that the stanzas have the same origin.

In Mahâvagga I, 5, 12, the Lord addresses the god Brahma with the following Trishubh:

apârutâ tesam amatassa dvârâ
ye sotavanto, pamuñkantu⁶ saddham.

¹ Obviously an unhappy attempt to Sanskritise a Pâli or Prâkrit patibhamsu; it ought to have been pratyabhâsishâtâm.

² The text is corrupt; we have either to read vimalânubuddham, a Tatpurusha compound expressing the same as what the text exhibits, or vimalena buddham.

³ Hi is meaningless, and only a clumsy device to satisfy the exigency of Sanskrit phonetical rules, which are not applicable to Prâkrit.

⁴ Read srinvantu.

⁵ Read dharmam vimalena. Vipula probably owes its origin to a dittography.

⁶ I do not understand this pamuñkantu, i. e. let them cast off, loose or emit. Perhaps we have to read payuñgantū, let them practise.

vihiṃsasaññī pagunam na bhāsi
dhammam paṇītam manugesu, Brahma ; iti.

Then in prose: Atha kho Brahmā Sahampati katāvakāso
 kho 'mhi bhagavatā dhammadesanāyā 'ti bhagavantam
 abhivādetvā padakkhinam katvā tatth' ev' antaradhāyi.

The parallel passage in Lalita-vistara, p. 520, 19 seq.,
 has:

apāvṛtās teshām¹ amṛitasya dvārā
 Brahmān iti² satatam ye srotavantaḥ,
 pravasiṃti śraddhā na vihetḥasañgñā
 śrīṃvanti dharmam Magadheshu sattvāḥ.

Atha khalu Sikhī Mahābrahmā Tathāgatasyādhivāsanām
 viditvā tushṭa udagra āttamanā pramuditāḥ prītisauma-
 nasyagātas Tathāgatasya pādaḥ sīrasābhivanditvā tatrai-
 vāntaradhāt.

At the meeting of the Āgīvaka monk Upaka and the
 Buddha, the latter is represented as having pronounced the
 following slokas (Mahāvagga I, 6, 8 and 9):

na me ākariyo atthi, sadiso me na viggati,
 sadevakasmim lokasmim n' atthi me paṭipuggalo.
 aham hi arahā loke, aham satthā anuttaro,
 eko 'mhi sammāsambuddho, sītibhūto 'smi nibbuto.
 mādisā ve Ginā honti ye pattā āsavakkhayam,
 gitā me pāpakā dhammā tasmāham Upaka³ gino.

Materially the same slokas, albeit in somewhat different
 arrangement, occur Lalita-vistara, p. 526, 22 seq., as being
 spoken at the same meeting:

ākāryo nahi me kaskit, sadriṣo me na vidyate,
 eko 'ham asmi sambuddhaḥ, sītibhūto nirāsravaḥ.
 aham evāham⁴ loke sātā hy aham anuttaraḥ,
 sadevāsuraḥ gandharva nāsti me pratipudgalaḥ⁵.

¹ Read tesham, if not tesam, because a contraction of am and a following
 vowel into one syllable is as common as one of ām is unheard of.

² These words do not suit the metre, and have undoubtedly been transposed
 from their original place, which they have kept in the Pāli text.

³ Rather Upakā, a common Prākṛit form of the vocative case. See Sukhā-
 vatī-vyūha, p. xi, in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, vol. i, part ii.

⁴ Read aham evāraham (Sanskrit arhan).

⁵ The Calc. ed. has wrongly °dharvo and °puṅgalaḥ.

Ginā hi mādriśā gñeyā ye prāptā āsraṇakṣayam,
gitā me pāpakā dharmās tenopa(ka) Gino [hy] aham.

The following verses, taken from Mahāvagga and Lalita-vistara l. c., have likewise the same origin, notwithstanding some variations :

dharmakakkam pavattetum gakkhāmi Kāsinam puram,
andhabhūtasmi lokasmim āhañhi amatadudrabhim.

Compare :

Vārānasim gamishyāmi gatvā vai Kāsikām purīm,
andhabhūtasya lokasya kartāsmi asadriśim¹ prabhām.
Vārānasim gamishyāmi gatvā vai Kāsikām purīm,
sadbhāsinasya lokasya tādāyishye² 'mrīṭadundubhim.
Vārānasim gamishyāmi gatvā vai Kāsikām purīm,
dharmakakram pravartishye lokeshv aprativartitam.

An important passage on the divine sight of the Buddha in Lalita-vistara, p. 439 seq., almost literally occurs in the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta, as has been pointed out by Burnouf³.

These few examples I have chosen will suffice to prove that the material of a Mahāvaipulya Sūtra is partly as old as that of any other sacred book of the Buddhists. The language of the prose part of those Sūtras does not differ from that used in the simple Sūtras of the Northern canon. Should the Sanskrit text prove to be younger than the Pāli text, then we may say that we do not possess the Northern tradition in its original shape. That result, however, affords no criterion for the distinction between the simple Sūtras and the Mahāvaipulya Sūtras, for both are written in the very same Sanskrit, if we except the Gāthās.

It would lead me too far, were I to enter into the heart of the question which of the three idioms, Sanskrit, Pāli, and the so-called Gāthā dialect, was the oldest scriptural language of the Buddhists, and I will therefore confine myself to a few remarks. In the first place it will be granted

¹ The reading aham sadriśim of the Calc. ed. is clearly a corrupt reading.

² This word, which spoils the metre, has manifestly replaced an older expression, not unlikely āhañhi, or a similar form of the future tense of āhan (Sansk. āhanishye).

³ Lotus de la bonne Loi, p. 864.

that the same person cannot have uttered any speech or stanza in two languages at the same time, and, further, that he is not likely to have spoken Sanskrit, when expressing himself in prose, and to have had recourse to a mere dialect, when speaking in poetry. One need not suppose that the common and every-day language of the god Brahma and the Buddha was Pāli or Prākṛit, in order to call it an absurdity that those persons would have spoken prose in Sanskrit and poetry in the Gāthā dialect, such as we find in some passages already quoted and in many others. Nor is it absurd, even if we do not believe that Pāli is the original language of scripture, to contend that the Sanskrit text of the canonical works is at any rate a translation from some dialect. If the Sanskrit text of the Northern Sūtras, in general, were the original one, it would be impossible to account for occasional mistranslations and for the fact that the most palpable dialect forms have been left untouched, whenever the passage by being Sanskritised would have been spoilt. A striking instance is afforded in *Lalita-vistara*, p. 145. There we read that the pronouncing of the letter *tḥa* of the Indian alphabet is to be brought in connection with the word *tḥapanīyaprasna*, i.e. a question that should be avoided, set aside, Pāli *tḥapanīyapañho*. Here the context absolutely opposed itself to the Pāli or Prākṛit *tḥapanīya* being rendered by the Sanskrit *sthāpanīya*, because the initial syllable of this form could not be made to agree with the letter *tḥa*. On the same page of the *Lalita-vistara* we also meet with a word *airapatha*¹, the initial syllable of which must needs harmonise with the diphthong *ai*, so that *airapatha* did not admit of being Sanskritised into *āryapatha*. From the occurrence of this *airapatha* I infer that the original text was composed in some kind of Prākṛit, and not in regular Pāli, because the latter has lost both the primary and secondary diphthong *ai*, though it may be asked whether forms such as *kayira* (Sansk. *kārya*), *payirupāsati*

¹ Written *āirapatha*, for the *Vṛiddhi* vowel denotes the sound of *āi* in Sanskrit, at least originally; from the same diphthong being used in the Asoka edicts in *thaira* (Sansk. *sthavira*), we must infer that the diphthong was, in the then Prākṛit, sounded *ai*, not *āi*.

(Sansk. *pariyupāsati*), and the like are anything else but instances of inaccurate spelling¹. This much is certain that *thaira* occurs in the inscriptions of Asoka, and in these the diphthong cannot but have the value of a short *a* followed by *i*.

If we eliminate the Sanskrit, there remain two dialects, Pāli and the Gāthā idiom. Which of the two can lay claim to being the original language of the Buddhist scriptures or is the nearest approach to it? Pāli is intelligible in its phonetics, the Gāthās are not. Under ordinary circumstances the comparatively greater regularity of Pāli would tend to favour its claims; the case before us is, however, so peculiar that it is not safe to draw inferences from the state in which the Gāthās have come to us. It seems to me that the verses in the Northern books in general, as well as the prose of the *Mahāvastu*², have been Sanskritised to a large extent, so that they ought to be restored, as much as possible, to a more primitive form, before a comparison with Pāli can lead to satisfactory results. When we come across such words as *hesh tḥād* (Sansk. *adhastād*), *gunebhiḥ*, &c., we easily perceive that these forms are more primitive than Pāli *hetṭhā*, *gunehi*; but what warrant have we of such forms being really in use at the time when the Gāthās were composed, if we observe that in a verse, *Lalita-vistara* 53, the syllable *bhiḥ* is reckoned as a short one in the words *gunebhiḥ pratipūrṇa*? In short, in their present state the Gāthās afford no conclusive evidence that the language in which they were composed is older than Pāli.

Whatever may have been the phonetic aspect of the oldest standard dialect of the Buddhists, its vocabulary is unmistakably closely related to that of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*. The coincidences are so striking that the

¹ That is, *kayira* was probably pronounced *kāira*, which cannot be exactly expressed by कैर, because those who were acquainted with the rules of Sanskrit grammar would pronounce this and similar words with the sound of *āi*.

² The able editor of this work, M. Senart, makes the following remarks on its language (p. xii): 'Nous sommes ici en présence d'une langue irrégulière et instable, mélange singulier de formes diverses d'âge et d'origine.'

interval separating the younger parts of the Satapatha and the beginnings of Buddhist literature can hardly be supposed to have been very great. Among those coincidences I cite *sarvâvat*, a word which as yet has not been discovered in the whole range of Sanskrit literature except Satap. XIV, 7, 1, 10, and in Northern Buddhist writings, as well as in Pâli (*sabbâvâ*). The *ἑκὸς λεγόμενον* *ekoti* Satap. XII, 2, 2, 4 recurs in *ekoti-bhâva*, *Lalita-vistara*, p. 147, 8¹; p. 439, 6; Pâli *ekodi-bhâva*². The expression *samîrita* in the sense of 'equipped, furnished with' occurs in Satapatha thrice³, in Atharva-veda once, in *Sad-dharma-pundarîka* several times, e.g. in *paṭṭaḥantâsa-mîrita*, chap. xxii. We may add the Prâkritism *iṅg* in *samiṅgayati*, *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka* VI, 4, 23, the usual form in Buddhist works in Sanskrit, Gâthâ dialect, and Pâli; further *maṅku*, Satap. V, 5, 4, 11; *maṇḍa* in the compound *naumaṇḍa*, Satap. II. 3, 3, 15; cf. *bodhi-maṇḍa*. An archaic trait in the stanzas is the expletive use of the particle *u*, e.g. in *teno*, *yeno*, *tasyo*, *adyo*, for *tena*, *yena*, *tasya*, *adya*. Both in prose and poetry⁴ we meet with *no*, sometimes in the sense of Sansk. *no*, which etymologically of course is identical with it, at other times in that of Sansk. *na*. An analogous case is Sansk. *aṭho*, almost imperceptibly differing from *aṭha*. Perhaps the most curious of similar forms in the Gâthâs is *ko*, in meaning exactly coinciding with *ka*; this *ko* I take to be the older form of the Mâgadhi *ku* in the Asoka edicts.

From the occurrence of peculiar old words and forms we may draw inferences as to the age of certain compositions in ordinary cases; but it is not safe to apply the same test, if there is sufficient reason to suppose that the work, the date

¹ *Ekâbhibhâva* of the Calc. text is a clerical blunder.

² See Childers' Pâli Dict. p. 134, where the Thero Subhûti's etymology *eko udeti* proves that he does not know the origin of the word; nor is it likely that the writer of the Pâli passage cited by Childers knew more, for had he recognised the word, he would have written *ekoti*, because a Prâkrit *d* between two vowels, if answering to a Sanskrit *t*, usually requires a *t* in Pâli.

³ III, 5, 1, 31; VIII, 2, 6; XIV, 1, 3, 31.

⁴ Also in the inscriptions of Asoka.

of which we wish to determine, has been carefully moulded upon time-honoured models. In such a case new words prove a good deal¹, old ones next to nothing. Therefore it would be an abuse of the argument *ex silentio* to infer from the total absence of such new words in our Saddharma-puṇḍarīka that the bulk of the Sūtra must date from the earlier period of Buddhism.

I had already occasion to notice that the two versions, the prose and the metrical one, in our Sūtra show here and there material discrepancies. The question arises to which of the two we must award the palm of priority. Repeatedly, both in prose and poetry, the Sūtra is spoken of as consisting of stanzas; e. g. chap. vii, st. 82; chapters x and xxii in the prose portion, several times. As the term of stanza (*gāthā*), for aught I know, is never used to denote a certain number of syllables, there is a strong presumption that the ancient text consisted of verses, with an admixture of short prose passages serving as introduction or to connect the more solemn poetical pieces. The idea to expand such passages into a regular prose version would especially recommend itself at a period when the poetical dialect began to become obsolete and obscure. Without being a formal commentary, the prose version would yet tend to elucidate the older holy text.

It will not be objected that, because not all chapters in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka have a poetical version added, the original cannot have been a poem. For the chapters containing but one version, viz. xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, show decided traces of being later additions; and as to the final chapter, it may be held to be a moderate amplification of a short prose epilogue.

In contending that the original text of our Sūtra was probably, in the main, a work in metrical form, I do not mean to say that the poetical version in all the chapters must be

¹ As e. g. the word *dīnāra* in the Asoka Avadāna; the passage on the Greeks Yonās, in Assalāyana Sutta (ed. Pischel), p. 10; cf. the editor's remark, p. 6; the word *karama* for *kalama*, calamus to write with, in *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* (Calc. ed.), p. 69.

considered to be prior to the prose¹. The Gāthās of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka are nowhere very brilliant, but in some chapters they are so excessively clumsy and mechanically put together that involuntarily we are led to the assumption of their having been made by persons to whom the old dialect was no longer familiar. The stanzas, e. g. in chapters xi and xiv, are abominable in form, and unusually silly; those in chap. xxiv are a pattern of mechanical verse-making, and give the impression as if they were intended rather to stultify than to edify the credulous reader. Now it is a curious fact that in a Chinese preface to the translation of our Sūtra by Gñānagupta and Dharmagupta, A.D. 601², we meet with the following notice: 'The omission of the Gāthās in No. 134, chaps. 12 and 25³, have since been filled in by some wise men, whose example I wish to follow⁴.'

Here we have a direct proof that the Gāthās of some chapters have been added in later times. Had we similar notices concerning all the chapters in which the Gāthās are of a comparatively modern date, and could we prove that the prose of such chapters belongs to a later period, then the supposition of the ancient text of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka having been in the main a metrical one would seem to lose in strength. For, reasoning by analogy, one might say that just as some later chapters have notoriously been enriched with a metrical version in later times, so the ancient parts also will have gradually received their Gāthās. Still the fact remains that those chapters in which the metrical portion is wanting clearly belong to a later period, so that it is questionable whether their case is entirely analogous to that of the more ancient part of the whole work.

¹ Isolated stanzas, as in chapters xxii, xxv, and elsewhere, are wholly left out of question.

² Catalogue of the Tripitaka (Oxford), by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio; Sūtra Piṭaka, col. 45.

³ In the English translation chapters xi and xxiv.

⁴ Another notice in the above-mentioned Catalogue, col. 44, runs thus: 'The portion of prose' (of chap. xxiv) 'was translated by Kumāragīva, of the latter Tshin dynasty, A.D. 384-417; and that of Gāthās by Gñānagupta, of the Northern Kien dynasty, A.D. 557-589.' So it seems that the Gāthās have been added, and, not unlikely, been composed, between 417 and 557 A.D.

At present we are far from the ultimate end which critical research has to reach; we are not able to assign to each part of our Sûtra its proper place in the development of Buddhist literature. We may feel that compositions from different times have been collected into a not very harmonious whole; we may even be able to prove that some passages are as decidedly ancient as others are modern, but any attempt to analyse the compound and lay bare its component parts would seem to be premature. Under these circumstances the inquiry after the date of the work resolves itself into the question at what time the book received its present shape.

There exist, as it is well known, various Chinese translations of the Saddharma-pundarīka, or parts of it, the dates of which are well ascertained. The above-mentioned Catalogue by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio affords some valuable information about the subject, from which I borrow the following particulars¹:

The oldest Chinese translation, known by the title of *Kan-fâ-hwâ-kin*, is from *Ku Fâ-hu* (Dharmaraksha), of the Western Tsin dynasty, A.D. 265–316; in 28 chapters².

Equally old is an incomplete translation entitled *Sâ-thân-fan-tho-li-kin*, of an unknown author.

Next in time comes the *Miào-fâ-lien-hwâ-kin*, by Kumâragīva, of the latter Tshin dynasty, A.D. 384–417³. It agrees with the Tibetan version, and contains 28 chapters. Of one chapter (xxiv in the Nepalese MSS. and the English translation) Kumâragīva translated the prose only; the Gâthās were rendered by *Gñānagupta*, of the Northern Kieu dynasty, A.D. 557–589.

The last translation in order of time, entitled *Thien-phin-miào-fâ-lien-hwâ-kin*, is from *Gñānagupta* and *Dharmagupta*, A.D. 601, of the Sui dynasty; in 27 chapters.

We see that the older translations—and, consequently, their originals—counted one chapter more than our MSS.

¹ Sûtra Pīṭaka, col. 44 seqq.

² In S. Beal, *The Buddhist Tripitaka*, p. 14, the name of the author *Ku Fâ-hu* (Chu-fa-hu) is identified with *Dharmagupta*.

³ Cf. Beal, *Buddhist Tripitaka*, p. 15.

The difference, however, does not affect the contents of the whole, because the matter divided over chapters 11 and 12 of the older translations is contained in chap. xi of our texts and the latest Chinese version. The order of the chapters is the same in all the texts, both original and translated, up to chap. xx (=21 older division); the discrepancies first begin at chap. xxi, on *Dhāraṇīs*. The subjoined comparative table, to begin with the chapter on *Dhāraṇīs*, exhibits the order of the last seven chapters in the various texts. The first column refers to the Nepalese MSS. and the Chinese translation by *Gñānagupta* and *Dharmagupta*; the second to the oldest Chinese translation; the third to that of *Kumāragīva*.

1	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	5
2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	2
3	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	3
4	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	4
5	.	.	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	6
6	.	.	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	7
7	.	.	.	.	7	.	.	.	.	1

A glance at this table will suffice to convince us that chapters xxi-xxvi (1-6) are of later growth, if we bear in mind that the order of the chapters down to the *Dhāraṇīs* is the same in all sources. This result is quite in harmony with what we would have guessed upon internal grounds. The last chapter, entitled *Dharmaparyāya*, must, from its very nature, have been the close, the epilogue of the whole. In the Chinese translation of *Kumāragīva* it occurs, as the table shows, immediately after chap. xx, by itself a clear indication that xxi-xxvi are later additions. It is somewhat strange that in the older translation of *Ku Fā-hu* the *Dharmaparyāya* has already taken its place after the additional matter, but this may be explained on the supposition that *Kumāragīva*, though living in a later time, made use of ancient manuscripts¹. However that

¹ The preface to the Chinese translation of *Gñānagupta* and *Dharmagupta* says: 'The translations of *Ku Fā-hu* and *Kumāragīva* are most probably made from two different texts.'

may be, I think that the following facts may be held to be established, both from internal and external evidence : 1. The more ancient text of the *Saddharma-pundarīka* contained 21 chapters and an epilogue, i.e. the matter of chaps. i-xx and of chap. xxvii; 2. The later additions, excepting probably some verses, had been connected with the work, in the way of *Parisishtas* or *Addenda*, about 250 A.D. or earlier. As the book, along with the *Parisishtas*, already existed some time before 250 A.D., we may safely conclude that the more ancient text in 21 chapters, the epilogue included, dates some centuries earlier. Greater precision is for the present impossible.

We know that a commentary on the *Saddharma-pundarīka* was composed by Vasubandhu¹. The date of that work, not yet recovered, it seems, must fall between 550 and 600 A.D., or at least not much earlier, for Vasubandhu's pupil Guṇaprabha became the Guru of the famous Śrī-Harsha, alias Śilāditya, king of Kanauj, the friend of Hiouen Tshang². The latter often mentions Vasubandhu and some of that great doctor's writings, as well as Guṇaprabha³. As both worthies at the time of Hiouen Tshang's visiting India had already departed this life, and Vasubandhu must have been at least one generation older than Guṇaprabha, we cannot be far amiss in assigning to Vasubandhu's commentary the date above specified.

It appears from the above-mentioned preface to the Chinese translation of A.D. 601, that the text-differences in the MSS. current in those days were more important than such as we observe in the Nepalese MSS. from 1000 A.D. downward, with which the Tibetan closely agree. The Chinese preface is so interesting that it is worth while to

¹ Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 222. This was written before the publication of my Cambridge Lectures, 'India, what can it teach us?' and affords valuable, because independent, confirmation of the chronological system contained in Note G, 'Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature,' pp. 281-366.—The Editor, F. M. M.

² Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 78; cf. pp. 64 and 219; Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus* (transl. Schiefner), p. 126.

³ See especially *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Tshang*, pp. 83, 93, 97, 114; 106.

copy a passage from it as quoted in the Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka¹:

‘The translations of *Ku Fâ-hu*, No. 138, and *Kumâragîva*, No. 134, are most probably made from two different texts. In the repository of the Canon, I (the author of the preface) have seen two texts (or copies of the text, of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarîka*); one is written on the palm leaves, and the other in the letters of *Kwei-tsz’*, or *Kharakkar*, *Kumâragîva*’s maternal country. The former text exactly agrees with No. 138, and the latter with No. 134. No. 138 omits only the *Gâthâs* of the *Samantamukha-parivarta*, chap. 24. But No. 134 omits half of the *Ôshadhi-parivarta*, chap. 5, the beginning of the *Pañkabhikshusatavyâkarana-parivarta*, chap. 8, and that of the *Saddharmabhâṇaka-parivarta*, chap. 10, and the *Gâthâs* of the *Devadatta-parivarta*, chap. 12², and those of the *Samantamukha-parivarta*, chap. 25. Moreover, No. 134 puts the *Dharmaparyâya-parivarta* (the last chapter of the *Sûtra*) before the *Bhaishagya-râga-parivarta*, chap. 23. Nos. 138 and 134 both place the *Dhâraṇî-parivarta* next to the *Samantamukha-parivarta*, chaps. 24 and 25 respectively. Beside these, there are minor differences between the text and translation. The omission of the *Gâthâs* in No. 134, chaps. 12 and 25, have since been filled in by some wise men, whose example I wish to follow. In the first year of the *Zan-sheu* period, A.D. 601, I, together with *Gñâna-gupta* and *Dharmagupta*, have examined the palm-leaf text, at the request of a *Sramana*, *Shân-hhiñ*, and found that the beginning of two chapters, 8th and 10th, are also wanting in the text (though No. 138 contains them). Nevertheless we have increased a half of the 5th chapter, and put the 12th chapter into the 11th, and restored the *Dhâraṇî-parivarta* and *Dharmaparyâya-parivarta* to their proper order, as chaps. 21 and 27. There are also some words and passages which have been altered (while the greater

¹ *Sûtra Piṭaka*, col. 45.

² In the Nepalese MSS. and the European translations the latter part of chap. xi.

part of No. 134 is retained). The reader is requested not to have any suspicion about these differences.'

According to the opinion of an eminent Chinese scholar, the late Stanislas Julien, the translation of Kumâragîva widely differs from Burnouf's. He gives utterance to that opinion in a letter dated June 12, 1866, and addressed to Professor Max Müller, to whose obliging kindness it is due that I am able to publish a specimen of Kumâragîva's version rendered into French by Stanislas Julien. The fragment answers to the stanzas 1-22 of chap. iii. As it is too long to be inserted here, I give it hereafter on page xl.

On comparing the fragment with the corresponding passages in Burnouf's French translation and the English version in this volume, the reader cannot fail to perceive that the discrepancies between the two European versions are fewer and of less consequence than between each of them and Kumâragîva's work. It is hardly to be supposed that the text used by Kumâragîva can have differed so much from ours, and it seems far more probable that he has taken the liberty, for clearness sake, to modify the construction of the verses, a literal rendering whereof, it must be owned, is impossible in any language. It is a pity that Stanislas Julien has chosen for his specimen a fragment exclusively consisting of Gâthâs. A page in prose would have been far more useful as a test of the accuracy of the Chinese version.

Proceeding to treat of the contents of our Sûtra, I begin by quoting the passage where Burnouf, in his usual masterly way, describes the general character of the book and the prominent features of the central figure in it. The illustrious French scholar writes¹:

'Là, comme dans les Sûtras simples, c'est Çâkya qui est le plus important, le premier des êtres; et quoique l'imagination du compilateur l'ait doué de toutes les perfections de science et de vertu admises chez les Buddhistes; quoique Çâkya revête déjà un caractère mythologique, quand il

¹ Introduction, p. 119.

déclare qu'il y a longtemps qu'il remplit les devoirs d'un Buddha, et qu'il doit les remplir longtemps encore, malgré sa mort prochaine, laquelle ne détruit pas son éternité ; quoiqu'enfin on le représente créant de son corps des Buddhas qui sont comme les images et les reproductions idéales de sa personne mortelle, nulle part Çâkyamuni n'est nommé Dieu ; nulle part il ne reçoit le titre d'Âdibuddha.'

To this I have nothing to object, only something to add. It is perfectly true that Sâkya does not receive the simple title of Deva ; why ? Because that title is far too poor for so exalted a personage who is the Devâtideva, the paramount god of gods. So he is called in the Lotus, chap. vii, st. 31¹, and innumerable times in the whole range of Buddhist literature, both in Pâli and Sanskrit². It is further undeniable that the title of Âdibuddha does not occur in the Lotus, but it is intimated that Sâkya is identical with Âdibuddha in the words : 'From the very beginning (âdita eva) have I roused, brought to maturity, fully developed them (the innumerable Bodhisattvas) to be fit for their Bodhisattva position³.' It is only by accommodation that he is called Âdibuddha, he properly being anâdi, i.e. existing from eternity, having no beginning. The Buddha most solemnly declares (chap. xv) that he reached Bodhi an immense time ago, not as people fancy, first at Gayâ. From the whole manner in which Sâkya speaks of his existence in former times, it is perfectly clear that the author wished to convey the meaning that the Lord had existed from eternity, or, what comes to the same, from the very beginning, from time immemorial, &c.

Sâkya has not only lived an infinite number of Æons in the past, he is to live for ever. Common people fancy that he enters Nirvâna, but in reality he only makes a show of Nirvâna out of regard for the weakness of men. He, the

¹ Burnouf's rendering is 'Déva supérieur aux Dévas.'

² Less frequent than devâtideva is the synonymous devâdhideva, e.g. Lalita-vistara, p. 131 ; essentially the same is the term sarvadevottama, the highest of all gods, ib. p. 144.

³ See chap. xiv, p. 295.

Father of the world¹, the Self-born One, the Chief and Saviour² of creatures, produces a semblance of Nirvāṇa, whenever he sees them given to error and folly³. In reality his being is not subject to complete Nirvāṇa; it is only by a skilful device that he makes a show of it; and repeatedly he appears in the world of the living, though his real abode is on the summit of the *Grīdhra-kūṭa*⁴. All this is, in other words, the teaching of Nārāyaṇa in *Bhagavad-gītā* IV, 6 seqq.:

Ago 'pi sann avyayātmā bhūtānām īśvaro 'pi san,
prakṛitim svām adhiṣṭhāya sambhavāmy ātmamāyayā.
yadā-yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati, Bhārata,
abhyutthānam adharmasya tadātmānam sṛjāmy aham.
paritrāṇāya sādḥūnām vināśāya ka dushkrītām,
dharmasamsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge-yuge.

The Buddha is anthropomorphic, of course; what god is not? The Lotus, far from giving prominence to the unavoidable human traits, endeavours as much as possible to represent the Lord and his audience as superhuman beings. In chap. xiv there is a great pause, as in a drama, of no less than fifty intermediate kalpas, during which Sākya-muni and all his hearers keep silence⁵. A second pause of 1000, or according to a various reading, 100,000 years is held in chap. xx. Now it is difficult to conceive that any author, wilfully and ostentatiously, would mention such traits if he wished to impress the reader with the notion that the narrative refers to human beings.

It will not be necessary to multiply examples. There is, to my comprehension, not the slightest doubt that the

¹ Cf. *Krishna* declaring of himself in *Bhagavad-gītā* IX, 17: *Pitāham gagate mātā dhātā pitāmaha*. Cf. XI, 43. The significant title of *Pitāmaha* is given to Buddha in an inscription found at Dooriya (Bithā); Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey*, vol. iii, pl. xviii; cf. p. 48.

² Like Nārāyaṇa in *Bhagavad-gītā* XII, 7: *Teshām aham samuddhartā-mṛityusamsārasāgarāt*.

³ Chap. xv, st. 21.

⁴ Chap. xv, st. 6, 10.

⁵ One intermediate kalpa is, in the system, equal to 8 yugas. As 4 yugas number 4,320,000 years, it follows that the pause lasted 432 millions of years. Esoterically, kalpa has certainly denoted a short interval of time, but even if we take the 'intermediate kalpa' to mean, in reality, a lapse of time equal to a few hours, the pause would not refer to an historical event.

Saddharma-pundarika intends to represent Sâkya as the supreme being, as the god of gods, almighty and all-wise. But what have we to understand by the words 'god' and 'god of gods?' that is the question. To find the answer let us recall to memory the theosophic notions prevailing in ancient India at certain periods.

In general it may be said that the Upanishads recognise two supreme beings, which in a mystical way are somehow identified; one is the great illuminator of the macrocosm, and is sometimes called the Sun, at other times Ether; the other, the enlightener of the microcosm, is Mind or Reason¹. As soon as the Sun ceased to be considered an animate being or to be represented as such, he might continue, for worship's sake, *honoris causâ*, to be called the highest god; the really remaining deity was Reason, poetically termed the inward light. This idea is expressed by Nīlakantha in his commentary on Bhagavad-gītâ V, 14, in the following terms: *Prabhuḥ kīdātmā sūrya ivāsmadā-dīnām prakāśakaḥ*, the Lord (is) the intelligent Self that like a sun is the illuminator of ourselves and others². Now the same author, in his notes on Bhagavad-gītâ VI, 30, distinctly states that our inward consciousness, or as he puts it, the *pratyagâtman*, the individual Self, otherwise called *gīva*, is *Nārāyaṇa*, i.e. the supreme being. At IX, 28 he paraphrases *Nārāyaṇa* by *sarveshām pratyagâtman*, the individual consciousness of all (sentient beings); at XII, 14 he identifies *Nārāyaṇa* with *nirguṇam brahma*. Just as here and there *Nārāyaṇa* is represented as clad in all the glory and majesty of a sovereign, as the illuminator, the vivifier of the world, in one word as the sun, so we find Sâkyamuni invested with all the grandeur and all the resources of a ruler of nature. Philosophically, both *Nārāyaṇa* and his counterpart Sâkyamuni are *purushottama*, *paramâtman*, the highest brahman, Mind. Sâkyamuni

¹ See e. g. *Kāândogya-upanishad* III, 18 and 19; cf. *Bhagavad-gītâ* XV, 12.

² Cf. *Bhagavad-gītâ* XIII, 33: *yathâ prakāśayaty ekaḥ kṛtsnam lokam imam raviḥ, kṣhetram kṣhetrī tathâ kṛtsnam prakāśayati, Bhārata*. The *kṣhetra* here is the body, the *kṣhetrin* is Mind, Reason, *âtman*. Cf. *Saṅkara* on *Kāândogya-upanishad*, l. c.

is, esoterically, the very same muni, the beholder of good and evil, the *puṇyapāpekshitā* muni that is spoken of in Manu VIII, 91. It is acknowledged in Bhagavad-gītā IX, 14 seqq. that the supreme being may be conceived and respected in different ways according to the degree of intelligence of creatures. Some pay their worship by leading a virtuous life, others by pious devotion, others by contemplation, others by confessing a strictly monistic philosophy¹, others by acknowledging a personal god². The Lord in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka admits of being viewed in all these various aspects. Whether the Buddha-theory, such as we find it developed in the Sūtra, not in plain words, indeed, but by circumlocutions and ambiguities, should be called atheistic or not, is a matter of comparatively slight importance, about which opinions may differ. This much, however, may be asserted, that the Lotus and the Bhagavad-gītā are, in this respect, exactly on a par.

The conclusion arrived at is that the Sākyamuni of the Lotus is an ideal, a personification, and not a person. Traits borrowed, or rather surviving, from an older cosmological mythology, and traces of ancient nature-worship abound both in the Lotus and the Bhagavad-gītā, but in the highest sense of the word, *paramārthataḥ*, the Puruṣhotama in both is the centre of mental life. It is just possible that the ancient doctors of the Mahāyāna have believed that such an ideal once walked in the flesh here on earth, but the impression left by the spirit and the letter of the whole work does not favour that supposition. In later times fervent adherents of the Mahāyāna really held that belief, as we know from the example of the pious Hiouen Thsang, who was evidently as earnest in his belief that the Lord once trod the soil of India as he was convinced of Mañgusrī, Maitreya, and Avalokitesvara existing as animated beings. Whether the system of the Lotus can be said to agree with what is supposed to be 'genuine' Bud-

¹ The followers of the Upanishads, Aupanishadas, who say, 'Myself am God,' or as Nīlakantha puts it, 'Myself am the Lord Vāsudeva.'

² According to Nīlakantha the common people, who think, 'He, the Lord, is my Master.'

dhism, it is not here the place to discuss. So far as the Northern Church is concerned, the book must be acknowledged as the very cream of orthodoxy; it is the last, the supreme, the most sublime of the Sûtras exposed by the Lord; it is, so to say, the *siromani*, the crown jewel, of all Sûtras¹.

The contents of the separate chapters into which the Sûtra is divided may be described, summarily, as follows:

1. Prologue.

2. Awakening of the Lord from his mystic trance; display of his transcendent skilfulness, proved by the apparent trinity of vehicles, whereas in reality there is but one vehicle.

3. Prophecy of the Lord regarding the future destiny of Sâriputra, his eldest son. Second turn of the wheel of the law on that occasion, with incidental commemoration of the first turn near Benares. Parable of the burning house, to exemplify the skill of the good father in saving his children from the burning pains of mundane existence.

4. Another parable, exemplifying the skill of the wise father in leading a child that has gone astray and lost all self-respect back to a feeling of his innate nobility and to happiness.

5. Parable of the plants and the rain, to exemplify the impartiality and equal care of the Lord for all creatures². Parable of the blind man, to intimate that the phenomena have but an apparent reality, and that the ultimate goal of all endeavours must be to reach all-knowingness, which in fact is identical with complete nescience.

6. Sundry predictions as proofs of the power of the Sugata to look into the future.

7. He has an equal knowledge of the remotest past; his remembrance of the turning of the wheel by the Tathâgata Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû. Edifying history of the sixteen sons of the said Tathâgata.

¹ Chap. xiii, st. 53 seq.

² Cf. Bhagavad-gîtâ IX, 29, where Nârâyana declares: 'I am equal towards all creatures, none is hateful to me, none beloved;' *samo 'ham sarvabhûteshu, na me dveshyo 'sti na priya*.

8. Prophecy regarding five hundred Arhats.
9. Prophecy concerning Ānanda, Rāhula, and the two thousand monks.
10. The Lord teaches how pious preachers of the law, who will come in after-times, ought to be duly honoured, and promises that he will always protect the ministers of religion.
11. Display of the miraculous power of Sākyamuni shown in the appearance of a Stūpa, which, being opened by him, discloses to sight the frame of the expired Tathāgata Pra-bhūtaratna, who is desirous of hearing the exposition of the Lotus of the True Law. How Sākyamuni in a former birth strove to acquire the Lotus. His great obligations to Deva-datta. Episode of the wise daughter of the Ocean and her change of sex.
12. Prediction to Gautamī, Yasodharā, and the nuns in their train. Promise of the host of disciples and Bodhisattvas to take up the difficult task of preaching the holy word in days to come, after the Lord's Nirvāṇa.
13. Vocation of the ministers of religion, and practical rules for their conduct in and out of society. Parable of the king who rewards his valiant warriors; in the same manner the Buddha will reward those who struggle for his sake, by bestowing upon them all kinds of favours, at last the most valuable of his boons—eternal rest.
14. Splendid phantasmagory of innumerable Bodhisattvas evoked by the creative power of the Lord. Long pause, during which the Tathāgata and the four classes of hearers are silent. Perplexity of Maitreya on hearing that the innumerable Bodhisattvas have all been the pupils of the Lord.
15. The Buddha explains the fact by revealing the immense duration of his lifetime, in the past and the future.
16. Meritoriousness of the belief in the immense duration of the Tathāgatas and all those who have once become Buddhas.
17. The Lord details the great merit attending a ready acceptance of the preaching of the law.

18. Exposition of the advantages, worldly and spiritual, enjoyed by the ministers of religion.

19. Story of Sadāparibhūta, exemplifying the superiority of simple-mindedness and pure-heartedness to worldly wisdom and scepticism.

20. Grand show exhibited by the two Tathāgatas Sākya-muni and Prabhūtaratna conjointly¹. Pause after the performance. After the pause a great stir amongst gods, celestial and infernal beings, men, &c.² The Tathāgata extols the Sūtra of the Lotus in which 'all Buddha-laws are succinctly taught,' as well as the keepers of this most eminent of Sūtras.

Immediately after this chapter may have followed, in the oldest version, the epilogue entitled 'Period of the Law ;' the reasons for this opinion have been already stated above. The supposed additional chapters contain the following topics, briefly indicated :

21. Efficacy of talismanic spells (Dhāraṇīs).

22. Self-sacrifice of the Bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana, otherwise called Bhaishagyaṛāga. Glorification of the Lotus as the most eminent of Sūtras.

23. Visit of the Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara to the Saha-world. Extraordinary qualities and achievements of this worthy, incidentally narrated by the Tathāgata. Return of the Bodhisattva to whence he came.

24. Grandeur and ubiquitousness of Avalokitesvara.

25. Wonderful and edifying story of the conversion of the king Subhavyūha through the instrumentality of his two sons Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra, al. Bhaishagyaṛāga and Bhaishagyasamudgata.

26. The Bodhisattva Samantabhadra charges himself with the task of being a protector to the preachers of religion in after-times after the Lord's Nirvāṇa³.

¹ Both stretch their flaming tongues as far as the Brahma-world. In the Bhagavad-gītā XI, 30 it is said of Nārāyaṇa, when at the request of Arjuna he shows himself in his full grandeur: *lelihyase grasamānaḥ samantāl lokān samagrān vadanair gvaladbhiḥ, tegobhir āpūrya gaṅgat samagram bhāsas tavagrāḥ prapatanti, Vishṇo !*

² Cf. Bhagavad-gītā XI, 15.

³ There is some incongruity between this chapter and chapter x, because

This summary, however meagre, will be sufficient to show that there is no lack of variety in our Sûtra. We may, indeed, be satisfied that the compilers of it intended giving an exposition of the principal truths of their religion in general, and of the peculiar tenets of their own system¹ in particular, the whole with anxious care arranged in such a form that the Sûtra admitted of an exoterical and esoterical interpretation. It contains a revelation of the state of things in the present, as well as in the past and the future, a revelation derived from a virtually eternal source, so that the doctrine taught in it must be deemed valid not only for a certain spiritual brotherhood or church, but for the human race at large. The highest authority to whom the doctrine is referred, is not a certain individual having lived a short span of time somewhere in India, but the sublime being who has his constant abode on the *Gridhrakûta*, i.e. he who is the terminology of other Indian creeds is called *Kûta*stha.

As a general rule it may be said that in such works of ancient Indian literature as are anonymous, we must distinguish between the authority and the author. In the Lotus we meet after the invocation in some MSS. the following distich :

Vaipulyasûtrârâgam paramârthanayâvatâranirdesam ।

Saddharmapundarikam sattvâya mahâpatham vakshye ॥

I.e. 'I shall proclaim the king of the Vaipulya-sûtras, that teacheth how one arrives at the (right) method of attaining the highest truth ; the Saddharma-pundarîka, the great road (leading) to substantiality (being in abstracto).' The person here speaking is not the Buddha, who is neither the author nor the writer of the work. Have we then to ascribe the distich to one of the ancient copyists? Burnouf² decidedly thinks so, and his opinion is corroborated by the fact that the verses do not occur in all MSS. I must con-

in the latter it is the Lord himself who promises to be in future the protector of the preachers.

¹ I.e. of the Mahâyâna, which according to Târanâtha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 274, stands above the division of the Baudhdhas into various schools.

² Lotus, p. 285.

fess that I am not so sure of it. As the Sûtra, like other compositions of the kind, begins with the solemn 'Thus have I heard, &c.,' it is at least possible that the distich belongs to the compiler. I am not aware that the scribes were in the habit of using such expressions as *vaḥ* or synonymous terms instead of *likh*, to write; and as we find in the Mahāvastu similar futures as *vakshye*, viz. *udārayishyamāṃ* and *upavarṇayishyāmi*¹, where they can hardly be imputed to the scribe, it is safer to leave the question, whether the opening distich of the Lotus is the work of a compiler or of a copyist, undecided, the more so because the parallel phrase *athāto—vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*, frequently found immediately after the invocation, in non-Buddhistic writings, must be held to refer to the author or authors, compilers.

The Lotus being one of the standard works of the Mahāyāna, the study of it cannot but be useful for the right appreciation of that remarkable system. A perusal of the book will convince the reader that a statement of Professor Wassiljew's² can only be accepted with some restrictions, when this scholar, so profoundly versed in the history and development of Northern Buddhism, says that the Buddha of the Mahāyāna is 'neither the creator nor the ruler of the world; he remains the same cold, indifferent egoist, absorbed in Nothingness.' The Tathāgata of the Lotus is passionless, indeed, but that does not involve his being an egoist. In general it may be said that the spirit of the Mahāyāna is more universal, its ideal less monastical than the Hīnayāna's. According to Professor Rhys Davids we must not seek the superior vital power which enabled the Great Vehicle to outlive the earlier teaching in certain metaphysical subtleties, but in the idea of a desire to save all living creatures; 'the idea,' to quote his own words³, 'as summarised in the theory of Bodisatship, is the key-note of the later school, just as Arahatsip is the key-note of

¹ Mahāvastu (ed. Senart), p. 1, with the remarks of the editor, and p. 9.

² In his *Buddhismus*, p. 126.

³ In *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 254.

early Buddhism.' The Mahâyâna doctors said in effect: 'We grant you all you say about the bliss of attaining Nirvâna in this life¹. But it produces advantage only to yourselves; and according to your own theory there will be a necessity for Buddhas in the future as much as there has been for Buddhas in the past. Greater, better, nobler then, than the attainment of Arahatsip must be the attainment of Bodhisattship from a desire to save all living creatures in the ages that will come.' The teaching of the Lotus, however, is different, and comes to this, that every one should try to become a Buddha. It admits that from a practical point of view one may distinguish three means, so-called Vehicles, yânas, to attain the summum bonum, Nirvâna, although in a higher sense there is only one Vehicle. These means are, in plain language, piety, philosophy or rather Yogism, and striving for the enlightenment and weal of our fellow-creatures; these means are designated by the terms of Vehicle of (obedient) hearers or disciples, of Pratyekabuddhas, and of Bodhisattvas. Higher than piety is true and self-acquired knowledge of the eternal laws; higher than knowledge is devoting oneself to the spiritual weal of others². The higher unity embracing the three separate Vehicles is the Buddha-vehicle.

The title of Bodhisattva is not always used in the same acceptance. Apart from a broad distinction we can draw

¹ It may be observed that there is nothing peculiarly Buddhistic in the searching for Nirvâna in this life, except in the sound of the word. It is exactly the same as what other Indian enthusiasts or mystics called *Gīvanmukti*, the aim of Yogins in the fourth degree (answering to the Arhats of the Buddhists) and of the Brâhmanas or Dvijas in the fourth Âsrama.

² See chap. iii, p. 80. Something similar in Bhagavad-gîtâ XII, 12: *sreyo hi gñānam abhyāsāḡ gñānād dhyānaṃ viśiṣyate, dhyānāt karmaphalatyaḡas tyāgāt kṣāntir anantaram*; and IV, 5: *labhante brahmanirvānaṃ rishayaḥ kṣhīnakalmashāḥ, kṣīnnadvaidhā yatātmānaḥ sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ*. Neither in these passages of the Bhagavad-gîtâ nor in the three Vehicles is there anything new; *abhyāsa*, study, denotes the period of one's studying under a master, the Brahmatâriship, which the Lotus calls the Vehicle of Disciples; the period of *dhyāna*, alias the Vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas, coincides with the third Âsrama, that of Vānaprastha; the *tyāga*, alias Bodhisattvaship, is virtually the same with the life of a Sannyâsin, Yati, or Mukta. *Gñāna* characterises the second Âsrama; in the Lotus it is merged in or combined with *dhyāna*.

between human and superhuman Bodhisattvas¹—the latter are here left out of account—we find sometimes the word applied to those persons who in the passage of our Sûtra alluded to are styled *Srāvakas*, hearers, learners. This appears to be the case at least in Nepâl, as we know from the following passage²: ‘The Buddha is the adept in the wisdom of Buddhism (*Bodhijnána*), whose first duty, so long as he remains on earth, is to communicate his wisdom to those who are willing to receive it. These willing learners are the “Bodhisattvas,” so called from their hearts being inclined to the wisdom of Buddhism, and “Sanghas,” from their companionship with one another, and with their Buddha or teacher, in the *vihâras* or cœnobitical establishments. The Bodhisattva or Sangha continues to be such until he has surmounted the very last grade of that vast and laborious ascent by which he is instructed that he can “scale the heavens,” and pluck immortal wisdom from its resplendent source: which achievement performed, he becomes a Buddha, that is, an Omniscient Being.’

Here the Bodhisattvas are plainly distinguished from the cœnobitical monks; they are so likewise in the Lotus³, in which we find them also in the function of learned or wise men (*Panditas*), of preachers or ministers of religion. Wassiljew l.c. remarks about the Bodhisattva—the terrestrial one of course—that ‘from one side, he seems to be the substitute of the ancient Bhikshu;’ from which we ought not to infer that the mendicant monks, as such, ceased to exist, for that is notoriously not the case, but that the Bodhisattvas were charged with the office of preaching. They are persons who deserve to be honoured both by mendicant monks and lay devotees⁴, and formed, it would seem, a kind of learned clergy, not to be confounded, however, with the modern *Vagra-Âkâryas* or married clergymen in Nepâl. There is reason to suppose that one of the

¹ Cf. Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 124.

² B. H. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 62. Cf. Stanislas Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins bouddhistes*, II, p. 436 note.

³ See especially the whole of chapter x.

⁴ Lotus, chap. x, st. 27 seq.

honorific titles given to the preachers or interpreters of the law was 'wise' or 'learned man,' *Pandita*, for the word is so often applied to them that it looks more like a title than a common epithet¹. Târanâtha knows *Pandita* to be a title², and considers it to be the equivalent of the older Mahâbhadanta; he distinguishes 'Bodhisattvas' from 'common *Panditas*' and 'Arhats.' How does this agree with the data in the Lotus? As it has been intimated in a foregoing note, the three Vehicles are imitations of three Âsramas or stages in the model life of an Ârya, in the first place of a Brâhman. The stages are that of a student, of a hermit living in the forest, and of a Sannyâsin, Yati, or Mukta, who has wholly given up the world. The second stage, that of a householder, does not exist, of course, for those who vow themselves to a monastic life. Our Sûtra does not prescribe that the three stages must be gone through by the same persons, no more than the Bhagavad-gîtâ l.c. requires that one should pass the stages of study, knowledge, and meditation before resolving upon complete renunciation (tyâga); what follows from the context is only this, that the Vehicle of Bodhisattvas, alias those who strive for the weal of all creatures, is superior to the two preceding Vehicles. The Vehicle of the Bodhisattvas being the loftiest of the three, they themselves must be considered as occupying the highest rank. Now Târanâtha places the Arhats above them, and with the Nepalese also the first class of the monastic order is that of Arhat³. The question is, how are we to judge of the relation between Arhats and Bodhisattvas in the Lotus? As far as I am able to see, the compiler⁴ of the Sûtra describes facts, or supposed facts, which he knew from oral or literary tradition, as having occurred in the past, whereas the actual state of things in his own time and shortly before is represented as that of the future. His Arhats are sages of the past, canonized saints; his human Bodhisattvas are sages,

¹ E. g. Lotus, chap. x, st. 4, cf. 6; 23, 33; xiii, 13, 16, 24, 26, 30, 32, 39, 44.

² Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 60.

³ Hodgson, Essays, p. 52; cf. p. 30.

⁴ The reader should not lay stress upon this singular.

wise men of the present, most reverend worthies who should live a saintly life and generally do so, but who, however sanctimonious, are not acknowledged saints. Of an antagonism between Arhats and Bodhisattvas there is no trace in the book; the Arhats being dead, they cannot be active; the Bodhisattvas as living persons, can¹. In a certain respect, then, the remark of Professor Rhys Davids holds good; the Bodhisattvas represent the ideal of spiritual activity, the Arhats of inactivity. It must be admitted that the Lotus, as a whole, breathes a less monastic and ascetic² spirit; it does not go the length to speak of ascetism and mortification in such scornful terms as the Bhagavad-gîtâ³ does, but at the same time it never extols it. There are in the book many indications that the art of preaching was made much of and highly developed, and it may be supposed that a greater proficiency in hermeneutics combined with superior mental activity has enabled the Mahâyâna to supplant its rival, the Hînayâna, and to extend its spiritual conquests once from the snows of Siberia to the luxuriant islands of the Indian Archipelago.

After having touched upon such points in the text of the *Saddharma-pundarikâ* as seemed to require more special notice, it behoves me to say a few words about the translation and its resources. In the first place, I must declare that I cannot speak in too warm terms of the benefit I have derived from the French translation by the illustrious Burnouf. I have taken that work throughout for my model, without having been able to reach its excellency. The material discrepancies between his translation are partly due to my having followed other MSS., partly to another interpretation, especially of frequently corrupt and difficult Gâthâs. If some reader not acquainted

¹ Something of contempt for the Arhats is shown in the story communicated by Hiouen Tshang in *Voyages des Pèlerins bouddhistes*, II, p. 176, where the editor inadvertently writes Vasubandhu instead of Vasumitra; his index affords the means of correcting the mistake; cf. Wassiljew in *Târanâtha*, p. 298.

² See chap. xiii, 28, where the eighth commandment of the *Dasasîla*, forbidding the use of ointment, is slighted.

³ See there xvii, 5 seqq., and cf. 14 seqq., where we are taught what the true *tapas* should be.

with the peculiar difficulties of those Gāthās should wonder at the occurrence of numerous discrepancies, I would repeat the words of the preface to the Chinese version from A.D. 601, and request him 'not to have any suspicion about these differences.' Let him compare the fragment from Kumāragīva's rendering on page xl with the corresponding passages in the French and English translations, and he will observe that the difference between the work of the learned Buddhist of the fourth century and the two European versions is far more considerable than between the latter.

The base of my translation has been an old manuscript on palm leaves, belonging to Dr. D. Wright's collection, in the University Library of Cambridge. The manuscript is dated Newar, era 159 (=A.D. 1039), and was written in the reign of the king Kāmādeva (?), in the bright half of the month Vaisākha, on a Thursday¹. It is one of the most ancient Sanskrit MSS. existing in Europe, and therefore I thought that it was advisable to follow its readings as much as possible, except in such passages as were evidently corrupt. A second MS., unfortunately incomplete, from the same collection, is of unknown date, since the latter part of the codex is lost; from the form of the characters it may be inferred that it is not much more modern than the other codex². The difference between both is not very great; yet there can be no doubt that the second MS. belongs to another family. The *varietas lectionis* is strikingly similar in kind to what we find in the different texts of the *Vagrakkhedikā*, edited by Professor Max Müller.

The former manuscript has much in common with the London codices, from which Burnouf in the notes on his translation has derived numerous various readings; it stands farther off from the Paris MS. that has formed the base of Burnouf's version, but not so far as the second

¹ Samvat 159 Vaisākhasukle (illegible the Tithi) Gurudine, Kāmādevasya vigayarāgye likhitam iti. There seem to be wanting two syllables before kāmā.

² The two Cambridge MSS. are marked Add. 1682 and 1683.

Cambridge MS., which shows the greatest number of peculiar readings. The text of chapter iv in Professor Foucaux's edition of the *Parabole de l'enfant égaré* is comparatively modern and bad. In general it may be said that all the known copies of the *Saddharma-pundarika* are written with a want of care little in harmony with the holy character of the book.

Before closing this preface I beg to offer my sincere thanks to Professors William Wright and E. B. Cowell, at Cambridge, for the generous way in which they have enabled me to use the MSS. I wanted for my translation. My thanks are due also to the Council of Cambridge University and Mr. H. Bradshaw, for their readily complying with my wishes. To Professor Max Müller I owe a debt of gratitude for his kindly assisting me in my task in more than one respect, a debt which I am glad here openly to acknowledge.

H. KERN.

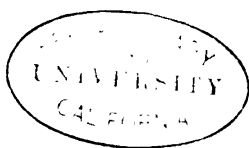
LEIDEN.

KUMÂRAGĪVA'S TRANSLATION OF SADDHARMA-PUNDA-
RĪKA III, STANZAS I-22, RENDERED INTO FRENCH
BY STANISLAS JULIEN.

J'ai entendu le son de cette loi
 J'ai obtenu ce que je n'avais pas encore eu
 Dans mon cœur, j'en ai conçu une grande joie.
 Les filets des doutes ont tous disparu
 Jadis, j'ai reçu les instructions du Buddha
 Je n'ai pas perdu le grand véhicule.
 Le son (la voix) du Buddha existe (s'entend) très rarement.—
 Elle peut détruire les tourments d'esprit de tous les mortels.—
 Moi, j'ai obtenu l'épuisement (la délivrance complète) de mes fautes.
 L'ayant entendue, j'ai été délivré des chagrins et des tourments
 d'esprit
 Moi, lorsque je demeure sur les montagnes (ou dans) les vallées,
 Ou bien au bas des arbres des forêts
 Soit que je sois assis ou que je marche
 Constamment, je pense à cette chose
 Hélas, je m'adresse de sévères reproches
 Je dis : pourquoi me trompé-je moi-même ?
 Nous autres, nous sommes aussi les fils du Bouddha
 Nous sommes entrés ensemble dans la loi exempts d'imperfections.
 Nous ne pourrions dans l'avenir
 Expliquer cette loi sans supérieure (anuttaradharma).
 Les trente deux couleur d'or (signes qui ont la couleur de l'or),
 Les dix forces, les moyens de délivrance,
 Se trouvent ensemble au sein de la loi unique
 Et cependant je n'ai pu obtenir ces choses ;
 Les quatre vingt signes de beauté,
 Les dix huit lois non-communes (à tous),
 Les mérites et les vertus de cette sorte
 Moi, je les ai tous perdus.
 Moi, lorsque je me promenais seul
 J'ai vu le Bouddha au milieu de la grande multitude
 Son nom, sa réputation remplissaient les dix contrées
 Il comblait d'avantages toutes les créatures

Je pense en moi-même que j'ai perdu ce profit
 Moi, parce que je me suis trompé moi-même,
 Constamment, jour et nuit
 Chaque fois, je songe à cette chose
 J'ai voulu demander à l'honorable du siècle
 Louant et glorifiant les bôdhisattvas
 C'est pourquoi jour et nuit
 J'examine mûrement une telle chose
 Exempte d'imperfections et difficile à concevoir
 Qui fait arriver la multitude à l'estrade de l'Intelligence (Bôdhi-
 manda)
 Moi, dans l'origine, j'étais attaché aux vues perverses (à l'hérésie)
 J'étais un maître de Brahmatcharis
 L'honorable du siècle connaissait mon cœur
 Me tira de l'hérésie et me parla du Nirvâna
 Je me débarrassai complètement des vues perverses (de l'hérésie);
 Dans la loi du vide, j'obtins des témoignages, des preuves (J'obtins
 la preuve que je comprenais la loi du vide)
 Alors, je me dis à moi-même
 Que j'avais obtenu d'arriver au Nirvâna.
 Mais maintenant je m'aperçois
 Que ce n'est pas le vrai Nirvâna
 Si, un jour, j'obtiens de devenir Bouddha
 Et que je sois pourvu des trente deux signes de beauté
 Les Dêvas, les Yakchas
 Les dragons, les esprits etc.
 M'honoreront et me vénéreront
 Dans ce temps là, je pourrai dire
 Que pour toujours j'ai obtenu le Nirvâna complet.
 Le Bouddha, dans la grande assemblée
 M'a dit que je devais devenir Bouddha
 Quand j'eus entendu le son de cette loi
 Mes doutes, mes regrets, complètement disparurent.
 Au commencement, lorsque j'eus entendu ce que disait le Bouddha,
 Au fond de mon cœur, je fus remplis d'étonnement et de doutes.
 (Je me dis) Le démon n'aurait pas pris la figure du Bouddha
 Pour troubler mon cœur?
 Le Bouddha ayant employé toute sorte de moyens
 De comparaisons, de paroles et de discours habiles
 Mon cœur devint calme comme la mer.
 Quand je l'eus entendu, le filet de mes doutes se déchira
 Le Bouddha dit que dans les siècles passés

Des bouddhas sans nombre, qui ont obtenu le Nirvâṇa
Reposaient en paix au milieu des moyens habiles
Et que tous avaient expliqué cette loi
Que des bouddhas présents et futurs
Dont le nombre est infini
A l'aide de toute sorte de moyens habiles
Avaient expliqué et développé une telle loi
Maintenant, Honorable du siècle
Depuis que tu es né et que tu es sorti de la famille
Tu as obtenu de tourner la roue de la loi
Et de l'expliquer par des moyens habiles
L'Honorable du siècle a exposé la vraie voie.
Le Mâra n'a pas fait cette chose (n'a pas pris la figure du Bouddha)
C'est pourquoi je sais fermement
Que le Mâra ne s'est pas déguisé en Bouddha (litt. ne s'est pas
fait Bouddha).
Moi, à cause du filet des doutes auxquels je m'étais abandonné
Je m'étais dit que c'était une chose faite par le Mâra (c. à. d. que
le Mâra avait pris la figure du Bouddha)
Mais quand j'eus entendu sa voix douce et souple
Profonde, éloignée, extrêmement déliée
Expliquant la loi pure
Mon cœur a été grandement rejoui.
Mes doutes ont pour toujours disparu
Je réside en paix au sein de la vraie science
Décidément, je dois devenir Bouddha.
Je serai respecté des Dêvas
Je tournerai la roue de la loi sans-supérieure
J'instruirai et je convertirai les Bôdhisattvas.



SADDHARMA-PUNÐARÎKA

OR

THE LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW.

HOMAGE TO
ALL THE BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Râgagriha, on the Grîdhrakûta¹ mountain, with a numerous assemblage of monks, twelve hundred monks, all of them Arhats, stainless, free from depravity, self-controlled², thoroughly emancipated in thought and knowledge, of noble breed, (like unto) great elephants, having done their task, done their duty, acquitted their charge, reached the goal; in whom the ties which bound them to existence were wholly destroyed, whose minds were thoroughly emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had reached the utmost perfection in subduing all their thoughts; who were possessed of the transcendent faculties³;

¹ I. e. Vulture Peak.

² Vasîbhûta. Like vasin, it likewise means, 'having subdued others or the world.'

³ The five Abhigñâs, viz. the magical powers, the divine ear,

eminent disciples, such as the venerable Āgñāta-Kaundīnya, the venerable Asvagit, the venerable Vāshpa, the venerable Mahānāman, the venerable Bhadrīka¹, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, the venerable Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā, the venerable Kāśyapa of Nadi, the venerable Kāśyapa of Gayā², the venerable Sāriputra, the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana³, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana⁴, the venerable Aniruddha⁵, the venerable Revata, the venerable Kapphina⁶, the venerable Gavāmpati, the venerable Pilindavatsa, the venerable Vakula, the venerable Bhāradvāga⁷, the venerable Mahā-Kaushika⁸, the venerable Nanda (alias Mahānanda), the venerable

knowledge of the thoughts of others, knowledge of former existences, the divine eye. Sometimes a sixth Abhiññā is added, viz. the knowledge which causes the destruction of human passion; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 820 sqq.; Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 284.

¹ These are known as the Five Bhadravargīyas, or, in Pāli, *Pañkavaggiyas*; they were the first five disciples.

² The conversion of Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā and the two following is told in *Buddhist Birth Stories* (translated by Rhys Davids), I, 114; *Mahāvagga* (ed. Oldenberg) I, 15.

³ Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are termed the foremost or chief disciples (*agrasāvaka*) of the Lord. About their conversion, see *Birth Stories*, I, 118; *Mahāvagga* I, 23.

⁴ About him, see *Mahāvagga* V, 13.

⁵ In Pāli, Anuruddha; the story of his conversion is told *Kullavagga* (ed. Oldenberg) I, 8.

⁶ The name is variously spelt Kapphina, Kasphina, Kashphina, Kapphilla, Kāmphilla. The Tibetan form Kapina (in *Lotus*, p. 294) agrees with Mahā-Kappina in Pāli writings; *Mahāvagga* II, 5; X, 5. I cannot help guessing that the name is identical with Σφίης, the proper name of Kalanos, in Plutarch's *Alexander*, chap. 65; one would expect Κασφίης.

⁷ The same with Pindola-Bhāradvāga, *Kullavagga* V, 8.

⁸ In Pāli Mahā-Koṭṭhita; *Mahāvagga* X, 5.

Upananda¹, the venerable Sundara-Nanda², the venerable Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, the venerable Subhūti, the venerable Rāhula ; with them yet other great disciples, as the venerable Ānanda, still under training, and two thousand other monks, some of whom still under training, the others masters ; with six thousand nuns having at their head Mahāpragāpatī³, and the nun Yasodharā, the mother of Rāhula, along with her train ; (further) with eighty thousand Bōdhisattvas, all unable to slide back⁴, endowed with the spells of supreme, perfect enlightenment, firmly standing in wisdom ; who moved onward the never deviating⁵ wheel of the law ; who had propitiated many hundred thousands of Buddhas ; who under many hundred thousands of Buddhas had planted the roots of goodness, had been intimate with many hundred thousands of Buddhas, were in body and mind fully penetrated with the feeling of charity ; able in communicating the wisdom of the Tathāgatas ; very wise, having reached the perfection of wisdom ; renowned in many hundred thousands of worlds ; having saved many hundred thousand myriads⁶ of koṭis⁷ of beings ; such as the Bodhisattva Mahā-

¹ Surnamed Sākyaputra ; Mahāvagga I, 52.

² Known from Lalita-vistara, p. 164 ; Burnouf has Sunanda.

³ Gautamī, the aunt of Gautama Buddha.

⁴ Or, to swerve from their course.

⁵ Or, never rolling back.

⁶ I have followed Burnouf in translating nayuta by ten thousand ; this being the value of the Sanskrit term ayuta. According to the Petersburg Dictionary the Northern Buddhists attach to nayuta the value of 100,000 millions. The Pāli nahuta is said to be a vast number, one followed by twenty-eight ciphers ; but in Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 193, its worth is put down at a myriad.

⁷ I. e. ten millions.

sattva¹ Mañgusrī, as prince royal²; the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas Avalokitesvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Sarvārthanāman, Nityodyukta, Anikshiptadhura, Ratnapāni, Bhaishagyarāga, Pradānasūra, Ratnakāndra, Ratnaprabha, Pūrṇakāndra, Mahāvīkrāmin, Trailokavīkrāmin, Anantavīkrāmin, Mahāpratibhāna, Sata-samitābhīyukta, Dharaṇīdhara³, Akshayamati, Padmasrī, Nakshatrarāga, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Simha.

With them were also the sixteen virtuous men to begin with Bhadrapāla, to wit, Bhadrapāla, Ratnākara, Susārthavāha, Naradatta⁴, Guhagupta, Varunadatta, Indradatta, Uttaramati, Viśeshamati, Vardhamānamati, Amoghadarsin, Susamsthita, Suvīkrāntavīkrāmin, Anupamamati, Sūryagarbha, and Dharaṇīdhara; besides eighty thousand Bodhisattvas, among whom the fore-mentioned were the chiefs; further Sakra, the ruler of the celestials, with twenty thousand gods, his followers, such as the god Kāndra (the Moon), the god Sūrya (the Sun), the god Samantagandha (the Wind), the god Ratnaprabha, the god Avabhāsaprabha, and others; further, the four great rulers of the cardinal points with thirty thousand gods in their train, viz. the great ruler Virūdhaka, the great ruler Virūpāksha, the great ruler Dhṛitarāshṭra, and the great ruler Vaisravaṇa; the god Īsvara and the god Mahesvara⁵, each followed by thirty thousand gods; further,

¹ I. e. a great being.

² Or, 'still a youth,' kumārabhūta.

³ In chap. XXIV he occurs as Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Dharaṇīdhara.

⁴ Burnouf has Ratnadatta.

⁵ The distinction between Īsvara and Mahesvara, both mere

Brahma Sahâmpati¹ and his twelve thousand followers, the Brahmakâyika gods, amongst whom Brahma Sikhin² and Brahma Gyotishprabha, with the other twelve thousand Brahmakâyika gods³; together with the eight Nâga kings and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Nâgas in their train, viz. the Nâga king Nanda, the Nâga king Upananda, Sâgara, Vâsuki, Takshaka, Manasvin, Anavatapta, and Utpalaka; further, the four Kinnara kings with many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of followers, viz. the Kinnara king Druma, the Kinnara king Mahâdharma, the Kinnara king Sudharma, and the Kinnara king Dharmadhara; besides, the four divine beings (called) Gandharvakâyikas with many hundred thousand Gandharvas in their suite, viz. the Gandharva Manogñā, the Gandharva Manogñāsvara, the Gandharva Madhura, and the Gandharva Madhurasvara; further, the four chiefs of the demons

epithets of Siva, has its counterpart in the equally fanciful difference between Tishya and Pushya, Meru and Sumeru, which occurs in Buddhist writings. In Mahāvastu, p. 355 (ed. Senart), we even find Mâyâ distinguished from Mahāmâyâ.

¹ On comparing Lalita-vistara, p. 515, l. 3, with the parallel passage Mahāvagga I, 5, 4, it appears that Sahâmpati and Sikhin are synonymous terms. As Sikhin is a common term for Agni and as to the latter in Rig-veda I, 97, 5; 127, 10; III, 14, 2, is applied the epithet of sahasvat, it may be inferred that Sahâmpati and the collateral form Sahapati answer to a Sanskrit sahasâmpati or sahaspati.

² Another instance of a fanciful distinction.

³ It may be remarked that in the enumeration of gods, between Siva and Brahma, Vishṇu is wanting. Those who adopt the view that Sâkyamuni is an Avatâra of Vishṇu, consequently a mythical being, will readily account for that omission by saying that Vishṇu and the Lord Buddha are identical, so that Vishṇu is present in the gathering, under the disguise of Buddha.

followed by many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of demons, viz. the chief of the demons Bali, Kharaskandha¹, Vemaṅṅitri², and Rāhu; along with the four Garuḍa chiefs followed by many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Garuḍas, viz. the Garuḍa chiefs Mahātegas, Mahākāya, Mahāpūrṇa, and Maharddhiprāpta, and with Agātasatru, king of Magadha, the son of Vaidehī.

Now at that time it was that the Lord surrounded, attended, honoured, revered, venerated, worshipped by the four classes of hearers, after expounding the Dharmaparyāya³ called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, sat cross-legged on the seat of the law and entered upon the meditation termed 'the station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon his meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, Mandāravas⁴ and great Mandāravas, Mañgūshakas and great Mañgūshakas⁴, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha field shook in six ways: it moved,

¹ Burnouf has Suraskandha.

² This is a wrong Sanskritisation of a Prākṛit Vemaṅṅitti, Pāli Vepaṅṅitti; the proper Sanskrit equivalent is Vipraṅṅitti.

³ I. e. turn, period, or roll of the law; it may often be rendered by 'a discourse on the law.' In the sense of period, term, end, it is used as the title of the closing chapter of the whole work.

⁴ Mandārava, or rather Māndārava, derived from mandāru = mandāra, Erythrina, is here a heavenly flower, or, as the Indians say, 'a cloud-flower,' meghapushpa, i. e. raindrop and hailstone. Mañgūsha is a name of the Rubia Manjista; the word is also said to mean, 'a stone;' in this case perhaps a hailstone or dewdrop.

removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together in that congregation, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers, gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in ecstasy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord¹. It extended over eighteen hundred thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance, down to the great hell Avīci and up to the limit of existence. And the beings in any of the six states² of existence became visible, all without exception. Likewise the Lords Buddhas staying, living, and existing in those Buddha-fields became all visible, and the law preached by them could be entirely heard by all beings. And the monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, Yogins and students of Yoga, those who had obtained the fruition (of the Paths of sanctification) and those who had not, they, too, became visible. And the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas in those

¹ This reminds one of Wordsworth's lines :

‘Bright apparition suddenly put forth
The Rainbow, smiling on the faded storm ;
The mild assemblage of the starry heavens ;
And the great Sun, earth's universal Lord.’

² Viz. hell, the brute creation, the world of ghosts, of demons, of men, and of gods or angels.

Buddha-fields who plied the Bodhisattva-course with ability, due to their earnest belief in numerous and various lessons and the fundamental ideas, they, too, became all visible. Likewise the Lords Buddhas in those Buddha-fields who had reached final Nirvāṇa became visible, all of them. And the Stûpas made of jewels and containing the relics of the extinct Buddhas became all visible in those Buddha-fields¹.

Then rose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya this thought: 'O how great a wonder does the Tathāgata display! What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord producing so great a wonder as this? And such astonishing, prodigious, inconceivable, powerful miracles now appear, although the Lord is absorbed in meditation! Why, let me inquire about this matter; who would be able here to explain it to me?' He then thought: 'Here is Mañgusrī, the prince royal, who has plied his office under former Ginas and planted the roots of goodness, while worshipping many Buddhas. This Mañgusrī, the prince royal, must have witnessed before such signs of the former Tathāgatas, those Arhats, those perfectly enlightened Buddhas; of yore he must have enjoyed the grand conversations on the law. Therefore will I inquire about this matter with Mañgusrī, the prince royal.'

And the four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, numerous gods, Nāgas,

¹ It is sufficiently clear, I think, that the Buddha-fields are the heavens, and that we have in the text a description of the aspect of heaven when the stars are twinkling at dawn, shortly after or before. A Stûpa denotes the spot where a luminary, for the time being extinct, once stood; in more general acceptation it must have been synonymous with *dhishnya*, a fire-place, or with *βωμός*.

goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, on seeing the magnificence of this great miracle of the Lord, were struck with astonishment, amazement and curiosity, and thought: Let us inquire why this magnificent miracle has been produced by the great power of the Lord.

At the same moment, at that very instant, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya knew in his mind the thoughts arising in the minds of the four classes of hearers and he spoke to Mañgusrī, the prince royal: [What, O Mañgusrī, is the cause, what is the reason of this wonderful, prodigious, miraculous shine having been produced by the Lord? Look, how these eighteen thousand Buddha-fields appear variegated, extremely beautiful, directed by Tathāgatas and superintended by Tathāgatas.

Then it was that Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, addressed Mañgusrī, the prince royal, in the following stanzas:

1. Why, Mañgusrī, does this ray darted by the guide of men shine forth from between his brows? this single ray issuing from the circle of hair? and why this abundant rain of Mandāravas?

2. The gods, overjoyed, let drop Mañgūshakas and sandal powder, divine, fragrant, and delicious.

3. This earth is, on every side, replete with splendour, and all the four classes of the assembly are filled with delight, while the whole field shakes in six different ways, frightfully.

4. And that ray in the eastern quarter illuminates the whole of eighteen thousand Buddha-fields, simultaneously, so that those fields appear as gold-coloured.

5. (The universe) as far as the (hell) Avīṭi (and) the extreme limit of existence, with all beings of those fields living in any of the six states of existence, those who are leaving one state¹ to be born in another;

6. Their various and different actions in those states have become visible; whether they are in a happy, unhappy, low, eminent, or intermediate position, all that I see from this place.

7. I see also the Buddhas, those lions of kings, revealing and showing the essence of the law, comforting² many koṭis of creatures and emitting sweet-sounding voices.

8. They let go forth, each in his own field, a deep, sublime, wonderful voice, while proclaiming the Buddha-laws by means of myriads of koṭis of illustrations and proofs.

9. And to the ignorant creatures who are oppressed with toils and distressed in mind by birth and old age, they announce the bliss of Rest, saying: This is the end of trouble, O monks.

10. And to those who are possessed of strength and vigour and who have acquired merit by virtue or earnest belief in the Buddhas, they show the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, by observing this rule of the law.

11. And the other sons of the Sugata who, striving after superior knowledge, have constantly accom-

¹ The word for state, *gati*, also means 'the position, place,' e. g. of a star.

² *Prasvâsamânân*, var. lect. *prakâsamânân*; Burnouf must have followed the latter reading, his translation having 'instruisent.'

plished their various tasks, them also they admonish to enlightenment.

12. From this place, O Mañgughosha, I see and hear such things and thousands of koṭis of other particulars besides; I will only describe some of them.

13. I see in many fields Bodhisattvas by many thousands of koṭis, like sands of the Ganges, who are producing enlightenment according to the different degree of their power.

14. There are some who charitably bestow wealth, gold, silver, gold money, pearls, jewels, conch shells, stones¹, coral, male and female slaves, horses, and sheep;

15. As well as litters adorned with jewels. They are spending gifts with glad hearts, developing themselves for superior enlightenment, in the hope of gaining the vehicle.

16. (Thus they think): 'The best and most excellent vehicle in the whole of the threefold world is the Buddha-vehicle magnified by the Sugatas. May I, forsooth, soon gain it after my spending such gifts.'

17. Some give carriages yoked with four horses and furnished with benches, flowers, banners, and flags; others give objects made of precious substances.

18. Some, again, give their children and wives;

¹ The text has *saṅkhasilâ*; according to the Tibetan version this would mean crystal, but that is impossible because *saṅkha* is well known to be a conch shell. Burnouf hesitatingly renders it by 'des conques, du cristal'; see, however, Lotus, p. 314. I have been unable to find out what meaning the compound, be it a *Dvandva* or a *Tatpurusha*, is intended to convey.

others their own flesh ; (or) offer, when bidden, their hands and feet, striving to gain supreme enlightenment.

19. Some give their heads, others their eyes, others their dear own body, and after cheerfully bestowing their gifts they aspire to the knowledge of the Tathâgatas.

20. Here and there, O Mañgusrî, I behold beings who have abandoned their flourishing kingdoms, harems, and continents, left all their counsellors and kinsmen,

21. And betaken themselves to the guides of the world to ask for the most excellent law, for the sake of bliss ; they put on reddish-yellow robes, and shave hair and beard.

22. I see also many Bodhisattvas like monks, living in the forest, and others inhabiting the empty wilderness, engaged in reciting and reading.

23. And some Bodhisattvas I see, who, full of wisdom (or constancy), betake themselves to mountain caves, where by cultivating and meditating the Buddha-knowledge they arrive at its perception.

24. Others who have renounced all sensual desires, by purifying their own self, have cleared their sphere and obtained the five transcendent faculties, live in the wilderness, as (true) sons of the Sugata.

25. Some are standing firm, the feet put together and the hands joined in token of respect towards the leaders, and are praising joyfully the king of the leading Gînas in thousands of stanzas.

26. Some thoughtful, meek, and tranquil, who have mastered the niceties of the course of duty, question the highest of men about the law, and retain in their memory what they have learnt.

27. And I see here and there some sons of the principal *Gina* who, after completely developing their own self, are preaching the law to many *koṭis* of living beings with many myriads of illustrations and reasons.

28. Joyfully they proclaim the law, rousing many *Bodhisattvas*; after conquering the Evil One with his hosts and vehicles, they strike the drum of the law.

29. I see some sons of the *Sugata*, humble, calm, and quiet in conduct, living under the command of the *Sugatas*, and honoured by men, gods, goblins, and Titans.

30. Others, again, who have retired to woody thickets, are saving the creatures in the hells by emitting radiance from their body, and rouse them to enlightenment.

31. There are some sons of the *Gina* who dwell in the forest, abiding in vigour, completely renouncing sloth, and actively engaged in walking; it is by energy that they are striving for supreme enlightenment.

32. Others complete their course by keeping a constant purity and an unbroken morality like precious stones and jewels; by morality do these strive for supreme enlightenment.

33. Some sons of the *Gina*, whose strength consists in forbearance, patiently endure abuse, censure, and threats from proud monks. They try to attain enlightenment by dint of forbearance.

34. Further, I see *Bodhisattvas*, who have forsaken all wanton pleasures, shun unwise companions and delight in having intercourse with genteel men (*âryas*);

35. Who, with avoidance of any distraction of thoughts and with attentive mind, during thousands of koṭis of years have meditated in the caves of the wilderness; these strive for enlightenment by dint of meditation.

36. Some, again, offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples gifts (consisting) in food hard and soft, meat and drink, medicaments for the sick, in plenty and abundance.

37. Others offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples hundreds of koṭis of clothes, worth thousands of koṭis, and garments of priceless value.

38. They bestow in presence of the Sugatas hundreds of koṭis of monasteries which they have caused to be built of precious substances and sandal-wood, and which are furnished with numerous lodgings (or couches):

39. Some present the leaders of men and their disciples with neat and lovely gardens abounding with fruits and beautiful flowers, to serve as places of daily recreation.

40. When they have, with joyful feelings, made such various and splendid donations, they rouse their energy in order to obtain enlightenment; these are those who try to reach supreme enlightenment by means of charitableness.

41. Others set forth the law of quietness, by many myriads of illustrations and proofs; they preach it to thousands of koṭis of living beings; these are tending to supreme enlightenment by science.

42. (There are) sons of the Sugata who try to reach enlightenment by wisdom; they understand the law of indifference and avoid acting at the

antinomy (of things), unattached like birds in the sky.

43. Further, I see, O Mañgughosha, many Bodhi-sattvas who have displayed steadiness under the rule of the departed Sugatas, and now are worshipping the relics of the *Ginas*.

44. I see thousands of *koṭis* of *Stûpas*, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, which have been raised by these sons of the *Gina* and now adorn *koṭis* of grounds.

45. Those magnificent *Stûpas*, made of seven precious substances, with their thousands of *koṭis* of umbrellas and banners, measure in height no less than 5000 *yoganas* and 2000 in circumference¹.

46. They are always decorated with flags; a multitude of bells is constantly heard sounding; men, gods, goblins, and Titans pay their worship with flowers, perfumes, and music.

47. Such honour do the sons of the *Sugata* render to the relics of the *Ginas*, so that all directions of space are brightened as by the celestial coral trees in full blossom.

48. From this spot I behold all this; those numerous *koṭis* of creatures; both this world and heaven covered with flowers, owing to the single ray shot forth by the *Gina*.

49. O how powerful is the Leader of men! how extensive and bright is his knowledge! that a single beam darted by him over the world renders visible so many thousands of fields!

50. We are astonished at seeing this sign and

¹ It is evident that there is no question of earthly *Stûpas*, nor of hyperbolic phrases.

this wonder, so great, so incomprehensible. Explain me the matter, O Mañgusvara! the sons of Buddha are anxious to know it.

51. The four classes of the congregation in joyful expectation gaze on thee, O hero, and on me; gladden (their hearts); remove their doubts; grant a revelation, O son of Sugata!

52. Why is it that the Sugata has now emitted such a light? O how great is the power of the Leader of men! O how extensive and holy is his knowledge!

53. That one ray extending from him all over the world makes visible many thousands of fields. It must be for some purpose that this great ray has been emitted.

54. Is the Lord of men to show the primordial laws which he, the Highest of men, discovered on the terrace of enlightenment? Or is he to prophesy the Bodhisattvas their future destiny?

55. There must be a weighty reason why so many thousands of fields have been rendered visible, variegated, splendid, and shining with gems, while Buddhas of infinite sight are appearing.

56. Maitreya asks the son of Gina; men, gods, goblins, and Titans, the four classes of the congregation, are eagerly awaiting what answer Mañgusvara shall give in explanation.

Whereupon Mañgusri, the prince royal, addressed Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, and the whole assembly of Bodhisattvas (in these words): It is the intention of the Tathāgata, young men of good family, to begin a grand discourse for the teaching of the law, to pour the great rain of the law, to make resound the great drum of the law, to raise the great

banner of the law, to kindle the great torch of the law, to blow the great conch trumpet of the law, and to strike the great tymbal of the law. Again, it is the intention of the Tathâgata, young men of good family, to make a grand exposition of the law this very day. Thus it appears to me, young men of good family, as I have witnessed a similar sign of the former Tathâgatas¹, the Arhats, the perfectly enlightened. Those former Tathâgatas, &c., they, too, emitted a lustrous ray, and I am convinced that the Tathâgata is about to deliver a grand discourse for the teaching of the law and make his grand speech on the law everywhere heard, he having shown such a fore-token. And because the Tathâgata, &c., wishes that this Dharmaparyâya meeting opposition in all the world² be heard everywhere, therefore does he display so great a miracle and this fore-token consisting in the lustre occasioned by the emission of a ray.

¹ Hence it follows that Mañgusrî is eternally young, like the rising sun, like Mithra, and like the Arhatâṃ deva, the latest, or youngest, of the Arhats or Ġinas.

² The rendering of vipratyanîka, var. lect. vipratyanîyaka, is doubtful. Burnouf, who translates it by 'avec laquelle (le monde entier) doit être en désaccord,' remarks in his comment (Lotus, p. 323) that the Tibetan version assigns to pratyānîyaka the meaning of 'accordance, concord.' It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such a word as pratyānîyaka exists at all, and if pratyānîka should really be used in the sense of 'concord,' notwithstanding its generally occurring in the sense of 'opposition,' we must suppose that from the notion of 'an opposite party' has developed that of a party, paksha, in general. On that assumption we can account for vipratyanîka being used in the sense of vipaksha, repugnant, contrary, belonging to a different party. As to vipratyanîyaka, also Lalita-vistara, p. 513, this may be a wrongly Sanskritised vipaḥ-kanîyaka, to which would answer a Sanskrit vipratyanîkaka.

I remember, young men of good family, that in the days of yore, many immeasurable, inconceivable, immense, infinite, countless Æons, more than countless Æons ago, nay, long and very long before, there was born a Tathâgata called *Kandrasûryapradîpa*¹, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct², a Sugata, knower of the world, an incomparable tamer of men, a teacher (and ruler) of gods and men, a Buddha and Lord. He showed the law; he revealed the duteous course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, good in substance and form, complete and perfect, correct and pure. That is to say, to the disciples he preached the law containing the four Noble Truths, and starting from the chain of causes and effects, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation, woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvâṇa; and to the Bodhisattvas he preached the law connected with the six Perfections³, and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment.

[Now, young men of good family, long before the time of that Tathâgata *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the Arhat, &c., there had appeared a Tathâgata, &c., likewise called *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, after whom, O Agita⁴, there were twenty thousand Tathâgatas,

¹ I. e. having the shine of moon and sun.

² Otherwise, with light and motion.

³ The six Pâramitâs, viz. of almsgiving, morality, patience, zeal or energy, meditation, and wisdom.

⁴ I. e. invincible, invictus. The palpable connection between Maitreya Agita and Mithras Invictus is no proof of the Buddhists having borrowed the figure from the Persians; the coincidence

&c., all of them bearing the name of *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, of the same lineage and family name, to wit, of *Bharadvâga*¹. All those twenty thousand *Tathâgatas*, O *Agita*, from the first to the last, showed the law, revealed the course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, &c. &c.²]

The aforesaid Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., when a young prince and not yet having left home (to embrace the ascetic life), had eight sons, viz. the young princes *Sumati*, *Anantamati*, *Ratnamati*, *Viśeshamati*, *Vimatisamudghâtin*, *Ghoshamati*, and *Dharmamati*. These eight young princes, *Agita*, sons to the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the *Tathâgata*, had an immense fortune³. Each of them was in possession of four great continents, where they exercised the kingly sway. When they saw that the Lord had left his home to become an ascetic, and heard that he had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, they forsook all of them the pleasures of royalty and followed the example of the Lord by resigning the world; all of them strove to

being perfectly explainable if we consider the narrow relationship of Indian and Iranian mythology. *Maitreya* is not strictly identical with *Mitra*, but a younger edition, so to speak, of him; he is the future saviour.

¹ It is clear that *Bharadvâga*, a well-known progenitor of one of the Brahmanic families, existed long before the creation, i.e. of the last creation of the world. There can be no question of his being a man, at least in the system of the Lotus.

² The words in brackets are wanting in one of the MSS.

³ *Riddhi* is the word used in the text. As an ecclesiastical term it denotes 'magic power,' but that artificial meaning does not suit here.

reach superior enlightenment and became preachers of the law. While constantly leading a holy life, those young princes planted roots of goodness under many thousands of Buddhas.

It was at that time, *Agita*, that the Lord *Kandra-sūryapradīpa*, the *Tathāgata*, &c., after expounding the *Dharmaparyāya* called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great extension, serving to instruct *Bodhi-sattvas* and proper to all Buddhas, at the same moment and instant, at the same gathering of the classes of hearers, sat cross-legged on the same seat of the law, and entered upon the meditation termed 'the Station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless, and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, *Mandāravas* and great *Mandāravas*, *Mañgūshakas* and great *Mañgūshakas*, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha-field shook in six ways; it moved, removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together at that congregation, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, gods, *Nāgas*, goblins, *Gandharvas*, demons, *Garuḍas*, *Kinnaras*, great serpents, men and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in ecstasy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord. It extended over eighteen hundred

thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance, just like the Buddha-fields do now, O Agita.

[At that juncture, Agita, there were twenty *koṭis* of Bodhisattvas following the Lord. All hearers of the law in that assembly, on seeing how the world was illuminated by the lustre of that ray, felt astonishment, amazement, ecstasy, and curiosity¹.]

Now it happened, Agita, that under the rule of the aforesaid Lord there was a Bodhisattva called Varaprabha, who had eight hundred pupils. It was to this Bodhisattva Varaprabha that the Lord, on rising from his meditation, revealed the Dharmaparyāya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.' He spoke during fully sixty intermediate kalpas, always sitting on the same seat, with immovable body and tranquil mind. And the whole assembly continued sitting on the same seats, listening to the preaching of the Lord for sixty intermediate kalpas, there being not a single creature in that assembly who felt fatigue of body or mind.

As the Lord *Kāndrasūryapradīpa*, the Tathāgata, &c., during sixty intermediate kalpas had been expounding the Dharmaparyāya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, he instantly announced his complete Nirvāṇa to the world, including the gods, Māras and Brahmas, to all creatures, including ascetics, Brahmans, gods, men and demons, saying: To-day, O monks, this very

¹ The passage in brackets is wanting in one of the MSS.

night, in the middle watch, will the Tathâgata, by entering the element of absolute Nirvâṇa, become wholly extinct.

Thereupon, Agita, the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the Tathâgata, &c., predestinated the Bodhisattva called *Srigarbha* to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and then spoke thus to the whole assembly: O monks, this Bodhisattva *Srigarbha* here shall immediately after me attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become *Vimalanetra*, the Tathâgata, &c.

Thereafter, Agita, that very night, at that very watch, the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the Tathâgata, &c., became extinct by entering the element of absolute Nirvâṇa. And the afore-mentioned *Dharmaparyâya*, termed 'the Lotus of the True Law,' was kept in memory by the Bodhisattva *Mahâsattva Varaprabha*; during eighty intermediate kalpas did the Bodhisattva *Varaprabha* keep and reveal the commandment of the Lord who had entered Nirvâṇa. Now it so happened, Agita, that the eight sons of the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, *Mati* and the rest, were pupils to that very Bodhisattva *Varaprabha*. They were by him made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, and in after times they saw and worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Buddhas, all of whom had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, the last of them being *Dîpaṅkara*, the Tathâgata, &c.

Amongst those eight pupils there was one Bodhisattva who attached an extreme value to gain, honour and praise, and was fond of glory, but all the words and letters one taught him faded (from his memory), did not stick. So he got the appella-

tion of Yasaskâma¹. He had propitiated many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas by that root of goodness, and afterwards esteemed, honoured, respected, revered, venerated, worshipped them. Perhaps, Agita, thou feelest some doubt, perplexity or misgiving that in those days, at that time, there was another Bodhisvattva Mahâsattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law. But do not think so. Why? because it is myself who in those days, at that time, was the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law; and that Bodhisattva named Yasaskâma, the lazy one, it is thyself, Agita, who in those days, at that time, wert the Bodhisattva named Yasaskâma, the lazy one.

And so, Agita, having once seen a similar foretoken of the Lord, I infer from a similar ray being emitted just now, that the Lord is about to expound the Dharmaparyâya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.'

And on that occasion, in order to treat the subject more copiously, Mañgusri, the prince royal, uttered the following stanzas :

57. I remember a past period, inconceivable, illimited kalpas ago, when the highest of beings, the Gîna of the name of Kândrasûryapradîpa, was in existence.

58. He preached the true law, he, the leader of creatures; he educated an infinite number of koṭis of beings, and roused inconceivably many Bodhisattvas to acquiring supreme Buddha-knowledge.

59. And the eight sons born to him, the leader, when he was prince royal, no sooner saw that the

¹ I. e. desirous of glory.

great sage had embraced ascetic life, than they resigned worldly pleasures and became monks.

60. And the Lord of the world proclaimed the law, and revealed to thousands of koṭis of living beings the Sūtra, the development, which by name is called 'the excellent Exposition of Infinity.'

61. Immediately after delivering his speech, the leader crossed his legs and entered upon the meditation of 'the excellent Exposition of the Infinite.' There on his seat of the law the eminent seer continued absorbed in meditation.

62. And there fell a celestial rain of Mandāravas, while the drums (of heaven) resounded without being struck; the gods and elves in the sky paid honour to the highest of men.

63. And simultaneously all the fields (of Buddha) began trembling. A wonder it was, a great prodigy. Then the chief emitted from between his brows one extremely beautiful ray,

64. Which moving to the eastern quarter glittered, illuminating the world all over the extent of eighteen thousand fields. It manifested the 'vanishing and appearing of beings.

65. Some of the fields then seemed jewelled, others showed the hue of lapis lazuli, all splendid, extremely beautiful, owing to the radiance of the ray from the leader.

66. Gods and men, as well as Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, nymphs, Kinnaras, and those occupied with serving the Sugata became visible in the spheres and paid their devotion.

67. The Buddhas also, those self-born beings, appeared of their own accord, resembling golden columns; like unto a golden disk (within lapis

lazuli), they revealed the law in the midst of the assembly.

68. The disciples, indeed, are not to be counted : the disciples of Sugata are numberless. Yet the lustre of the ray renders them all visible in every field.

69. Energetic, without breach or flaw in their course, similar to gems and jewels, the sons of the leaders of men are visible in the mountain caves where they are dwelling.

70. Numerous Bodhisattvas, like the sand of the Ganges, who are spending all their wealth in giving alms, who have the strength of patience, are devoted to contemplation and wise, become all of them visible by that ray.

71. Immovable, unshaken, firm in patience, devoted to contemplation, and absorbed in meditation are seen the true sons of the Sugatas while they are striving for supreme enlightenment by dint of meditation.

72. They preach the law in many spheres, and point to the true, quiet, spotless state they know. Such is the effect produced by the power of the Sugata.

73. And all the four classes of hearers on seeing the power of the mighty¹ *Kandrârka*-

¹ The text has *tâyin*, a word frequently occurring in the Lotus. I assume that the form *tâpin*, given in the dictionaries as an epithet of Buddha, is but a misread *tâyin*, and further that this is radically the same with the Pâli *tâdî* (*tâdin*). As *tâyana*, Pâṇini I, 3, 38, is explained to have the meaning of thriving, prospering, it may be supposed that *tâyin* on the strength of its derivation denotes thriving, prosperous, mighty, holy, as well as making prosperous, blessing, sanctifying. Burnouf derives it from a supposed Sanskrit *trâyin*, and translates it by 'protector.' It is, indeed, by no means unlikely

dīpa¹ were filled with joy and asked one another :
How is this ?

74. And soon afterwards, as the Leader of the world, worshipped by men, gods, and goblins, rose from his meditation, he addressed his son Varaprabha, the wise Bodhisattva and preacher of the law :

75. 'Thou art wise, the eye and refuge of the world ; thou art the trustworthy keeper of my law, and canst bear witness as to the treasure of laws which I am to lay bare to the weal of living beings.'

76. Then, after rousing and stimulating, praising and lauding many Bodhisattvas, did the Gina proclaim the supreme laws during fully sixty intermediate kalpas.

77. And whatever excellent supreme law was proclaimed by the Lord of the world while continuing sitting on the very same seat, was kept in memory by Varaprabha, the son of Gina, the preacher of the law.

78. And after the Gina and Leader had manifested the supreme law and stimulated the numerous crowd, he spoke, that day, towards the world including the gods (as follows) :

79. 'I have manifested the rule of the law ; I have shown the nature of the law ; now, O monks, it is the time of my Nirvâṇa ; this very night, in the middle watch.

80. 'Be zealous and strong in persuasion ; apply yourselves to my lessons ; (for) the Ginas, the great

that tâyin was used synonymously with nâtha or nâyaka, but it seems not necessary to derive it from trâyate.

¹ This name is synonymous with *Kandrasūryapradīpa* ; one of the MSS. has *Kandrapradīpa*.

seers, are but rarely met with in the lapse of myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*.'

81. The many sons of Buddha were struck with grief and filled with extreme sorrow when they heard the voice of the highest of men announcing that his *Nirvâṇa* was near at hand.

82. To comfort so inconceivably many *koṭis* of living beings the king of kings said: 'Be not afraid, O monks; after my *Nirvâṇa* there shall be another Buddha.

83. 'The wise Bodhisattva *Śrīgarbha*, after finishing his course in faultless knowledge, shall reach highest, supreme enlightenment, and become a *Gina* under the name of *Vimalâgranetra*.'

84. That very night, in the middle watch, he met complete extinction, like a lamp when the cause (of its burning) is exhausted. His relics were distributed, and of his *Stûpas* there was an infinite number of myriads of *koṭis*.

85. The monks and nuns at the time being, who strove after supreme, highest enlightenment, numerous as sand of the Ganges, applied themselves to the commandment of the *Sugata*.

86. And the monk who then was the preacher of the law and the keeper of the law, *Varaprabha*, expounded for fully eighty intermediate kalpas the highest laws according to the commandment (of the *Sugata*).

87. He had eight hundred pupils, who all of them were by him brought to full development. They saw many *koṭis* of Buddhas, great sages, whom they worshipped.

88. By following the regular course they became Buddhas in several spheres, and as they followed

one another in immediate succession they successively foretold each other's future destiny to Buddhahship.

89. The last of these Buddhas following one another was Dīpaṅkara. He, the supreme god of gods, honoured by crowds of sages, educated thousands of koṭis of living beings.

90. Among the pupils of Varaprabha, the son of Gina, at the time of his teaching the law, was one slothful, covetous, greedy of gain and cleverness.

91. He was also excessively desirous of glory, but very fickle, so that the lessons dictated to him and his own reading faded from his memory as soon as learnt.

92. His name was Yasaskāma, by which he was known everywhere. By the accumulated merit¹ of that good action, spotted as it was,

93. He propitiated thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, whom he rendered ample honour. He went through the regular course of duties and saw the present Buddha Śākyasiṃha.

94. He shall be the last to reach superior enlightenment and become a Lord known by the family name of Maitreya, who shall educate thousands of koṭis of creatures.

¹ The MSS. have *tenākusalena karmaṇā*, *tenokusalena karmaṇā*. As *teno* and *tenā* in the stanzas are occasionally used instead of *tena*, it is uncertain whether *tenāk.* is to be separated into *tena* and *akusala*. This much is clear, that the author of the foregoing prose text has taken the words as *tenā* (Vedic the same) or *teno*, and *kusala*. The good in *Yasaskāma* was his love of renown, of good fame. *Maitreya*, by his very nature, holds a middle position between black night and bright daylight; *Mithra* also is represented as a *μεσίτης*.

95. He who then, under the rule of the extinct Sugata, was so slothful, was thyself, and it was I who then was the preacher of the law.

96. As on seeing a foretoken of this kind I recognise a sign such as I have seen manifested of yore, therefore and on that account I know,

97. That decidedly the chief of Ginas, the supreme king of the Sâkyas, the All-seeing, who knows the highest truth, is about to pronounce the excellent Sûtra which I have heard before.

98. That very sign displayed at present is a proof of the skilfulness of the leaders; the Lion of the Sâkyas is to make an exhortation, to declare the fixed nature of the law.

99. Be well prepared and well minded; join your hands: he who is affectionate and merciful to the world is going to speak, is going to pour the endless rain of the law and refresh those that are waiting for enlightenment.

100. And if some should feel doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving in any respect, then the Wise One shall remove it for his children, the Bodhisattvas here striving after enlightenment.



CHAPTER II.

SKILFULNESS¹.

The Lord then rose with recollection and consciousness from his meditation, and forthwith addressed the venerable Sâriputra: The Buddha knowledge, Sâriputra, is profound, difficult to understand, difficult to comprehend. It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to fathom the knowledge arrived at by the Tathâgatas, &c., and that, Sâriputra, because the Tathâgatas have worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas; because they have fulfilled their course for supreme, complete enlightenment, during many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Æons; because they have wandered far, displaying energy and possessed of wonderful and marvellous properties; possessed of properties difficult to understand; because they have found out things difficult to understand.

The mystery² of the Tathâgatas, &c., is difficult to understand, Sâriputra, because when they explain the laws (or phenomena, things) that have their

¹ Or, able management, diplomacy, upâyakausalaya. Upâya means an expedient, but with the Prâgñikas it denotes the energy of Pragñâ, the latter being Nature, otherwise called Mâyâ; see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepâl and Tibet*, p. 104; cf. pp. 72, 78, 89. From the atheistic point of view the possessor of upâyakausalaya can hardly be anything else but all-ruling Time; regarded from the theistic view he must be the Almighty Spirit.

² Sandhâ-bhâshya; on this term more in the sequel.

causes in themselves they do so by means of skilfulness, by the display of knowledge, by arguments, reasons, fundamental ideas, interpretations, and suggestions. By a variety of skilfulness they are able to release creatures that are attached to one point or another. The Tathâgatas, &c., Sâriputra, have acquired the highest perfection in skilfulness and the display of knowledge; they are endowed with wonderful properties, such as the display of free and unchecked knowledge; the powers¹; the absence of hesitation; (the independent conditions²); the strength of the organs; the constituents of Bodhi³; the contemplations; emancipations⁴; meditations; the degrees of concentration of mind. The Tathâgatas, &c., Sâriputra, are able to expound various things and have something wonderful and marvellous. Enough, Sâriputra, let it suffice to say, that the Tathâgatas, &c., have something extremely

¹ Here will be meant the ten powers, whence the epithet of *Dasa-bala* applied to a Buddha; they are enumerated in S. Hardy's *Manual*, p. 379. Other enumerations count four, five, or seven powers.

² Or rather, the uncommon, not vulgar properties which distinguish the saints from the vulgar; these *âvenikadharmas*, also called *buddhadharmas*, are eighteen in number; S. Hardy's *Manual*, p. 381.

³ The seven *Bodhyaṅgas*, viz. recollection, investigation, energy, joyfulness, calm, contemplation, and equanimity.

⁴ *Vimoksha*, *vimukti*, for which see Burnouf's Appendix to the *Lotus*, p. 824 sqq. According to the view there expressed the eight *Vimokshas* are as many states of intellect which the thinking sage is going through in his effort to emancipate himself from the versatile world; cf. *Lotus*, p. 543. There is also a threefold *Vimoksha*, mentioned by Childers, *Pāli Dict.*, p. 270; it may be compared with the threefold *kitta-vimukti* in the *Yoga* system; see *Comm. on Yogasāstra*, 2, 27.

wonderful, Sâriputra. None but a Tathâgata, Sâriputra, can impart to a Tathâgata those laws which the Tathâgata knows. And all laws, Sâriputra, are taught by the Tathâgata, and by him alone ; no one but he knows all laws, what they are, how they are, like what they are, of what characteristics and of what nature they are.

And on that occasion, to set forth the same subject more copiously, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. Innumerable are the great heroes in the world that embraces gods and men ; the totality of creatures is unable to completely know the leaders.

2. None can know their powers and states of emancipation, their absence of hesitation and Buddha properties, such as they are.

3. Of yore have I followed in presence of kotis of Buddhas the good course which is profound, subtle, difficult to understand, and most difficult to find.

4. After pursuing that career during an inconceivable number of kotis of Æons, I have on the terrace of enlightenment discovered the fruit thereof.

5. And therefore I recognise, like the other chiefs of the world, how it is, like what it is, and what are its characteristics.

6. It is impossible to explain it ; it is unutterable ; nor is there such a being in the world

7. To whom this law could be explained or who would be able to understand it when explained, with exception of the Bodhisattvas, those who are firm in resolve.

8. As to the disciples of the Knower of the world, those who have done their duty and received praise

from the Sugatas, who are freed from faults and have arrived at the last stage of bodily existence, the *Gina*-knowledge lies beyond their sphere.

9. If this whole sphere were full of beings like *Sârisuta*, and if they were to investigate with combined efforts, they would be unable to comprehend the knowledge of the Sugata.

10. Even if the ten points of space were full of sages like thee, ay, if they were full of such as the rest of my disciples,

11. And if those beings combined were to investigate the knowledge of the Sugata, they would, all together, not be able to comprehend the Buddha-knowledge in its whole immensity.

12. If the ten points of space were filled with *Pratyekabuddhas*, free from faults, gifted with acute faculties, and standing in the last stage of their existence, as numerous as reeds and bamboos in the woods;

13. And if combined for an endless number of myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*, they were to investigate a part only of my superior laws, they would never find out its real meaning.

14. If the ten points of space were full of *Bodhi-sattvas* who, after having done their duty under many *koṭis* of *Buddhas*, investigated all things and preached many sermons, after entering a new vehicle¹;

15. If the whole world were full of them, as of dense reeds and bamboos, without any interstices, and if all combined were to investigate the law which the Sugata has realised;

¹ Or rather, a new career.

16. If they were going on investigating for many kotis of Æons, as incalculable as the sand of the Ganges, with undivided attention and subtle wit, even then that (knowledge) would be beyond their ken.

17. If such Bodhisattvas as are unable to fall back, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, were to investigate it with undivided attention, it would prove to lie beyond their ken.

18. Profound are the laws of the Buddhas, and subtle; all inscrutable and faultless. I myself know them as well as the Ginas do in the ten directions of the world.

19. Thou, Sâriputra, be full of trust in what the Sugata declares. The Gina speaks no falsehood, the great Seer who has so long preached the highest truth.

20. I address all disciples here, those who have set out to reach the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, those who are roused to activity at my Nirvâna¹, and those who have been released from the series of evils.

21. It is by my superior skilfulness that I explain the law at great length to the world at large. I deliver whosoever are attached to one point or another, and show the three vehicles².

The eminent disciples in the assembly headed by Âgñâta-Kaundinya, the twelve hundred Arhats faultless and self-controlled, the other monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees using the vehicle of disciples, and those who had entered the vehicle of Pratyeka-

¹ Or, who by me are established in Nirvâna.

² The word yâna in the text also means 'a career, course.'

buddhas, all of them made this reflection: What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord so extremely extolling the skilfulness of the Tathâgatas? of his extolling it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered;' of his extolling it by saying, 'It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to understand it.' But as yet the Lord has declared no more than one kind of emancipation, and therefore we also should acquire the Buddha-laws on reaching Nirvâna. We do not catch the meaning of this utterance of the Lord.

And the venerable Sâriputra, who apprehended the doubt and uncertainty of the four classes of the audience and guessed their thoughts from what was passing in his own mind, himself being in doubt about the law, then said to the Lord: What, O Lord, is the cause, what the reason of the Lord so repeatedly and extremely extolling the skilfulness, knowledge, and preaching of the Tathâgata? Why does he repeatedly extol it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered; it is difficult to understand the mystery of the Tathâgatas.' Never before have I heard from the Lord such a discourse on the law. These four classes of the audience, O Lord, are overcome with doubt and perplexity. Therefore may the Lord be pleased to explain what the Tathâgata is alluding to, when repeatedly extolling the profound law of the Tathâgatas.

On that occasion the venerable Sâriputra uttered the following stanzas:

22. Now first does the Sun of men utter such a speech: 'I have acquired the powers, emancipations, and numberless meditations.'

23. And thou mentionest the terrace of enlighten-

ment without any one asking thee ; thou mentionest the mystery, although no one asks thee.

24. Thou speakest unasked and laudest thine own course ; thou mentionest thy having obtained knowledge and pronouncest profound words.

25. To-day a question rises in my mind and of these self-controlled, faultless beings striving after Nirvâṇa : Why does the *Gina* speak in this manner?

26. Those who aspire to the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, the nuns and monks, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, and great serpents, are talking together, while looking up to the highest of men,

27. And ponder in perplexity. Give an elucidation, great Sage, to all the disciples of Sugata here assembled.

28. Myself have reached the perfection (of virtue), have been taught by the supreme Sage ; still, O highest of men ! even in my position I feel some doubt whether the course (of duty) shown to me shall receive its final sanction by Nirvâṇa.

29. Let thy voice be heard, O thou whose voice resounds like an egregious kettle-drum ! proclaim thy law such as it is. The legitimate sons of *Gina* here standing and gazing at the *Gina*, with joined hands ;

30. As well as the gods, Nâgas, goblins, Titans, numbering thousands of *koṭis*, like sand of the Ganges ; and those that aspire to superior enlightenment, here standing, fully eighty thousand in number ;

31. Further, the kings, rulers of provinces and paramount monarchs, who have flocked hither from thousands of *koṭis* of countries, are now standing with joined hands, and respectful, thinking : How are we to fulfil the course of duty ?

The venerable Sâriputra having spoken, the Lord said to him: Enough, Sâriputra; it is of no use explaining this matter. Why? Because, Sâriputra, the world, including the gods, would be frightened if this matter were expounded.

But the venerable Sâriputra entreated the Lord a second time, saying: Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter, for in this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of living beings who have seen former Buddhas, who are intelligent, and will believe, value, and accept the words of the Lord.

The venerable Sâriputra addressed the Lord with this stanza:

32. Speak clearly, O most eminent of Ginas! in this assembly there are thousands of living beings trustful, affectionate, and respectful towards the Sugata; they will understand the law by thee expounded.

And the Lord said a second time to the venerable Sâriputra: Enough, Sâriputra; it is of no use explaining this matter, for the world, including the gods, would be frightened, Sâriputra, if this matter were expounded, and some monks might be proud and come to a heavy fall¹.

And on that occasion uttered the Lord the following stanza:

33. Speak no more of it that I should declare this law! This knowledge is too subtle, inscrutable, and there are so many unwise men who in their conceit and foolishness would scoff at the law revealed.

¹ Or, commit a great offence.

A third time the venerable Sâriputra entreated the Lord, saying : Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter. In this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds of living beings my equals, and many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of other living beings more, who in former births have been brought by the Lord to full ripeness. They will believe, value, and accept what the Lord declares, which shall tend to their advantage, weal, and happiness in length of time.

On that occasion the venerable Sâriputra uttered the following stanzas :

34. Explain the law, O thou most high of men ! I, thine eldest son, beseech thee. Here are thousands of koṭis of beings who are to believe in the law by thee revealed.

35. And those beings that in former births so long and constantly have by thee been brought to full maturity and now are all standing here with joined hands, they, too, are to believe in this law.

36. Let the Sugata, seeing the twelve hundred, my equals, and those who are striving after superior enlightenment, speak to them and produce in them an extreme joy.

When the Lord for the third time heard the entreaty of the venerable Sâriputra, he spoke to him as follows : Now that thou entreatest the Tathâgata a third time, Sâriputra, I will answer thee. Listen then, Sâriputra, take well and duly to heart what I am saying ; I am going to speak.

Now it happened that five thousand proud monks, nuns, and lay devotees of both sexes in the congregation rose from their seats and, after saluting with

their heads the Lord's feet, went to leave the assembly. Owing to the principle of good which there is in pride they imagined having attained what they had not, and having understood what they had not. Therefore, thinking themselves aggrieved, they went to leave the assembly, to which the Lord by his silence showed assent.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Sâriputra : My congregation, Sâriputra, has been cleared from the chaff¹, freed from the trash ; it is firmly established in the strength of faith. It is good, Sâriputra, that those proud ones are gone away. Now I am going to expound the matter, Sâriputra. 'Very well, Lord,' replied the venerable Sâriputra. The Lord then began and said :

It is but now and then, Sâriputra, that the Tathâgata preaches such a discourse on the law as this. Just as but now and then is seen the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree, Sâriputra, so does the Tathâgata but now and then preach such a discourse on the law. Believe me, Sâriputra ; I speak what is real, I speak what is truthful, I speak what is right. It is difficult to understand the exposition of the mystery of the Tathâgata, Sâriputra ; for in elucidating the law, Sâriputra, I use hundred thousands of various skilful means, such as different interpretations, indications, explanations, illustrations. It is not by reasoning, Sâriputra, that the law is to be found : it is beyond the pale of reasoning, and must be

¹ One of the MSS. has nishpralâva, which ought to be nishpalâva ; another has nishpudgalâva. Both imaginary words are no doubt the result of an unhappy attempt to Sanskritise a Prâkrit nippalâva by scribes unacquainted with the Sanskrit palâva (Pâli palâpa). The right form occurs below, stanza 40.

learnt from the Tathâgata. For, Sâriputra, it is for a sole object, a sole aim, verily a lofty object, a lofty aim that the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appears in the world. And what is that sole object, that sole aim, that lofty object, that lofty aim of the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appearing in the world? To show all creatures the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge¹ does the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appear in the world; to open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge does the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appear in the world. This, O Sâriputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the sole purpose of his appearance in the world. Such then, Sâriputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the lofty object, the lofty aim of the Tathâgata. And it is achieved by the Tathâgata. For, Sâriputra, I do show all creatures the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge; I do open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge, Sâriputra; I do firmly establish the teaching of Tathâgata-knowledge, Sâriputra; I do lead the teaching of Tathâgata-knowledge on the right path, Sâriputra. By means of one sole vehicle², to wit, the Buddha-vehicle, Sâriputra, do I teach creatures the law; there is no second vehicle, nor a third. This is the nature of the law, Sâriputra, universally in the world, in all directions. For, Sâriputra, all the Tathâgatas, &c., who in times past existed in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures,

¹ Or, to rouse all creatures by the display of Tathâgata-knowledge.

² Rather and properly, one sole course.

and who preached the law to gods and men with able means, such as several directions and indications, various arguments, reasons, illustrations, fundamental ideas, interpretations, paying regard to the dispositions of creatures whose inclinations and temperaments are so manifold, all those Buddhas and Lords, Sâriputra, have preached the law to creatures by means of only one vehicle, the Buddha-vehicle, which finally leads to omniscience; it is identical with showing all creatures the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge; with opening the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge; with the awakening (or admonishing) by the display (or sight) of Tathâgata-knowledge¹; with leading the teaching of Tathâgata-knowledge on the right path. Such is the law they have preached to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who have heard the law from the past Tathâgatas, &c., have all of them reached supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathâgatas, &c., who shall exist in future, Sâriputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures, and who shall preach the law to gods and men (&c., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they shall preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who shall hear the law from the future Tathâgatas, &c., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathâgatas, &c., who now at present are

¹ One MS. has Tathâgatagñânadesanapratibodhana; the other °darsana° instead of °desana°.

staying, living, existing, Sâriputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions, &c., and who are preaching the law to gods and men (&c., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they are preaching to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who are hearing the law from the present Tathâgatas, &c., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

I myself also, Sâriputra, am at the present period a Tathâgata, &c., for the weal of many (&c., till) manifold; I myself also, Sâriputra, am preaching the law to creatures (&c., till) the right path. Such is the law I preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who now are hearing the law from me, shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment. In this sense, Sâriputra, it must be understood that nowhere in the world a second vehicle is taught, far less a third.

Yet, Sâriputra, when the Tathâgatas, &c., happen to appear at the decay¹ of the epoch, the decay of creatures, the decay of besetting sins², the decay of views, or the decay of lifetime; when they appear amid such signs of decay at the disturbance of the epoch; when creatures are much tainted, full of greed and poor in roots of goodness; then, Sâriputra, the Tathâgatas, &c., use, skilfully, to designate that one and sole Buddha-vehicle by the appellation of the threefold vehicle. Now, Sâriputra, such disciples, Arhats, or Pratyekabuddhas

¹ One MS. has °kashâyesu in the plural, literally 'the dregs.'

² Klesakashâya, which Burnouf renders by 'la corruption du mal.' I think we might paraphrase the term used in the text by saying, the time when the besetting sins or natural depravities show themselves at their very worst.

who do not hear their actually being called to the Buddha-vehicle by the Tathâgata, who do not perceive, nor heed it, those, Sâriputra, should not be acknowledged as disciples of the Tathâgata, nor as Arhats, nor as Pratyekabuddhas.

Again, Sâriputra, if there be some monk or nun pretending to Arhatship without an earnest vow to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment and saying, 'I am standing too high¹ for the Buddha-vehicle, I am in my last appearance in the body before complete Nirvâna,' then, Sâriputra, consider such a one to be conceited. For, Sâriputra, it is unfit, it is improper that a monk, a faultless Arhat, should not believe in the law which he hears from the Tathâgata in his presence. I leave out of question when the Tathâgata shall have reached complete Nirvâna; for at that period, that time, Sâriputra, when the Tathâgata shall be wholly extinct, there shall be none who either knows by heart or preaches such Sûtras as this. It will be under other Tathâgatas, &c., that they are to be freed from doubts. In respect to these things believe my words, Sâriputra, value them, take them to heart; for there is no falsehood in the Tathâgatas, Sâriputra. There is but one vehicle, Sâriputra, and that the Buddha-vehicle.

And on that occasion to set forth this matter more copiously the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

¹ According to the reading *utsanna*; another MS. has *uḷḷhina*, the reading followed by Burnouf, for he renders it by 'exclu.' The form *uḷḷhina* could the more easily creep in, because instead of *utsanna* we often find *uḷḷhanna*, which, in fact, I believe to be the true form, for the word may be derived from *śad*, akin to Latin *cedo*, Greek *κέκασμαι*; the usual spelling, however, is *utsanna*.

37. No less than five thousand monks, nuns, and lay devotees of both sexes, full of unbelief and conceit,

38. Remarking this slight, went, defective in training and foolish as they were, away in order to beware of damage.

39. The Lord, who knew them to be the dregs of the congregation, exclaimed¹: They have no sufficient merit to hear this law.

40. My congregation is now pure², freed from chaff; the trash is removed and the pith only remains.

41. Hear from me, Sâriputra, how this law has been discovered by the highest man³, and how the mighty Buddhas are preaching it with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.

42. I know the disposition and conduct, the various inclinations of *koṭis* of living beings in this world; I know their various actions and the good they have done before.

43. Those living beings I initiate in this (law) by the aid of manifold interpretations and reasons; and by hundreds of arguments and illustrations have I, in one way or another, gladdened all creatures.

44. I utter both Sûtras and stanzas; legends,

¹ The two preceding stanzas and the half of this stanza make no part of the Lord's speech. It appears that the maker of the prose text has worked upon the older text in poetry, and on this occasion has been at a loss how to connect the latter with the former. The matter is easily explained on the assumption that the verses contained the ancient text, and therefore were treated with the greatest scruples.

² *Suddhâ*; Burnouf rendering 'ayant de la foi' has followed another reading, *sraddhâ*.

³ The term used is *Purushottama*, a well-known epithet of *Vishnu*.

*Gâtakas*¹, and prodigies, besides hundreds of introductions and curious parables.

45. I show *Nirvâna* to the ignorant with low dispositions, who have followed no course of duty under many *koṭis* of Buddhas, are bound to continued existence and wretched.

46. The self-born one uses such means to manifest Buddha-knowledge, but he shall never say to them, Ye also are to become Buddhas².

47. Why should not the mighty³ one, after having waited for the right time, speak, now that he perceives the right moment is come? This is the fit opportunity, met somehow, of commencing the exposition of what really is.

48. Now the word of my commandment, as contained in nine divisions⁴, has been published according to the varying degree of strength of creatures. Such is the device I have shown in order to introduce (creatures) to the knowledge of the giver of boons.

49. And to those in the world who have always been pure, wise, good-minded, compassionate sons

¹ Moralising tales and fables, so-called birth stories. Of the Pâli version of those tales a part has been edited by Professor Fausböll and translated by Dr. Rhys Davids.

² The reading is uncertain; one MS. has *yushme pi buddheka* (!) *bhavishyatheti*; another *yushmaipi buddhehi bhavishati* (!).

³ *Tâyin*; here one might translate the word by 'able, clever.'

⁴ The nine divisions, according to the matter, of Scripture, are with the Southern Buddhists, *Sutta*, *Geya*, *Veyyākaraṇa*, *Gāthā*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Gātaka*, *Abbhutadhamma*, and *Vedalla*, to which answer in the Northern enumeration *Sūtra*, *Geya*, *Vaiyākaraṇa*, *Gāthā*, *Udāna*, *Itiyukta* (or *Itivṛttika*), *Gātaka*, *Abbhutadharma*, and *Vaipulya*; see Burnouf, Introduction, p. 51 sqq.

of Buddha and done their duty under many kotis of Buddhas will I make known amplified Sûtras.

50. For they are endowed with such gifts of mental disposition and such advantages of a blameless outward form¹ that I can announce to them : in future ye shall become Buddhas benevolent and compassionate.

51. Hearing which, all of them will be pervaded with delight (at the thought) : We shall become Buddhas pre-eminent in the world. And I, perceiving their conduct, will again reveal amplified Sûtras.

52. And those are the disciples of the Leader, who have listened to my word of command. One single stanza learnt or kept in memory suffices, no doubt of it, to lead all of them to enlightenment.

53. There is, indeed, but one vehicle ; there is no second, nor a third anywhere in the world, apart from the case of the Purushottamas using an expedient to show that there is a diversity of vehicles.

54. The Chief of the world appears in the world to reveal the Buddha-knowledge. He has but one aim, indeed, no second ; the Buddhas do not bring over (creatures) by an inferior vehicle.

55. There where the self-born one has established himself, and where the object of knowledge is, of whatever form or kind ; (where) the powers, the stages of meditation, the emancipations, the perfected faculties (are) ; there the beings also shall be established.

56. I should be guilty of envy, should I, after

¹ The text has : tathâhi te âsayasampadâhi visuddharûpâ-yasamanvitâ 'bhût. This abhût is rather an unhappy attempt at Sanskritising a Prâkrit ahum or ahû, than a singular used for a plural. Sampad and âya are nearly synonymous terms.

reaching the spotless eminent state of enlightenment, establish any one in the inferior vehicle. That would not beseem me.

57. There is no envy whatever in me; no jealousy, no desire, nor passion. Therefore I am the Buddha, because the world follows my teaching¹.

58. When, splendidly marked with (the thirty-two) characteristics, I am illuminating this whole world, and, worshipped by many hundreds of beings, I show the (unmistakable) stamp of the nature of the law;

59. Then, Sâriputra, I think thus: How will all beings by the thirty-two characteristics mark the self-born Seer, who of his own accord sheds his lustre all over the world?

60. And while I am thinking and pondering, when my wish has been fulfilled and my vow accomplished, I no more² reveal Buddha-knowledge.

61. If, O son of Sâri³, I spoke to the creatures, 'Vivify in your minds the wish for enlightenment,' they would in their ignorance all go astray and never catch the meaning of my good words.

62. And considering them to be such, and that they have not accomplished their course of duty in previous existences, (I see how) they are attached and devoted to sensual pleasures, infatuated by desire and blind with delusion.

¹ Anubodhât, which may be rendered otherwise, '(because the world) perceives me.'

² One MS. reads *ka*, 'and,' for *na*, 'not.'

³ Sârisuta, otherwise Sâriputra. Sârikâ or sârikâ is the *Turdus Salica*, one of whose other names is *dûtî*, masc. *dûta*. It is hardly a mere play of chance that Sâriputra in *Kullavagga* VII, 4 is praised as being an excellent *dûta*.

63. From lust they run into distress ; they are tormented in the six states of existence and people the cemetery¹ again and again ; they are overwhelmed with misfortune, as they possess little virtue.

64. They are continually entangled in the thickets of (sectarian) theories, such as, 'It is and it is not ; it is thus and it is not thus.' In trying to get a decided opinion on what is found in the sixty-two (heretical) theories they come to embrace falsehood and continue in it.

65. They are hard to correct, proud, hypocritical, crooked, malignant, ignorant, dull ; hence they do not hear the good Buddha-call, not once in kotis of births.

66. To those, son of Sâri, I show a device and say : Put an end to your trouble. When I perceive creatures vexed with mishap I make them see Nirvâṇa.

67. And so do I reveal all those laws that are ever holy and correct from the very first. And the son of Buddha who has completed his course shall once be a Gīna.

68. It is but my skilfulness which prompts me to manifest three vehicles ; for there is but one vehicle and one track² ; there is also but one instruction by the leaders.

69. Remove all doubt and uncertainty ; and should

¹ Ka/âmsi vardhenti. This is a strangely altered ka/asīm vardhenti, Pāli ka/asim vaddhenti ; see *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 3, and cf. the expression ka/asivaddhano in *Gāṭaka* (ed. Fausböll) I, p. 146, and the passage of *Āpastamba* II, 9, 23, 4 (in Bühler's transl. p. 156), where cemeteries, Smaśānāni, by the commentator Haradatta, are said to denote 'fresh births.'

² Or, method.

there be any who feel doubts, (let them know that) the Lords of the world speak the truth ; this is the only vehicle, a second there is not.

70. The former Tathâgatas also, living in the past for innumerable Æons, the many thousands of Buddhas who are gone to final rest, whose number can never be counted,

71. Those highest of men¹ have all of them revealed most holy laws by means of illustrations, reasons, and arguments, with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.

72. And all of them have manifested but one vehicle and introduced but one on earth ; by one vehicle have they led to full ripeness inconceivably many thousands of kotis of beings.

73. Yet the Ginas possess various and manifold means through which the Tathâgata reveals to the world, including the gods, superior enlightenment, in consideration of the inclinations and dispositions (of the different beings).

74. And all in the world who are hearing or have heard the law from the mouth of the Tathâgatas, given alms, followed the moral precepts, and patiently accomplished the whole of their religious duties ;

75. Who have acquitted themselves in point of zeal and meditation, with wisdom reflected on those laws, and performed several meritorious actions, have all of them reached enlightenment.

76. And such beings as were living patient, subdued, and disciplined, under the rule of the Ginas of those times, have all of them reached enlightenment.

¹ Purushottamâh.

77. Others also, who paid worship to the relics of the departed Ginas, erected many thousands of Stûpas made of gems, gold, silver, or crystal,

78. Or built Stûpas of emerald, cat's eye¹, pearls, egregious lapis lazuli, or sapphire; they have all of them reached enlightenment.

79. And those who erected Stûpas from marble, sandal-wood, or eagle-wood; constructed Stûpas from Deodar or a combination of different sorts of timber;

80. And who in gladness of heart built for the Ginas Stûpas of bricks or clay; or caused mounds of earth to be raised in forests and wildernesses in dedication to the Ginas;

81. The little boys even, who in playing erected here and there heaps of sand with the intention of dedicating them as Stûpas to the Ginas, they have all of them reached enlightenment.

82. Likewise have all who caused jewel images to be made and dedicated, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, reached enlightenment.

83. Others who had images of Sugatas made of the seven precious substances, of copper or brass, have all of them reached enlightenment.

84. Those who ordered beautiful statues of Sugatas to be made of lead, iron, clay, or plaster have &c.

85. Those who made images (of the Sugatas) on painted walls, with complete limbs and the hundred holy signs, whether they drew them themselves or had them drawn by others, have &c.

¹ Karketana, a certain precious stone, which, according to the dictionaries, is a kind of cat's eye. It rather looks as if it were the Greek χαλκηδόμιος.

86. Those even, whether men or boys, who during the lesson or in play, by way of amusement, made upon the walls (such) images with the nail or a piece of wood,

87. Have all of them reached enlightenment; they have become compassionate, and, by rousing many Bodhisattvas, have saved *koṭis* of creatures.

88. Those who offered flowers and perfumes to the relics of the Tathâgatas, to Stûpas, a mound of earth, images of clay or drawn on a wall;

89. Who caused musical instruments, drums, conch trumpets, and noisy great drums to be played, and raised the rattle of tymbals at such places in order to celebrate the highest enlightenment;

90. Who caused sweet lutes, cymbals, tabors, small drums, reed-pipes, flutes of —¹ or sugar-cane to be made, have all of them reached enlightenment.

91. Those who to celebrate the Sugatas made iron cymbals resound, — (?) or small drums²; who sang a song sweet and lovely;

92. They have all of them reached enlightenment. By paying various kinds of worship to the relics of the Sugatas, by doing but a little for the relics, by making resound were it but a single musical instrument;

93. Or by worshipping were it but with a single

¹ The MSS. have *ekonnada*, which I do not understand; Burnouf, it would seem, has read *ekotsava*, for his translation has 'ceux qui ne servent que pour une fête.'

² Two words are doubtful; one MS. has *galamamdukâ vâ* — *mamdukâ vâ*; another *gâlamaddrakâ vâ* — *maddrakâ vâ*. It is not impossible that *maddraka* is essentially the same with Sanskrit *mandra*, which is said to be a kind of drum. Burnouf renders the words by 'qui ont battu l'eau, frappé dans leurs mains.'

flower, by drawing on a wall the images of the Sugatas, by doing worship were it even with distracted thoughts, one shall in course of time see koṭis of Buddhas.

94. Those who, when in presence of a Stûpa, have offered their reverential salutation, be it in a complete form or by merely joining the hands; who, were it but for a single moment, bent their head or body;

95. And who at Stûpas containing relics have one single time said: Homage be to Buddha! albeit they did it with distracted thoughts, all have attained superior enlightenment.

96. The creatures who in the days of those Sugatas, whether already extinct¹ or still in existence, have heard no more than the name of the law, have all of them reached enlightenment.

97. Many koṭis of future Buddhas beyond imagination and measure shall likewise reveal this device as Ginas and supreme Lords.

→ 98. Endless shall be the skilfulness of these leaders of the world, by which they shall educate² koṭis of beings to that Buddha-knowledge which is free from imperfection³.

¹ Or, expired, and more grandly entered Nirvâna. The real meaning of the contents of stanza 74 seq. will be that all men who lived under past Sugatas, i.e. in past days, after doing acts of piety, have finished with reaching enlightenment, i.e. with dying.

² Vinayati, to train, educate, also means to carry away, remove.

³ I.e. death. Such terms as perfect enlightenment, Buddha-knowledge, &c., when they are veiled or euphemistic expressions for death, may be compared with the phrase 'to see the truth,' which in some parts of Europe is quite common, especially among

99. Never has there been any being who, after hearing the law of those (leaders), shall not become Buddha¹; for this is the fixed vow of the Tathâ-gatas: Let me, by accomplishing my course of duty, lead others to enlightenment.

100. They are to expound in future days many thousand koṭis of heads of the law; in their Tathâ-gataship they shall teach the law by showing the sole vehicle before-mentioned.

101. The line of the law forms an unbroken continuity and the nature of its properties is always manifest. Knowing this, the Buddhas, the highest of men, shall reveal this single vehicle².

102. They shall reveal the stability of the law, its being subjected to fixed rules, its unshakeable perpetuity in the world, the awaking of the Buddhas on the elevated terrace of the earth, their skilfulness.

103. In all directions of space are standing Buddhas, like sand of the Ganges, honoured by gods and men; these also do, for the weal of all beings in the world, expound superior enlightenment.

104. Those Buddhas while manifesting skilfulness display various vehicles though, at the same time, indicating the one single vehicle³: the supreme place of blessed rest.

country people, as synonymous with dying. No less common is the expression *nirvâṇam paryati*, to see *Nirvâṇa*.

¹ The text has *eko 'pi satvo na kadâki teshâm*, *Srutvâna dhamam na bhaveta buddhaḥ*. *Srutvâna* answers, of course, to a *Prâkrit* *sutvâna*; cf. *Vedic pîtvânam*, *Pânini VII, 1, 48*.

² *Viditva Buddhâ dvipadânam uttamâ, prakâśayishyanti 'mam ekayânam*. The elision of *i* is an example of *Prâkrit* or *Pâli* *Sandhi*, frequent in the stanzas.

³ *Yâna* here properly denotes way, or place where one is going to.

105. Acquainted as they are with the conduct of all mortals, with their peculiar dispositions and previous actions; with due regard to their strenuousness and vigour, as well as their inclination, the Buddhas impart their lights to them.

106. By dint of knowledge the leaders produce many illustrations, arguments, and reasons; and considering how the creatures have various inclinations they impart various directions.

107. And myself also, the leader of the chief *Ginas*, am now manifesting, for the weal of creatures now living, this Buddha enlightenment by thousands of *koṭis* of various directions.

108. I reveal the law in its multifariousness with regard to the inclinations and dispositions of creatures. I use different means to rouse each according to his own character. Such is the might of my knowledge.

109. I likewise see the poor wretches, deficient in wisdom and conduct, lapsed into the mundane whirl, retained in dismal places, plunged in affliction incessantly renewed.

110. Fettered as they are by desire like the yak by its tail, continually blinded by sensual pleasure, they do not seek the Buddha, the mighty one; they do not seek the law that leads to the end of pain.

111. Staying in the six states of existence, they are benumbed in their senses, stick unmoved to the low views, and suffer pain on pain. For those I feel a great compassion.

112. On the terrace of enlightenment I have remained three weeks in full, searching and pondering on such a matter, steadily looking up to the tree there (standing).

113. Keeping in view that king of trees with an

unwavering gaze I walked round at its foot¹ (thinking): This law is wonderful and lofty, whereas creatures are blind with dulness and ignorance.

114. Then it was that Brahma entreated me, and so did Indra, the four rulers of the cardinal points, Mahesvara, Îsvara, and the hosts of Maruts by thousands of koṭis².

115. All stood with joined hands and respectful, while myself was revolving the matter in my mind (and thought): What shall I do? At the very time that I am uttering syllables³, beings are oppressed with evils.

116. In their ignorance they will not heed the law I announce, and in consequence of it they will incur some penalty. It would be better were I never to speak. May my quiet extinction take place this very day!

117. But on remembering the former Buddhas and their skilfulness, (I thought): Nay, I also will manifest this tripartite Buddha-enlightenment.

118. When I was thus meditating on the law, the other Buddhas in all the directions of space appeared to me in their own body and raised their voice, crying 'Amen.

119. 'Amen, Solitary, first Leader of the world! now that thou hast come to unsurpassed knowledge,

¹ Tasyaiva hesh/ke, i. e. Prâkrit he//ke, Sanskrit adhastât.

² The story slightly differs from what is found in the Mahâvagga, Lalita-vistara, and other works, in so far as the number of weeks is generally reckoned as seven. There are, however, other discrepancies between the relations in the various sources, for which I must refer to Mahâvagga I, 5; Lalita-vistara, p. 511; cf. Bigandet, Legend, p. 112.

³ The text has varṇân, i. e. colours, letters.

and art meditating on the skilfulness of the leaders of the world, thou repeatest their teaching.

120. 'We also, being Buddhas, will make clear the highest word¹, divided into three parts; for men (occasionally) have low inclinations, and might perchance from ignorance not believe (us, when we say), Ye shall become Buddhas.

121. 'Hence we will rouse many Bodhisattvas by the display of skilfulness and the encouraging of the wish of obtaining fruits.'

122. And I was delighted to hear the sweet voice of the leaders of men; in the exultation of my heart I said to the blessed saints, 'The words of the eminent sages are not spoken in vain.

123. 'I, too, will act according to the indications of the wise leaders of the world; having myself been born in the midst of the degradation of creatures, I have known agitation in this dreadful world.'

124. When I had come to that conviction, O son of Sâri, I instantly went to Benares, where I skilfully preached the law to the five Solitaries², that law which is the base of final beatitude.

125. From that moment the wheel of my law has been moving³, and the name of Nirvâṇa made its appearance in the world, as well as the name of Arhat, of Dharma, and Saṅgha.

126. Many years have I preached and pointed to the

¹ Properly, the most lofty place; the word *pada* in the text means place, spot, word, subject, &c.

² *Āgñāta-Kaundīnya* and the four others mentioned in the opening chapter.

³ In chap. VII we shall see that the wheel was put in motion at an inconceivably long period before, by the Tathâgata Mahâ-bhigñâgñânâbhibhû.

stage of Nirvâna, the end of wretchedness and mundane existence. Thus I used to speak at all times.

127. And when I saw, Sâriputra, the children of the highest of men by many thousands of kotis, numberless, striving after the supreme, the highest enlightenment;

128. And when such as had heard the law of the Ginas, owing to the many-sidedness of (their) skilfulness, had approached me and stood before my face, all of them with joined hands, and respectful;

129. Then I conceived the idea that the time had come for me to announce the excellent law and to reveal supreme enlightenment, for which task I had been born in the world.

130. This (event) to-day will be hard to be understood by the ignorant who imagine they see¹ here a sign, as they are proud and dull. But the Bodhi-sattvas, they will listen to me.

131. And I felt free from hesitation and highly cheered; putting aside all timidity, I began speaking in the assembly of the sons of Sugata, and roused them to enlightenment.

132. On beholding such worthy sons of Buddha (I said): Thy doubts also will be removed, and these twelve hundred (disciples) of mine, free from imperfections, will all of them become Buddhas.

133. Even as the nature of the law of the former² mighty saints and the future Ginas is, so is my law

¹ One would rather expect 'who imagine not to see, fail to see,' but the words of the text do not admit of such an interpretation.

² *Yathaiva teshâm purimâna Tâyinâm, anâgatânâm ka Ginâna dharmatâ, mamâpi eshâ vikalpavargitâ, tathaiva 'ham desayi adya tubhyam.*

free from any doubtfulness, and it is such as I to-day preach it to thee.

134. At certain times, at certain places, somehow do the leaders appear in the world, and after their appearance will they, whose view is boundless, at one time or another preach¹ a similar law.

135. It is most difficult to meet with this superior law, even in myriads of ko^{ti}s of Æons; very rare are the beings who will adhere to the superior law which they have heard from me.

136. Just as the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree is rare, albeit sometimes, at some places, and somehow it is met with, as something pleasant to see for everybody, as a wonder to the world including the gods;

137. (So wonderful) and far more wonderful is the law I proclaim. Any one who, on hearing a good exposition of it, shall cheerfully accept it and recite but one word of it, will have done honour to all Buddhas.

138. Give up all doubt and uncertainty in this respect; I declare that I am the king of the law (Dharmarâga); I am urging others to enlightenment, but I am here without disciples.

139. Let this mystery be for thee, Sâriputra, for all disciples of mine, and for the eminent Bodhisattvas, who are to keep this mystery.

140. For the creatures, when at the period of the five depravities², are vile and bad; they are blinded

¹ *Desayuh*, plural; Burnouf seems to have read the singular.

² The five *kashâyas* are summarily indicated in *Dhammapada* 115 by 'râgâdi.' As the list of *klesas*, *Lalita-vistara*, p. 348 seq., commences with *râga*, there can be no doubt that Burnouf was right in supposing the five *kashâyas* to be synonymous with the corresponding number of *klesas*. The items of the list are variously given.

by sensual desires, the fools, and never turn their minds to enlightenment.

141. (Some) beings, having heard this one and sole vehicle¹ manifested by the Gina, will in days to come swerve from it, reject the Sûtra, and go down to hell.

142. But those beings who shall be modest and pure, striving after the supreme and the highest enlightenment, to them shall I unhesitatingly set forth the endless forms of this one and sole vehicle.

143. Such is the mastership of the leaders; that is, their skilfulness. They have spoken in many mysteries²; hence it is difficult to understand (them).

144. Therefore try to understand the mystery³ of the Buddhas, the holy masters of the world; forsake all doubt and uncertainty: you shall become Buddhas; rejoice! λ

¹ Or, rather, learnt this way.

² The word in the text is sandhâvañanaiñ, evidently synonymous with sandhâbhâshya.

³ Sandhâ, by Burnouf rendered 'langage énigmatique.' On comparing the different meanings of sandhâ and sandhâya, both in Sanskrit and in Pâli, I am led to suppose that sandhâ- (and sandhâya-) bhâshita (bhâshya) was a term used in the sense of 'speaking (speech) in council, a counsel,' scarcely differing from mantra. In both words secrecy is implied, though not expressed. If we take the term as synonymous with mantra, the connection between upâyakausalya, diplomacy, skilfulness, and sandhâ-bhâshita is clear. Cf. the Gothic word rūna, both βουλή and μυστήριον; garûni, συμβούλιον. The theistical sect have taken it in the sense of 'God's counsel,' but I cannot produce a warrant for this guess. By Hiouen Thsang, the term sandhâya is translated by 'in a hidden sense,' as we know from Professor Max Müller's note, in his edition of the Vagarakkhedikâ, p. 23.

CHAPTER III.

A PARABLE.

Then the venerable Sâriputra, pleased, glad, charmed, cheerful, thrilling with delight and joy, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and, looking up to the Lord with a steady gaze, addressed him in this strain : I am astonished, amazed, O Lord ! I am in ecstasy to hear such a call from the Lord. For when, before I had heard of this law from the Lord, I saw other Bodhisattvas, and heard that the Bodhisattvas would in future get the name of Buddhas, I felt extremely sorry, extremely vexed to be deprived from so grand a sight as the Tathâgata-knowledge. And whenever, O Lord, for my daily recreation I was visiting the caves of rocks or mountains, wood thickets, lovely gardens, rivers, and roots of trees, I always was occupied with the same and ever-recurring thought : 'Whereas the entrance into the fixed points¹ of the law is nominally² equal, we have been dismissed by the Lord with the inferior vehicle.' Instantly, however, O Lord, I felt that it

¹ Or, elements.

² Tulye nâma dharmadhâtupraveśe vāyam—niryâtītāḥ. The terms are ambiguous, and open to various interpretations. The Tibetan version has, according to Burnouf, 'in an equal introduction to the domain of the law,' from which at least thus much results, that the text had tulye, not tulya, as Burnouf reads. Tulye praveśe I take to be a so-called absolute locative case. As to the plural 'we,' it refers to Sâriputra.

was our own fault, not the Lord's. For had we regarded the Lord at the time of his giving the all-surpassing demonstration of the law, that is, the exposition of supreme, perfect enlightenment, then, O Lord, we should have become adepts in those laws. But because, without understanding the mystery of the Lord, we, at the moment of the Bodhisattvas not being assembled, heard only in a hurry, caught, meditated, minded, took to heart the first lessons pronounced on the law, therefore, O Lord, I used to pass day and night in self-reproach. (But) to-day, O Lord, I have reached complete extinction; to-day, O Lord, I have become calm; to-day, O Lord, I am wholly come to rest; to-day, O Lord, I have reached Arhatship; to-day, O Lord, I am the Lord's eldest son, born from his law, sprung into existence by the law, made by the law, inheriting from the law, accomplished by the law. My burning has left me, O Lord, now that I have heard this wonderful law, which I had not learnt before, announced by the voice from the mouth of the Lord.

And on that occasion the venerable Sāriputra addressed the Lord in the following stanzas:

1. I am astonished, great Leader, I am charmed to hear this voice; I feel no doubt any more; now am I fully ripe for the superior vehicle.

2. Wonderful is the voice¹ of the Sugatas; it dispels the doubt and pain of living beings; my pain also is all gone now that I, freed from imperfections, have heard that voice (or, call).

3. When I was taking my daily recreation or was

¹ Rather, call.

walking in woody thickets, when betaking myself to the roots of trees or to mountain caves, I indulged in no other thought but this :

4. 'O how am I deluded by vain thoughts ! whereas the faultless laws are, nominally, equal, shall I in future not preach the superior law in the world ?

5. 'The thirty-two characteristic signs have failed me, and the gold colour of the skin has vanished ; all the (ten) powers and emancipations have likewise been lost. O how have I gone astray at the equal laws !

6. 'The secondary signs also of the great Seers, the eighty excellent specific signs, and the eighteen uncommon properties have failed me. O how am I deluded !'

7. And when I had perceived thee, so benign and merciful to the world, and was lonely walking to take my daily recreation, I thought: 'I am excluded from that inconceivable, unbounded knowledge !'

8. Days and nights, O Lord, I passed always thinking of the same subject ; I would ask the Lord whether I had lost my rank or not.

9. In such reflections, O Chief of Gīnas, I constantly passed my days and nights ; and on seeing many other Bodhisattvas praised by the Leader of the world,

10. And on hearing this Buddha-law, I thought: 'To be sure, this is expounded mysteriously¹ ; it is an inscrutable, subtle, and faultless science, which is announced by the Gīnas on the terrace of enlightenment.'

¹ Sandhāya ; the Chinese translation by Kumārā-gīva, according to Stan. Julien's version, has 'suivant la convenance.'

11. Formerly I was attached to (heretical) theories, being a wandering monk and in high honour (or, of the same opinions) with the heretics¹; afterwards has the Lord, regarding my disposition, taught me *Nirvâna*, to detach me from perverted views.

12. After having completely freed myself from all (heretical) views and reached the laws of void, (I conceive) that I have become extinct; yet this is not deemed to be extinction.

13. But when one becomes Buddha, a superior being, honoured by men, gods, goblins, Titans, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, then one will be completely extinct.

14. All those (former) cares² have now been dispelled, since I have heard the voice. Now am I extinct, as thou announcest my destination (to *Nirvâna*) before the world including the gods.

15. When I first heard the voice of the Lord, I had a great terror lest it might be *Mâra*, the evil one, who on this occasion had adopted the disguise of Buddha.

16. But when the unsurpassed Buddha-wisdom had been displayed in and established with argu-

¹ *Parivrâgakas Tîrthikasammata* &c. The term *parivrâgaka* or *parivrâg* is occasionally applied to Buddhist monks, but here it would seem that the Brahmanistic monks are meant, the *brahmasamsthās* of *Saṅkara* in his commentary on *Brahma-Sûtra* III, 4, 20. They are to be distinguished from the *Tîrthika*'s.

² Or, thoughts; one MS. has *vyapanîta sarvâni 'mi* (read *ni 'mi*) *manyitâni*; another reads, *vy. sarvâni 'mi makṣitâni*. *Manyita* is a participle derived from the present tense of *manyate*, to mean, to mind, in the manner of *gahita* from *gahâti*. *Makṣitâni* is hardly correct; it is, however, just possible that it is intended to stand for *makṣitâni*.

ments, reasons, and illustrations, by myriads of koṭis, then I lost all doubt about the law I heard.

17. And when thou hadst mentioned to me¹ the thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, the past Ginas who have come to final rest, and how they preached this law by firmly establishing it through skilfulness ;

18. How the many future Buddhas and those who are now existing, as knowers of the real truth, shall expound or are expounding this law by hundreds of able devices ;

19. And when thou wert mentioning thine own course after leaving home, how the idea of the wheel of the law presented itself to thy mind and how thou decidest upon preaching the law ;

20. Then I was convinced : This is not Māra ; it is the Lord of the world, who has shown the true course ; no Māras can here abide. So then my mind (for a moment) was overcome with perplexity ;

21. But when the sweet, deep, and lovely voice of Buddha gladdened me, all doubts were scattered, my perplexity vanished, and I stood firm in knowledge.

22. I shall become a Tathāgata, undoubtedly, worshipped in the world including the gods ; I shall manifest Buddha-wisdom, mysteriously² rousing many Bodhisattvas.

After this speech of the venerable Sâriputra, the Lord said to him : I declare to thee, Sâriputra, I announce to thee, in presence of this world including the gods, Māras, and Brahmas, in presence of this

¹ *Yadâ ka me Buddhasahasrakotyaḥ, kîrteshy (var. lect. kîrtishy) atîtân parinirvṛtām Ginân. Kîrteshi is Sanskrit aṅikîrtas.*

² *Sandhâya. Burnouf's rendering 'aux créatures' points to satvâya, which is nothing but a misread sandhâya. Cf. stanza 37, below.*

people, including ascetics and Brahmans, that thou, Sâriputra, hast been by me made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, in presence of twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas, and that thou, Sâriputra, hast for a long time followed my commandments. Thou, Sâriputra, art, by the counsel of the Bodhisattva, by the decree of the Bodhisattva, reborn here under my rule. Owing to the mighty will of the Bodhisattva thou, Sâriputra, hast no recollection of thy former vow to observe the (religious) course; of the counsel of the Bodhisattva, the decree of the Bodhisattva. Thou thinkest that thou hast reached final rest. I, wishing to revive and renew in thee the knowledge of thy former vow to observe the (religious) course, will reveal to the disciples the Dharmaparyâya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' this Sûtrânta, &c.

Again, Sâriputra, at a future period, after innumerable, inconceivable, immeasurable Æons, when thou shalt have learnt the true law of hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Tathâgatas, showed devotion in various ways, and achieved the present Bodhisattva-course, thou shalt become in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Padmaprabha¹, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, a knower of the world, an unsurpassed tamer of men, a master of gods and men², a Lord Buddha.

¹ Padma, *Nelumbium Speciosum*, having a rosy hue, we must infer that Sâriputra will be reborn at twilight.

² The supreme tamer of men is, in reality, Yama, personified Twilight, and as evening twilight the god of death and the ruler of the infernal regions. The word yama itself means both 'twin' (cf. *twi-light*) and 'tamer.' Owing to the fact that in mythology many beings are denoted by the name of 'the twins,' e. g. morning and evening, the Arvins, Castor and Pollux, it is often

At that time then, Sâriputra, the Buddha-field of that Lord, the Tathâgata Padmaprabha, to be called Viraga, will be level, pleasant, delightful, extremely beautiful to see, pure, prosperous, rich, quiet, abounding with food, replete with many races of men¹; it will consist of lapis lazuli, and contain a checker-board of eight compartments distinguished by gold threads, each compartment having its jewel tree always and perpetually filled with blossoms and fruits of seven precious substances.

Now that Tathâgata Padmaprabha, &c., Sâriputra, will preach the law by the instrumentality of three vehicles². Further, Sâriputra, that Tathâgata will not appear at the decay of the Æon, but preach the law by virtue of a vow.

That Æon, Sâriputra, will be named Mahâratnapratimandîta (i. e. ornamented with magnificent jewels). Knowest thou, Sâriputra, why that Æon is named Mahâratnapratimandîta? The Bodhisattvas of a Buddha-field, Sâriputra, are called ratnas (jewels), and at that time there will be many Bodhisattvas in that sphere (called) Viraga; innumerable, incalculable, beyond computation, abstraction made from their being computed by the Tathâgatas. On that account is that Æon called Mahâratnapratimandîta.

Now, to proceed, Sâriputra, at that period the

difficult to make out which pair of twins is meant in any particular case. The sun himself appears in the function of Yama, because it is he who makes twilight.

¹ One MS. reads bahuganamanushyâkîrṇa, the other bahunamaruprakîrṇa.

² Cf. the threefold vehicle, trivṛtī ratha, of the Asvins, Rîg-veda I, 34, 9. 12, 47, 2.

Bodhisattvas of that field will in walking step on jewel lotuses¹. And these Bodhisattvas will not be plying their work for the first time, they having accumulated roots of goodness and observed the course of duty under many hundred thousand Buddhas; they are praised by the Tathâgatas for their zealous application to Buddha-knowledge; are perfected in the rites preparatory to transcendent knowledge; accomplished in the direction of all true laws; mild, thoughtful. Generally, Sâriputra, will that Buddha-region teem with such Bodhisattvas.

As to the lifetime, Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata Padmaprabha, it will last twelve intermediate kalpas, if we leave out of account the time of his being a young prince. And the lifetime of the creatures then living will measure eight intermediate kalpas. At the expiration of twelve intermediate kalpas, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata Padmaprabha, after announcing the future destiny of the Bodhisattva called *Dhṛitiparipûrṇa*² to superior perfect enlightenment, is to enter complete Nirvâṇa. 'This Bodhisattva Mahâsattva *Dhṛitiparipûrṇa*, O monks, shall immediately after me come to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He shall become in the world a Tathâgata named Padmavṛishabhavikrâmin, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c.'

Now the Tathâgata Padmavṛishabhavikrâmin, Sâriputra, will have a Buddha-field of quite the same description. The true law, Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata Padmavṛishabhavikrâmin will, after his

¹ We may express the same idea thus: roses are springing up under their feet at every step.

² *Dhṛiti*, perseverance, endurance. *Dhṛitiparipûrṇa* is, full of perseverance or endurance.

extinction, last thirty-two intermediate kalpas, and the counterfeit of his true law will last as many intermediate kalpas¹.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

23. Thou also, son of Sâri, shalt in future be a Gina, a Tathâgata named Padmaprabha, of illimited sight ; thou shalt educate thousands of koṭis of living beings².

24. After paying honour to many koṭis of Buddhas, making³ strenuous efforts in the course of duty, and after having produced in thyself the ten powers, thou shalt reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

25. Within a period inconceivable and immense there shall be an Æon rich in jewels (or, the Æon jewel-rich), and a sphere named Viraga, the pure field of the highest of men ;

26. And its ground will consist of lapis lazuli, and be set off with gold threads ; it will have hundreds of jewel trees, very beautiful, and covered with blossoms and fruits.

27. Bodhisattvas of good memory, able in showing

¹ This counterfeit, pratirûpaka, of the true law, reminds one of the counterfeit, paitiyâro, produced by Ariman in opposition to the creation of Ormazd ; mythologically it is the dark side of nature. That there is some connection between the Buddhistical pratirûpaka and the Iranian paitiyâro can hardly be doubted.

² A striking example of how the original Prâkrit of the verse has been adulterated in order to give it a more Sanskrit colouring is afforded by this stanza. One MS. has bhavishyasî Sârisutâ tuhampi ; another bhavishyase Sârisutânukampî, with marginal correction tvayampi.

³ Upâdayitvâ, i.e. Pâli upâdiyitvâ, synonymous with ârabhya (vîryam) ; the var. lect. upârgayitvâ, having acquired, is an innovation, at first sight specious enough.

the course of duty which they have been taught under hundreds of Buddhas, will come to be born in that field.

28. And the afore-mentioned Gina, then in his last bodily existence, shall, after passing the state of prince royal, renounce sensual pleasures, leave home (to become a wandering ascetic), and thereafter reach the supreme and the highest enlightenment.

29. The lifetime of that Gina will be precisely twelve intermediate kalpas, and the life of men will then last eight intermediate kalpas.

30. After the extinction of the Tathâgata the true law will continue thirty-two Æons in full, for the benefit of the world, including the gods.

31. When the true law shall have come to an end, its counterfeit will stand for thirty-two intermediate kalpas. The dispersed relics of the holy one will always be honoured by men and gods.

32. Such will be the fate of that Lord. Rejoice, O son of Sâri, for it is thou who shalt be that most excellent of men, so unsurpassed.

The four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men and beings not human, on hearing the announcement of the venerable Sâriputra's destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment, were so pleased, glad, charmed, thrilling with delight and joy, that they covered the Lord severally with their own robes, while Indra the chief of gods, Brahma Sahâmpati, besides hundred thousands of koṭis of other divine beings, covered him with heavenly garments and bestrewed him with flowers of heaven, Mandâravas and great Mandâravas. High aloft they

whirled celestial clothes and struck hundred thousands of celestial musical instruments and cymbals, high in the sky; and after pouring a great rain of flowers they uttered these words: The wheel of the law has been put in motion by the Lord, the first time at Benares at *Rīshipatana* in the Deer-park; to-day has the Lord again put in motion the supreme wheel of the law.

And on that occasion those divine beings uttered the following stanzas:

✓ 33. The wheel of the law was put in motion by thee, O thou that art unrivalled in the world, at Benares, O great hero! (that wheel which is the rotation of) the rise and decay of all aggregates.

34. There it was put in motion for the first time; now, a second time, is it turned here, O Lord. To-day, O Master, thou hast preached this law, which is hard to be received with faith¹.

35. Many laws have we heard near the Lord of the world, but never before did we hear a law like this.

36. We receive with gratitude, O great hero, the mysterious speech of the great Sages, such as this prediction regarding the self-possessed *Ārya Sāriputra*.

37. May we also become such incomparable Buddhas in the world, who by mysterious speech announce supreme Buddha-enlightenment.

38. May we also, by the good we have done in this world and in the next, and by our having

¹ *Duḥsraddheyo yas te 'yam*, var. lect. *duḥsraddheyo 'yan teshām*. It may be remarked that *saddhā* not only means faith, belief, but also liking, approval. Cf. the passage in *Mahāvagga* I, 5, 2 sq.; the verses in *Lalita-vistara*, p. 515.

propitiated the Buddha, be allowed to make a vow for Buddhaship.

Thereupon the venerable Sâriputra thus spoke to the Lord: My doubt is gone, O Lord, my uncertainty is at an end on hearing from the mouth of the Lord my destiny to supreme enlightenment. But these twelve hundred self-controlled (disciples), O Lord, who have been placed by thee on the stage of Saikshas¹, have been thus admonished and instructed: 'My preaching of the law, O monks, comes to this, that deliverance from birth, decrepitude, disease, and death is inseparably connected with Nirvâna;' and these two thousand monks, O Lord, thy disciples, both those who are still under training and adepts, who all of them are free from false views about the soul, false views about existence, false views about cessation of existence, free, in short, from all false views, who are fancying themselves to have reached the stage of Nirvâna, these have fallen into uncertainty by hearing from the mouth of the Lord this law which they had not heard before. Therefore, O Lord, please speak to these monks, to dispel their uneasiness, so that the four classes of the audience, O Lord, may be relieved from their doubt and perplexity.

On this speech of the venerable Sâriputra the Lord

¹ I. e. of those who are under training, Pâli sekho. The term is applied to the first seven degrees of persons striving for sanctification, the eighth, or Arhat, being Asaiksha (Asekha). It implies that they still have a remainder of human passion to eradicate, still duties to perform, still a probation to be passed through; see Childers, Pâli Dict. p. 472. The seven degrees of Saiksha answer to the sevenfold preparatory wisdom in the Yoga system; see Yoga-âstra 2, 27.

said to him the following: Have I not told thee before, Sâriputra, that the Tathâgata, &c., preaches the law by able devices, varying directions and indications, fundamental ideas, interpretations, with due regard to the different dispositions and inclinations of creatures whose temperaments¹ are so various? All his preachings of the law have no other end but supreme and perfect enlightenment, for which he is rousing beings to the Bodhisattva-course. But, Sâriputra, to elucidate this matter more at large, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

Let us suppose the following case, Sâriputra. In a certain village, town, borough, province, kingdom, or capital, there was a certain housekeeper, old, aged, decrepit, very advanced in years, rich, wealthy, opulent; he had a great house, high, spacious, built a long time ago and old, inhabited by some two, three, four, or five hundred living beings. The house had but one door, and a thatch; its terraces were tottering, the bases of its pillars rotten, the coverings² and plaster of the walls loose. On a sudden the whole house was from every side put in conflagration by a mass of fire. Let us suppose that the man had many little boys, say five, or ten, or even twenty, and that he himself had come out of the house.

Now, Sâriputra, that man, on seeing the house from every side wrapt in a blaze by a great mass of

¹ Dhâtuvâsaya, properly the disposition of the constitutive elements of the body.

² Or, boards.

fire, got afraid, frightened, anxious in his mind, and made the following reflection : I myself am able to come out from the burning house through the door, quickly and safely, without being touched or scorched by that great mass of fire ; but my children, those young boys, are staying in the burning house, playing, amusing, and diverting themselves with all sorts of sports. They do not perceive, nor know, nor understand, nor mind that the house is on fire, and do not get afraid. Though scorched by that great mass of fire, and affected with such a mass of pain, they do not mind the pain, nor do they conceive the idea of escaping.

The man, Sâriputra, is strong, has powerful arms, and (so) he makes this reflection : I am strong, and have powerful arms ; why, let me gather all my little boys and take them to my breast to effect their escape from the house. A second reflection then presented itself to his mind : This house has but one opening ; the door is shut ; and those boys, fickle, unsteady, and childlike as they are, will, it is to be feared, run hither and thither, and come to grief and disaster in this mass of fire. Therefore I will warn them. So resolved, he calls to the boys : Come, my children ; the house is burning with a mass of fire ; come, lest ye be burnt in that mass of fire, and come to grief and disaster. But the ignorant boys do not heed the words of him who is their well-wisher ; they are not afraid, not alarmed, and feel no misgiving ; they do not care, nor fly, nor even know nor understand the purport of the word 'burning ;' on the contrary, they run hither and thither, walk about, and repeatedly look at their father ; all, because they are so ignorant.

Then the man is going to reflect thus: The house is burning, is blazing by a mass of fire. It is to be feared that myself as well as my children will come to grief and disaster. Let me therefore by some skilful means get the boys out of the house. The man knows the disposition of the boys, and has a clear perception of their inclinations. Now these boys happen to have many and manifold toys to play with, pretty, nice, pleasant, dear, amusing, and precious. The man, knowing the disposition of the boys, says to them: My children, your toys, which are so pretty, precious, and admirable, which you are so loth to miss, which are so various and multifarious, (such as) bullock-carts, goat-carts, deer-carts, which are so pretty, nice, dear, and precious to you, have all been put by me outside the house-door for you to play with. Come, run out, leave the house; to each of you I shall give what he wants. Come soon; come out for the sake of these toys. And the boys, on hearing the names mentioned of such playthings as they like and desire, so agreeable to their taste, so pretty, dear, and delightful, quickly rush out from the burning house, with eager effort and great alacrity, one having no time to wait for the other, and pushing each other on with the cry of 'Who shall arrive first, the very first?'

The man, seeing that his children have safely and happily escaped, and knowing that they are free from danger, goes and sits down in the open air on the square of the village, his heart filled with joy and delight, released from trouble and hindrance, quite at ease. The boys go up to the place where their father is sitting, and say: 'Father, give us those toys to play with, those bullock-carts, goat-carts, and

deer-carts.^{१७१} Then, Sâriputra, the man gives to his sons, who run swift as the wind, bullock-carts only, made of seven precious substances, provided with benches, hung with a multitude of small bells, lofty, adorned with rare and wonderful jewels, embellished with jewel wreaths, decorated with garlands of flowers, carpeted with cotton mattresses and woollen coverlets, covered with white cloth and silk, having on both sides rosy cushions, yoked with white, very fair and fleet bullocks, led by a multitude of men. To each of his children he gives several bullock-carts of one appearance and one kind, provided with flags, and swift as the wind. That man does so, Sâriputra, because being rich, wealthy, and in possession of many treasures and granaries, he rightly thinks : Why should I give these boys inferior carts, all these boys being my own children, dear and precious ? I have got such great vehicles, and ought to treat all the boys equally and without partiality. As I own many treasures and granaries, I could give such great vehicles to all beings, how much more then to my own children. Meanwhile the boys are mounting the vehicles with feelings of astonishment and wonder. Now, Sâriputra, what is thy opinion ? Has that man made himself guilty of a falsehood by first holding out to his children the prospect of three vehicles and afterwards giving to each of them the greatest vehicles only, the most magnificent vehicles ?

Sâriputra answered : By no means, Lord ; by no means, Sugata. That is not sufficient, O Lord, to qualify the man as a speaker of falsehood, since it only was a skilful device to persuade his children to go out of the burning house and save their

lives. Nay, besides recovering their very body, O Lord, they have received all those toys. If that man, O Lord, had given no single cart, even then he would not have been a speaker of falsehood, for he had previously been meditating on saving the little boys from a great mass of pain by some able device. Even in this case, O Lord, the man would not have been guilty of falsehood, and far less now that he, considering his having plenty of treasures and prompted by no other motive but the love of his children, gives to all, to coax¹ them, vehicles of one kind, and those the greatest vehicles. That man, Lord, is not guilty of falsehood.

The venerable Sâriputra having thus spoken, the Lord said to him: Very well, very well, Sâriputra, quite so; it is even as thou sayest. So, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, &c., is free from all dangers, wholly exempt from all misfortune, despondency, calamity, pain, grief, the thick enveloping dark mists of ignorance. He, the Tathâgata, endowed with Buddha-knowledge, forces, absence of hesitation, uncommon properties, and mighty by magical power, is the father of the world², who has reached the highest perfection in the knowledge of skilful means, who is most merciful, long-suffering, benevolent, compassionate. He appears in this triple

¹ *Slâghamâna*.

² Here the Buddha is represented as a wise and benevolent father; he is the heavenly father, Brahma. As such he was represented as sitting on a 'lotus seat.' How common this representation was in India, at least in the sixth century of our era, appears from Varâha-Mihira's *Brîhat-Samhitâ*, chap. 58, 44, where the following rule is laid down for the Buddha idols: 'Buddha shall be (represented) sitting on a lotus seat, like the father of the world.'

world, which is like a house the roof¹ and shelter whereof are decayed, (a house) burning by a mass of misery, in order to deliver from affection, hatred, and delusion the beings subject to birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, the dark enveloping mists of ignorance, in order to rouse them to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Once born, he sees how the creatures are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed by birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency; how for the sake of enjoyments, and prompted by sensual desires, they severally suffer various pains. In consequence both of what in this world they are seeking and what they have acquired, they will in a future state suffer various pains, in hell, in the brute creation, in the realm of Yama; suffer such pains as poverty in the world of gods or men, union with hateful persons or things, and separation from the beloved ones. And whilst incessantly whirling in that mass of evils they are sporting, playing, diverting themselves; they do not fear, nor dread, nor are they seized with terror; they do not know, nor mind; they are not startled, do not try to escape, but are enjoying themselves in that triple world which is like unto a burning house, and run hither and thither. Though overwhelmed by that mass of evil, they do not conceive the idea that they must beware of it.

Under such circumstances, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata reflects thus: Verily, I am the father of these beings; I must save them from this mass of evil, and bestow on them the immense, inconceivable bliss of

¹ Or, coping.

Buddha-knowledge, wherewith they shall sport, play, and divert themselves, wherein they shall find their rest.

Then, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata reflects thus : If, in the conviction of my possessing the power of knowledge and magical faculties, I manifest to these beings the knowledge, forces, and absence of hesitation of the Tathâgata, without availing myself of some device, these beings will not escape. For they are attached to the pleasures of the five senses, to worldly pleasures ; they will not be freed from birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, by which they are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed. Unless they are forced to leave the triple world which is like a house the shelter and roof whereof is in a blaze, how are they to get acquainted with¹ Buddha-knowledge ?

Now, Sâriputra, even as that man with powerful arms, without using the strength of his arms, attracts his children out of the burning house by an able device, and afterwards gives them magnificent, great carts, so, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., possessed of knowledge and freedom from all hesitation, without using them, in order to attract the creatures out of the triple world which is like a burning house with decayed roof and shelter, shows, by his knowledge of able devices, three vehicles, viz. the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, and the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. By means of these three vehicles he attracts the creatures and speaks to them thus : Do not

¹ Paribhotsyante; Burnouf's rendering, 'pourront jouir,' points to a reading paribhokshyante.

delight in this triple world, which is like a burning house, in these miserable forms, sounds, odours, flavours, and contacts¹. For in delighting in this triple world ye are burnt, heated, inflamed with the thirst inseparable from the pleasures of the five senses. Fly from this triple world; betake yourselves to the three vehicles: the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. I give you my pledge for it, that I shall give you these three vehicles; make an effort to run out of this triple world. And to attract them I say: These vehicles are grand, praised by the Âryas, and provided with most pleasant things; with such you are to sport, play, and divert yourselves in a noble² manner. Ye will feel the great delight of the faculties³, powers⁴, constituents of Bodhi, meditations, the (eight) degrees of emancipation, self-concentration, and the results of self-concentration, and ye will become greatly happy and cheerful.

¹ The same idea and the same moral form the warp and woof of the sermon on the hill of Gayâsîrsha, the Âditta-pariyâya, Mahâvagga I, 21. This sermon was the second in course of time, if we leave out of account the repetitions of the first, preached near Benares. The parable also is propounded at the time when the Master moves the wheel of the law for the second time; see above, st. 34. Hence we may conclude that the sermon and parable are variations of one and the same monkish moralization on the base of a more primitive cosmological legend.

² *Akrîpanam*, properly, not miserably.

³ *Indriya*; here apparently the five moral faculties of faith, energy, recollection, contemplation, and wisdom or prescience; cf. Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 498; *Lalita-vistara*, p. 37.

⁴ *Bala*, the same as the *indriya*, with this difference, it would seem, that the *balas* are the faculties in action or more developed; cf. Spence Hardy, *l. c.*, and *Lalita-vistara*, *l. c.*

Now, Sâriputra, the beings who have become wise have faith in the Tathâgata, the father of the world, and consequently apply themselves to his commandments. Amongst them there are some who, wishing to follow the dictate of an authoritative voice, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathâgata to acquire the knowledge of the four great truths, for the sake of their own complete Nirvâna. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the disciples, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys will fly from that burning house, prompted by a desire of getting a cart yoked with deer. Other beings desirous of the science without a master, of self-restraint and tranquillity, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathâgata to learn to understand causes and effects, for the sake of their own complete Nirvâna. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys fly from the burning house, prompted by the desire of getting a cart yoked with goats. Others again desirous of the knowledge of the all-knowing, the knowledge of Buddha, the knowledge of the self-born one, the science without a master, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathâgata to learn to understand the knowledge, powers, and freedom from hesitation of the Tathâgata, for the sake of the common weal and happiness, out of compassion to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the world at large, both gods and men, for the sake of the complete Nirvâna of all beings. These one may say to be those who, coveting the great vehicle, fly from the triple world. Therefore they are called Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. They

may be likened to those among the boys who have fled from the burning house prompted by the desire of getting a cart yoked with bullocks.

In the same manner, Sâriputra, as that man, on seeing his children escaped from the burning house and knowing them safely and happily rescued and out of danger, in the consciousness of his great wealth, gives the boys one single grand cart; so, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., on seeing many *koṭis* of beings recovered¹ from the triple world, released from sorrow, fear, terror, and calamity, having escaped owing to the command of the Tathâgata, delivered from all fears, calamities, and difficulties, and having reached the bliss of Nirvâṇa, so, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., considering that he possesses great wealth of knowledge, power, and absence of hesitation, and that all beings are his children, leads them by no other vehicle but the Buddha-vehicle to full development². But he does not teach a particular Nirvâṇa for each being; he causes all beings to reach complete Nirvâṇa by means of the complete Nirvâṇa of the Tathâgata. And those beings, Sâriputra, who are delivered from the triple world, to them the Tathâgata gives, as toys to amuse themselves with, the lofty pleasures of the Âryas, the pleasures

¹ Paripûrṇân; in one MS. there is a second-hand reading, parimuktân. I suppose that paripûrṇa is the original reading, but that we have to take it in the sense of 'recovered, healed.'

² Time, Siva or Viṣṇu *ekapâd*, the One-footed, who at the same time is *tripâd*, three-footed, leads all living beings to final rest. The Buddha-vehicle is the *ratha ekaśakra*, the one-wheeled carriage, each wheel being *trinâbhi*, three-naved, as in *Rig-veda* I, 164, 2.

of meditation, emancipation, self-concentration, and its results; (toys) all of the same kind. Even as that man, Sâriputra, cannot be said to have told a falsehood for having held out to those boys the prospect of three vehicles and given to all of them but one great vehicle, a magnificent vehicle made of seven precious substances, decorated with all sorts of ornaments, a vehicle of one kind, the most egregious of all, so, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., tells no falsehood when by an able device he first holds forth three vehicles and afterwards leads all to complete Nirvâna by the one great vehicle. For the Tathâgata, Sâriputra, who is rich in treasures and storehouses of abundant knowledge, powers, and absence of hesitation, is able to teach all beings the law which is connected with the knowledge of the all-knowing. In this way, Sâriputra, one has to understand how the Tathâgata by an able device and direction shows but one vehicle, the great vehicle.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

39. A man has¹ an old house, large, but very infirm; its terraces are decaying and the columns rotten at their bases.

40. The windows and balconies are partly ruined, the wall as well as its coverings and plaster decaying; the coping shows rents from age; the thatch is everywhere pierced with holes.

41. It is inhabited by no less than five hundred beings; containing many cells and closets filled with excrements and disgusting.

¹ The original has 'as if a man had,' &c. I have changed the construction to render it less wearisome.

42. Its roof-rafters are wholly ruined; the walls and partitions crumbling away; *koʻis* of vultures nestle in it, as well as doves, owls, and other birds.

43. There are in every corner dreadful snakes, most venomous and horrible; scorpions and mice of all sorts; it is the abode of very wicked creatures of every description.

44. Further, one may meet in it here and there beings not belonging to the human race. It is defiled with excrement and urine, and teeming with worms, insects, and fire-flies; it resounds from the howling of dogs and jackals.

45. In it are horrible hyenas that are wont to devour human carcasses; many dogs and jackals greedily seeking the matter of corpses.

46. Those animals weak from perpetual hunger go about in several places to feed upon their prey, and quarrelling fill the spot with their cries. Such is that most horrible house.

47. There are also very malign goblins, who violate human corpses; in several spots there are centipedes, huge snakes, and vipers.

48. Those animals creep into all corners, where they make nests to deposit their brood, which is often devoured by the goblins.

49. And when those cruel-minded goblins are satiated with feeding upon the flesh of other creatures, so that their bodies are big, then they commence sharply fighting on the spot.

50. In the wasted retreats are dreadful, malign urchins, some of them measuring one span, others one cubit or two cubits, all nimble in their movements.

51. They are in the habit of seizing dogs by the

feet, throwing them upside down upon the floor, pinching their necks and using them ill.

52. There also live yelling ghosts naked, black, wan, tall, and high, who, hungry and in quest of food, are here and there emitting cries of distress.

53. Some have a mouth like a needle, others have a face like a cow's; they are of the size of men or dogs, go with entangled hair, and utter plaintive cries from want of food.

54. Those goblins, ghosts, imps, like vultures, are always looking out through the windows and loop-holes, in all directions in search of food.

55. Such is that dreadful house, spacious and high, but very infirm, full of holes, frail and dreary. (Let us suppose that) it is the property of a certain man,

56. And that while he is out of doors the house is reached by a conflagration, so that on a sudden it is wrapt in a blazing mass of fire on every side.

57. The beams and rafters consumed by the fire, the columns and partitions in flame are crackling most dreadfully, whilst goblins and ghosts are yelling.

58. Vultures are driven out by hundreds; urchins withdraw with parched faces; hundreds of mischievous beasts of prey¹ run, scorched, on every side, crying and shouting².

59. Many poor devils move about, burnt by the fire; while burning they tear one another with the teeth, and bespatter each other with their blood.

¹ Vyâda.

² Krosanti, var. lect. krosanti. Burnouf's version, 'sont en fureur,' points to a reading roshanti, which, however, is not appropriate, for the would-be conflagration is a description of the time of twilight.

60. Hyenas also perish there, in the act of eating one another. The excrements burn, and a loathsome stench spreads in all directions.

61. The centipedes, trying to fly, are devoured by the urchins. The ghosts, with burning hair, hover about, equally vexed with hunger and heat.

62. In such a state is that awful house, where thousands of flames are breaking out on every side. But the man who is the master of the house looks on from without.

63. And he hears his own children, whose minds are engaged in playing with their toys, in their fondness of which they amuse themselves, as fools do in their ignorance.

64. And as he hears them he quickly steps in¹ to save his children, lest his ignorant children might perish in the flames.

65. He tells them the defect of the house, and says: This, young man² of good family, is a miserable house, a dreadful one; the various creatures in it, and this fire to boot, form a series of evils.

66. In it are snakes, mischievous goblins, urchins, and ghosts in great number; hyenas, troops of dogs and jackals, as well as vultures, seeking their prey.

67. Such beings live in this house, which, apart

¹ This trait is wanting in the prose relation. The explanation, I fancy, is this: If the description of the glowing house refers to morning twilight, the father (Pitâmahâ, or Day-god) will needs step in afterwards; if, on the other hand, the evening twilight is meant, he will already have left the house. In the former case he calls his children to activity, to their daily work; in the latter he admonishes them to take their rest, exhorts them to think of the end of life.

² In addressing more persons it is not uncommon that only one is addressed as representing the whole company.

from the fire, is extremely dreadful, and miserable enough; and now comes to it this fire blazing on all sides.

68. The foolish boys, however, though admonished, do not mind their father's words, deluded as they are by their toys; they do not even understand him.

69. Then the man thinks: I am now in anxiety on account of my children. What is the use of my having sons if I lose them? No, they shall not perish by this fire.

70. Instantly a device occurred to his mind: These young (and ignorant) children are fond of toys, and have none just now to play with. Oh, they are so foolish!

71. He then says to them: Listen, my sons, I have carts of different sorts, yoked with deer, goats, and excellent bullocks, lofty, great, and completely furnished.

72. They are outside the house; run out, do with them what you like; for your sake have I caused them to be made. Run out all together, and rejoice to have them.

73. All the boys, on hearing of such carts, exert themselves, immediately rush out hastily, and reach, free from harm, the open air.

74. On seeing that the children have come out, the man betakes himself to the square in the centre of the village¹, and there from the throne he is sitting on he says: Good people, now I feel at ease.

¹ The sun reaches the meridian point. The poetic version which makes the father enter the blazing house is consistent; the prose version has effaced a necessary trait of the story. Therefore

75. These poor sons of mine, whom I have recovered with difficulty, my own dear twenty young children, were in a dreadful, wretched, horrible house, full of many animals.

76. As it was burning and wrapt in thousands of flames, they were amusing themselves in it with playing, but now I have rescued them all. Therefore I now feel most happy.

77. The children, seeing their father happy, approached him, and said: Dear father, give us, as you have promised¹, those nice vehicles of three kinds;

78. And make true all that you promised us in the house when saying, 'I will give you three sorts of vehicles.' Do give them; it is now the right time.

79. Now the man (as we have supposed) had a mighty treasure of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls; he possessed bullion, numerous slaves, domestics, and vehicles of various kinds;

80. Carts made of precious substances, yoked with bullocks, most excellent, with benches² and a row of tinkling bells, decorated with umbrellas and flags, and adorned with a network of gems and pearls.

81. They are embellished with gold, and artificial wreaths hanging down here and there; covered all around with excellent cloth and fine white muslin.

82. Those carts are moreover furnished with choice mattresses of fine silk, serving for cushions,

it is posterior to the version in metre, and apparently belongs to a much later period.

¹ Yathâbhibhâshitam, var. lect. °bhâvitam.

² Vedikâs.

and covered with choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans, and worth thousands of koṭis.

83. The carts are yoked with white bullocks, well fed, strong, of great size, very fine, who are tended by numerous persons.

84. Such excellent carts that man gives to all his sons, who, overjoyed and charmed, go and play with them in all directions.

85. In the same manner, Śâriputra, I, the great Seer, am the protector and father of all beings, and all creatures who, childlike, are captivated by the pleasures of the triple world, are my sons.

86. This triple world is as dreadful as that house, overwhelmed with a number of evils, entirely inflamed on every side by a hundred different sorts of birth, old age, and disease.

87. But I, who am detached from the triple world and serene, am living in absolute retirement¹ in a wood². This triple world is my domain, and those who in it are suffering from burning heat are my sons.

88. And I told its evils because I had resolved upon saving them, but they would not listen to me, because all of them were ignorant and their hearts attached to the pleasures of sense.

89. Then I employ an able device, and tell them of the three vehicles, so showing them the means of evading³ the numerous evils of the triple world which are known to me.

90. And those of my sons who adhere to me,

¹ Ekântasthâyin.

² Vana, a wood, also means a cloud, the cloudy region.

³ Nirdhâvanârthâya; a var. lect. has nirvâpanârthâya, i.e. to allay.

who are mighty in the six transcendent faculties (Abhi $\check{g}$ ñâs) and the triple science, the Pratyekabuddhas, as well as the Bodhisattvas unable to slide back ;

91. And those (others) who equally are my sons, to them I just now am showing, by means of this excellent allegory, the single Buddha-vehicle. Receive it ; ye shall all become *Ginas*.

92. It is most excellent and sweet, the most exalted in the world, that knowledge of the Buddhas, the most high among men ; it is something sublime and adorable.

93. The powers, meditations, degrees of emancipation and self-concentration by many hundreds of ko $\check{t}$ is, that is the exalted vehicle in which the sons of Buddha take a never-ending delight.

94. In playing with it they pass days and nights, fortnights, months, seasons, years, intermediate kalpas, nay, thousands of ko $\check{t}$ is of kalpas¹.

95. This is the lofty vehicle of jewels which sundry Bodhisattvas and the disciples listening to the Sugata employ to go and sport on the terrace of enlightenment.

96. Know then, Tishya², that there is no second

¹ As the mean duration of a man's life extends over thousands of ko $\check{t}$ is of kalpas or *Æons*, it is evident that the *Æon* here meant is in reality an extremely small particle of time, an atom. The meaning attached to it was perhaps that of *asu* or *prâṇa*, a respiration. It seems to me, however, more probable that *kalpa*, as synonymous with *rûpa*, simply denotes a unit, e.g. of atoms of time.

² I. e. *Sâriputra*, otherwise named *Upatishya*, i. e. secondary *Tishya*. The canonical etymology of the name of *Upatishya* is to be found in Burnouf's Introduction, p. 48, and Schiefner's *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 255.

vehicle in this world anywhere to be found, in whatever direction thou shalt search, apart from the device (shown) by the most high among men.

97. Ye are my children, I am your father, who has removed you from pain, from the triple world, from fear and danger, when you had been burning for many *koṭis* of *Æons*.

98. And I am teaching blessed rest (*Nirvâṇa*), in so far as, though you have not yet reached (final) rest, you are delivered from the trouble of the mundane whirl, provided you seek the vehicle of the Buddhas.

99. Any Bodhisattvas here present obey my Buddha-rules. Such is the skilfulness of the *Gina* that he disciplines many Bodhisattvas.

100. When the creatures in this world delight in low and contemptible pleasures, then the Chief of the world, who always speaks the truth, indicates pain as the (first) great truth.

101. And to those who are ignorant and too simple-minded to discover the root of that pain I lay open the way: 'Awaking of full consciousness, strong desire is the origin of pain¹.'

102. Always try, unattached², to suppress desire. This is my third truth, that of suppression. It is an infallible means of deliverance; for by practising this method one shall become emancipated³.

103. And from what are they emancipated, *Sâri-*

¹ *Samudâgamaḥ, trishṇa duḥkhasya sambhavaḥ*. I am not certain of the translation of *samudâgama*, which recurs below in Chap. V, in the apparent sense of full knowledge, agreeing with what the dictionaries give.

² *Anisritâḥ*.

³ *Na ko mârgam hi bhâvitra vimuktu bhoti* (var. lect. *bhotu*). The words *na ko* spoil metre and sense, and must be expunged.

putra? They are emancipated from chimeras¹. Yet they are not wholly freed; the Chief declares that they have not yet reached (final and complete) rest in this world.

104. Why is it that I do not pronounce one to be delivered before one's having reached the highest, supreme enlightenment? (Because) such is my will; I am the ruler of the law², who is born in this world to lead to beatitude.

105. This, Sâriputra, is the closing word of my law which now at the last time I pronounce³ for the weal of the world including the gods. Preach it in all quarters.

106. And if some one speaks to you these words, 'I joyfully accept,' and with signs of utmost reverence receives this Sûtra, thou mayst consider that man to be unable to slide back⁴.

107. To believe in this Sûtra one must have seen former Tathâgatas, paid honour to them, and heard a law similar to this.

108. To believe in my supreme word one must have seen me; thou and the assembly of monks have seen all these Bodhisattvas.

109. This Sûtra is apt to puzzle the ignorant⁵,

¹ Kutas~~ka~~ te, Sâriputâ, vimuktâ? Āsantagrâhātu (abl.) vimukta bhonti; na[~~ka~~] tâva te sarvatu mukta bhonti.

² Dharmarâga, a well-known epithet of Yama the god of death; he is the real tamer of men, the master of gods and men, &c.

³ Mama dharmamudrâ (properly, seal, closure of my law) yâ pas~~ka~~akâle (var. lect. pas~~ki~~imi kâle) maya adya (var. lect. mamâdya) bhâshitâ.

⁴ Or, to swerve from his course, his purpose.

⁵ Properly, young children, because one must have seen former Tathâgatas, i. e. lived some revolving suns before having an idea of death.

and I do not pronounce it before having penetrated to superior knowledge. Indeed, it is not within the range of the disciples, nor do the Pratyekabuddhas come to it.

110. But thou, Śāriputra, hast good will, not to speak of my other disciples here. They will walk in my faith, though each cannot have his individual knowledge.

111. But do not speak of this matter to haughty persons, nor to conceited ones, nor to Yogins who are not self-restrained; for the fools, always revelling in sensual pleasures, might in their blindness scorn the law manifested.

112. Now hear the dire results when one scorns my skilfulness and the Buddha-rules for ever fixed in the world; when one, with sullen brow, scorns the vehicle.

113. Hear the destiny of those who have scorned such a Sūtra like this, whether during my lifetime or after my Nirvāṇa, or who have wronged the monks.

114. After having disappeared from amongst men, they shall dwell in the lowest hell (Avīci) during a whole kalpa, and thereafter they shall fall lower and lower, the fools, passing through repeated births for many intermediate kalpas.

115. And when they have vanished from amongst the inhabitants of hell, they shall further descend to the condition of brutes, be even as dogs and jackals, and become a sport to others.

116. Under such circumstances they shall grow blackish of colour, spotted, covered with sores, itchy; moreover, they shall be hairless and feeble, (all) those who have an aversion to my supreme enlightenment.

117. They are ever despised amongst animals ; hit by clods or weapons they yell ; everywhere they are threatened with sticks, and their bodies are emaciated from hunger and thirst.

118. Sometimes they become camels or asses, carrying loads, and are beaten with whips¹ and sticks ; they are constantly occupied with thoughts of eating, the fools who have scorned the Buddha-rule.

119. At other times they become ugly jackals, half blind and crippled²; the helpless creatures are vexed by the village boys, who throw clods and weapons at them.

120. Again shooting off from that place, those fools become animals with bodies of five hundred yoganas, whirling round, dull and lazy.

121. They have no feet, and creep on the belly³; to be devoured by many kotis of animals is the dreadful punishment they have to suffer for having scorned a Sûtra like this.

122. And whenever they assume a human shape, they are born crippled, maimed⁴, crooked, one-eyed, blind, dull, and low, they having no faith in my Sûtra.

¹ Kasha, var. lect. sata, with a marginal correction sada (for sadâ). Burnouf's 'cent bâtons' is evidently based upon the reading sata.

² Kânakakundakâśka, var. lect. vâlaka°, with marginal correction kânaka°. The translation is doubtful; cf. st. 116 below. Kundaka I connect with kunī=vikalīkarane and the Greek κυλλός.

³ Kroḍasamkrin, var. lect. °samgñin, with correction °samkkin, the reading I have followed, taking samkkin to be identical with sakkin, a Prâkrit form of Sanskrit sarpin.

⁴ Kundakâlāṅgaka, for which I read °kalāṅgaka.

123. Nobody keeps their side¹; a putrid smell is continually issuing from their mouths; an evil spirit has entered the body of those who do not believe in this supreme enlightenment.

124. Needy, obliged to do menial labour, always in another's service, feeble, and subject to many diseases they go about in the world, unprotected.

125. The man whom they happen to serve is unwilling to give them much, and what he gives is soon lost. Such is the fruit of sinfulness.

126. Even the best-prepared medicaments, administered to them by able men, do, under those circumstances, but increase their illness, and the disease has no end.

✓ 127. Some commit thefts, affrays, assaults, or acts of hostility, whereas others commit robberies of goods; (all this) befalls the sinner.

128. Never does he behold the Lord of the world, the King of kings ruling the earth², for he is doomed to live at a wrong time³, he who scorns my Buddha-rule.

129. Nor does that foolish person listen to the law; he is deaf and senseless; he never finds rest, because he has scorned this enlightenment.

130. During many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the sand of the Ganges he shall be dull and defective; that is the evil result from scorning this Sûtra.

¹ Apratyanîka, var. lect. apratyanîya. The rendering is doubtful. I take it to be synonymous with apaksha; cf. note, p. 17.

² Mahi, i. e. Sansk. mahîm.

³ In the darkness of hell, i. e. in common parlance, at night-time, when nobody can behold the sun.

131. Hell is his garden (or monastery), a place of misfortune¹ his abode; he is continually living amongst asses, hogs, jackals, and dogs.

132. And when he has assumed a human shape he is to be blind, deaf, and stupid, the servant of another, and always poor.

133. Diseases, myriads of *koṭis* of wounds on the body, scab, itch, scurf, leprosy, blotch, a foul smell are, in that condition, his covering and apparel.

134. His sight is dim to distinguish the real. His anger appears mighty in him, and his passion is most violent; he always delights in animal wombs.

135. Were I to go on, *Sâriputra*, for a whole *Æon*, enumerating the evils of him who shall scorn my *Sûtra*, I should not come to an end.

136. And since I am fully aware of it, I command thee, *Sâriputra*, that thou shalt not expound a *Sûtra* like this before foolish people.

137. But those who are sensible, instructed, thoughtful, clever, and learned, who strive after the highest supreme enlightenment, to them expound its real meaning.

138. Those who have seen many *koṭis* of *Bud-dhas*, planted immeasurably many roots of goodness, and undertaken a strong vow, to them expound its real meaning.

139. Those who, full of energy and ever kind-hearted, have a long time been developing the feeling of kindness, have given up body and life, in their presence thou mayst preach this *Sûtra*.

¹ *Apâya*, properly 'going away, disappearance,' the reverse of *upâya*, 'approaching.'

✓ 140. Those who show mutual love and respect, keep no intercourse with ignorant people, and are content to live in mountain caverns, to them expound this hallowed Sûtra.

141. If thou see sons of Buddha who attach themselves to virtuous friends and avoid bad friends, then reveal to them this Sûtra.

142. Those sons of Buddha who have not broken the moral vows, are pure like gems and jewels, and devoted to the study of the great Sûtras, before those thou mayst propound this Sûtra.

143. Those who are not irascible, ever sincere, full of compassion for all living beings, and respectful towards the Sugata, before those thou mayst propound this Sûtra.

144. To one who in the congregation, without any hesitation and distraction of mind, speaks to expound the law, with many myriads of koṭis of illustrations, thou mayst manifest this Sûtra.

145. And he who, desirous of acquiring all-knowingness, respectfully lifts his joined hands to his head, or who seeks in all directions to find some monk of sacred eloquence ;

146. And he who keeps (in memory) the great Sûtras, while he never shows any liking for other books, nor even knows a single stanza from another work ; to all of them thou mayst expound this sublime Sûtra.

147. He who seeks such an excellent Sûtra as this, and after obtaining it devoutly worships it, is like the man who wears a relic of the Tathâgata he has eagerly sought for.

148. Never mind other Sûtras nor other books in which a profane philosophy is taught ; such books

are fit for the foolish; avoid them and preach this Sûtra.

149. During a full Æon, Sâriputra, I could speak of thousands of koṭis of (connected) points, (but this suffices); thou mayst reveal this Sûtra to all who are striving after the highest supreme enlightenment.

CHAPTER IV.

DISPOSITION.

As the venerable Subhûti, the venerable Mahâ-Kâtyâyana, the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa, and the venerable Mahâ-Maudgalyâyana heard this law unheard of before, and as from the mouth of the Lord they heard the future destiny of Sâriputra to superior perfect enlightenment, they were struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. They instantly rose from their seats and went up to the place where the Lord was sitting; after throwing their cloak over one shoulder, fixing the right knee on the ground and lifting up their joined hands before the Lord, looking up to him, their bodies bent, bent down and inclined, they addressed the Lord in this strain :

Lord, we are old, aged, advanced in years; honoured as seniors in this assemblage of monks. Worn out by old age we fancy that we have attained Nirvâna; we make no efforts, O Lord, for supreme perfect enlightenment; our force and exertion are inadequate to it. Though the Lord preaches the law and has long continued sitting, and though we have attended to that preaching of the law, yet, O Lord, as we have so long been sitting and so long attended the Lord's service, our greater and minor members, as well as the joints and articulations, begin to ache. Hence, O Lord, we are unable, in spite of the Lord's preaching, to

realise the fact that all is vanity (or void), purposeless (or causeless, or unconditioned), and unfixed¹; we have conceived no longing after the Buddha-laws, the divisions of the Buddha-fields, the sports² of the Bodhisattvas or Tathâgatas. For by having fled out of the triple world, O Lord, we imagined having attained Nirvâna, and we are decrepit from old age. Hence, O Lord, though we have exhorted other Bodhisattvas and instructed them in supreme perfect enlightenment, we have in doing so never conceived a single thought of longing. And just now, O Lord, we are hearing from the Lord that disciples also may be predestined to supreme perfect enlightenment. We are astonished and amazed, and deem it a great gain, O Lord, that to-day, on a sudden, we have heard from the Lord a voice such as we never heard before. We have acquired a magnificent jewel, O Lord, an incomparable jewel. We had not sought, nor searched, nor expected, nor required so magnificent a jewel. It has become clear to us³, O Lord; it has become clear to us, O Sugata.

It is a case, O Lord, as if a certain man went

¹ *Sûnyatânimittâpranîhitam sarvam*. The commentary on Dhammapada, ver. 92 (p. 281), gives an explanation of the Pâli terms *suññata*, *animitta*, and *appanîhita*. His interpretation is too artificial to be of much use. In the verse referred to we find *suññata* apparently as an adjective, but till we find such an adjective in another place, it is safer to doubt its existence altogether. *Apranîhita* is, to my apprehension, unfixed, not fixed beforehand, not determined providentially; it may also mean unpremeditated.

² Or, display of magical phenomena.

³ *Pratibhâti no*; a would-be correction has *pratilâbhino*, which is inadmissible, because with this reading the pronoun *vayam* cannot be left out.

away from his father and betook himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty or forty or fifty. In course of time the one (the father) becomes a great man; the other (the son) is poor; in seeking a livelihood for the sake of food and clothing he roams in all directions and goes to some place, whereas his father removes to another country. The latter has much wealth, gold, corn¹, treasures, and granaries; possesses much (wrought) gold and silver, many gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, and stones(?), corals, gold and silver; many slaves male and female, servants for menial work and journeymen; is rich in elephants, horses, carriages, cows, and sheep. He keeps a large retinue; has his money invested in great territories², and does great things in business, money-lending, agriculture, and commerce.

In course of time, Lord, that poor man, in quest of food and clothing, roaming through villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, reaches the place where his father, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, is residing. Now the poor man's father, Lord, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, who was residing in that town, had always and ever been thinking of the son he had lost fifty years ago, but he gave no utterance to his thoughts before others, and was only pining in himself and thinking: I am old, aged, advanced

¹ Dhānya, wanting in some MSS.

² Mahāganapadeshu dhanikaḥ. The translation is doubtful; the words may as well mean, a creditor of people at large.

in years, and possess abundance of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, but have no son. It is to be feared lest death shall overtake me and all this perish unused. Repeatedly he was thinking of that son : O how happy should I be, were my son to enjoy this mass of wealth !

Meanwhile, Lord, the poor man in search of food and clothing was gradually approaching the house of the rich man, the owner of abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. And the father of the poor man happened to sit at the door of his house, surrounded and waited upon by a great crowd of Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras ; he was sitting on a magnificent throne with a foot-stool decorated with gold and silver, while dealing with hundred thousands of koṭis of gold-pieces, and fanned with a chowrie, on a spot under an extended awning inlaid with pearls and flowers and adorned with hanging garlands of jewels ; sitting (in short) in great pomp. The poor man, Lord, saw his own father in such pomp sitting at the door of the house, surrounded with a great crowd of people and doing a householder's business. The poor man frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over the body, and agitated in mind, reflects thus : Unexpectedly have I here fallen in with a king or grandee. People like me have nothing to do here ; let me go ; in the street of the poor I am likely to find food and clothing without much difficulty. Let me no longer tarry at this place, lest I be taken to do forced labour or incur some other injury.

Thereupon, Lord, the poor man quickly departs, runs off, does not tarry from fear of a series of

supposed dangers. But the rich man, sitting on the throne at the door of his mansion, has recognised his son at first sight, in consequence whereof he is content, in high spirits, charmed, delighted, filled with joy and cheerfulness. He thinks: Wonderful! he who is to enjoy this plenty of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, has been found! He of whom I have been thinking again and again, is here now that I am old, aged, advanced in years.

At the same time, moment, and instant, Lord, he despatches couriers, to whom he says: Go, sirs, and quickly fetch me that man. The fellows thereon all run forth in full speed and overtake the poor man, who, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, agitated in mind, utters a lamentable cry of distress, screams, and exclaims: I have given you no offence. But the fellows drag the poor man, however lamenting, violently with them. He, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, and agitated in mind, thinks by himself: I fear lest I shall be punished with capital punishment¹; I am lost. He faints away, and falls on the earth. His father dismayed and near despondency² says to those fellows: Do not carry³ the

¹ According to the reading *vadhyâdandyaḥ*. If we read *vadhyo dandyaḥ*, the rendering would be, executed or punished (fined). Cf. stanza 19 below.

² *Vishannasṭa sâdâsanne kâsya sa pitâ bhavet*; var. lect. *v. syâd âsannasṭa kâsya s. p. b.* Both readings are corrupt; we have to read *sâdâsannasṭa*. The final *e* of *asanne* is likely to be a remnant of the original Mâgadhî (not Pâli) text, the *e* being the nom. case sing. of masculine words in *a*.

³ *Mâ bhavanta enam* (var. lect. *evam*) *purusham âyishur*

man in that manner. With these words he sprinkles him with cold water without addressing him any further. For that householder knows the poor man's humble disposition¹ and his own elevated position; yet he feels that the man is his son.

The householder, Lord, skilfully conceals from every one that it is his son. He calls one of his servants and says to him: Go, sirrah, and tell that poor man: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free. The servant obeys, approaches the poor man and tells him: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free. The poor man is astonished and amazed at hearing these words; he leaves that spot and wanders to the street of the poor in search of food and clothing. In order to attract him the householder practises an able device. He employs for it two men ill-favoured and of little splendour². Go, says he, go to the man you saw in this place; hire him in your own name for a double daily fee, and order him to do work here in my house. And if he asks: What work shall I have to do? tell him: Help us in clearing the heap of dirt. The two

(var. lect. *ânayeyur*) iti. A would-be correction has *ânayata*, at any rate a blunder, because *ânayantu* would be required. The original reading may have been *ânayishur*, in common Sanskrit *ânaishur*. Quite different is the reading, *atha khalu sa daridrapurusham ânayantv iti tam enam sîtalena*, &c., 'thereupon he (the rich man) ordered the poor man to be brought before him and,' &c.

¹ Here and repeatedly in the sequel the term *hînâdhimuktatâ* would much better be rendered by 'humble or low position.'

² *Durvarnâv alpaugaskau*. The idiomatic meaning of *durvarna* a. is 'having a bad complexion or colour (e.g. from ill health) and little vitality or vigour.' The artificial or so-called etymological meaning may be, 'of bad caste and of little splendour or majesty;' see, however, below at stanza 21.

fellows go and seek the poor man and engage him for such work as mentioned. Thereupon the two fellows conjointly with the poor man clear the heap of dirt in the house for the daily pay they receive from the rich man, while they take up their abode in a hovel of straw¹ in the neighbourhood of the rich man's dwelling. And that rich man beholds through a window his own son clearing the heap of dirt, at which sight he is anew struck with wonder and astonishment.

Then the householder descends from his mansion, lays off his wreath and ornaments, parts with his soft, clean, and gorgeous attire, puts on dirty raiment, takes a basket in his right hand, smears his body with dust, and goes to his son, whom he greets from afar, and thus addresses: Please, take the baskets and without delay remove the dust. By this device he manages to speak to his son, to have a talk with him and say: Do, sirrah, remain here in my service; do not go again to another place; I will give thee extra pay, and whatever thou wantest thou mayst confidently ask me, be it the price of a pot, a smaller pot, a boiler or wood², or be it the

¹ The MSS. vary considerably, and are moreover inconsistent in their readings of this word. One has *grīhaparisare ka/a-pallikuñṣīkayā*; another, *g. kapa/āliku/ikāyam* (r. *ka/apali*^o or *ka/opali*^o); a third, *grīhapatisakare* (mere nonsense for *grīhaparisare*) *ka/apalikuñṣīkayām*. *Paliku/ikā* is evidently a variation of *upariku/ī*, *pali* being a *Māgadhī* form for *pari*, or the *Prākṛit* of *prati* or *pari*. The *ll* is clearly wrong. *Ka/a* may mean *mat*, *straw*, and *boards*.

² The rendering of this passage is doubtful. Burnouf takes the words *pot* (*kunḍa*), *small pot* (*kunḍikā*), *boiler* (*sthālika*), and *kāsh/ha* to denote measures. He may be right, though in the absence of sufficient evidence for *kāsh/ha* denoting a measure or value, I thought it safer to take the word in the usual sense.

price of salt, food, or clothing. I have got an old cloak, man; if thou shouldst want it, ask me for it, I will give it. Any utensil of such sort¹, when thou wantest to have it, I will give thee. Be at ease, fellow; look upon me as if I were thy father, for I am older and thou art younger, and thou hast rendered me much service by clearing this heap of dirt, and as long as thou hast been in my service thou hast never shown nor art showing wickedness, crookedness, arrogance, or hypocrisy; I have discovered in thee no vice at all of such as are commonly seen in other man-servants. From henceforward thou art to me like my own son.

From that time, Lord, the householder, addresses the poor man by the name of son, and the latter feels in presence of the householder as a son to his father. In this manner, Lord, the householder affected with longing for his son employs him for the clearing of the heap of dirt during twenty years, at the end of which the poor man feels quite at ease in the mansion to go in and out, though he continues taking his abode in the hovel of straw².

After a while, Lord, the householder falls sick, and feels that the time of his death is near at hand. He says to the poor man: Come hither, man, I possess abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. I am very sick, and wish to have one upon whom to bestow (my wealth); by whom it is to be received, and with whom it is to be deposited³. Accept it. For in the same manner as I am the

¹ It seems to me that this refers to *kunda*, &c.

² Here *ka/âpalikuñke*, var. lect. *ka/akapallikuñke* and *ka/a-pa/îkuñkikâyâm*.

³ MSS. *ya/ka nîdhâtavyam*; we have to read *yatra n°*.

owner of it, so art thou, but thou shalt not suffer anything of it to be wasted.

And so, Lord, the poor man accepts the abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries of the rich man, but for himself he is quite indifferent to it, and requires nothing from it, not even so much as the price of a prastha of flour ; he continues living in the same hovel of straw and considers himself as poor as before.

After a while, Lord, the householder perceives that his son is able to save, mature and mentally developed ; that in the consciousness of his nobility he feels abashed, ashamed, disgusted, when thinking of his former poverty. The time of his death approaching, he sends for the poor man, presents him to a gathering of his relations, and before the king or king's peer and in the presence of citizens and country-people makes the following speech : Hear, gentlemen ! this is my own son, by me begotten. It is now fifty years that he disappeared from such and such a town. He is called so and so, and myself am called so and so. In searching after him I have from that town come hither. He is my son, I am his father. To him I leave all my revenues¹, and all my personal (or private) wealth shall he acknowledge (his own).

The poor man, Lord, hearing this speech was astonished and amazed ; he thought by himself : Unexpectedly have I obtained this bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries.

Even so, O Lord, do we represent the sons of the

¹ The terms used in the text are, remarkably enough, *yaś kaśkin mamopabhogo'sti*, which seems to differ from the following *yaśka me kiñcid asti pratyātmakam dhanam*.

Tathâgata, and the Tathâgata says to us: Ye are my sons, as the householder did. We were oppressed, O Lord, with three difficulties, viz. the difficulty of pain, the difficulty of conceptions¹, the difficulty of transition (or evolution); and in the worldly whirl we were disposed to what is low². Then have we been prompted by the Lord to ponder on the numerous inferior laws (or conditions, things) that are similar to a heap of dirt. Once directed to them we have been practising, making efforts, and seeking for nothing but Nirvâna as our fee³. We were content, O Lord, with the Nirvâna obtained, and thought to have gained much at the hands of the Tathâgata because of our having applied ourselves to these laws, practised, and made efforts. But the Lord takes no notice of us, does not mix with us, nor tell us that this treasure of the Tathâgata's knowledge shall belong to us, though the Lord skilfully appoints us as heirs to this treasure of the knowledge of the Tathâgata. And we, O Lord, are not (impatiently) longing to enjoy it, because we deem it a great gain already to receive from the Lord Nirvâna as our fee. We preach to the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas a sublime sermon about the knowledge of the Tathâgata; we explain, show, demonstrate the knowledge of the Tathâgata, O Lord, without longing. For the Tathâgata by his skilfulness knows our disposition, whereas we ourselves do not know, nor apprehend. It is for this very

¹ *Samskâra*, which also means '(transitory) impressions (mental and moral).'

² *Hînâdhimukta*.

³ *Divasamudrâ*, implying the notion of the fee being paid at the end of the day.

reason that the Lord just now tells us that we are to him as sons¹, and that he reminds us of being heirs to the Tathâgata. For the case stands thus: we are as sons² to the Tathâgata, but low (or humble) of disposition³; the Lord perceives the strength of our disposition and applies to us the denomination of Bodhisattvas; we are, however, charged with a double office in so far as in presence of Bodhisattvas we are called persons of low disposition and at the same time have to rouse them to Buddha-enlightenment. Knowing the strength of our disposition the Lord has thus spoken, and in this way, O Lord, do we say that we have obtained unexpectedly and without longing the jewel of omniscience, which we did not desire, nor seek, nor search after, nor expect, nor require; and that inasmuch as we are the sons of the Tathâgata.

On that occasion the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa uttered the following stanzas:

1. We are stricken with wonder, amazement, and rapture at hearing a voice⁴; it is the lovely voice, the leader's voice, that so unexpectedly we hear to-day.

2. In a short moment we have acquired a great heap of precious jewels such as we were not thinking of, nor requiring. All of us are astonished to hear it.

3. It is like (the history of) a young⁵ person who, seduced by foolish people, went away from his father and wandered to another country far distant.

¹ And, the Lord's real sons. ² And, the Tathâgata's real sons.

³ Rather, position.

⁴ Or call.

⁵ Bâla, the word used in the text, may mean young as well as ignorant and foolish. Burnouf translates bâlaganena by 'par une troupe d'enfants.'

4. The father was sorry to perceive that his son had run away and in his sorrow roamed the country in all directions during no less than fifty years.

5. In search of his son he came to some great city, where he built a house and dwelt, blessed with all that can gratify the five senses.

6. He had plenty of bullion and gold, money and corn, conch shells, stones (?), and coral; elephants, horses, and footboys; cows, cattle, and sheep;

7. Interests, revenues, landed properties; male and female slaves and a great number of servants; was highly honoured by thousands of *koṭis* and a constant favourite of the king's.

8. The citizens bow to him with joined hands, as well as the villagers in the rural districts; many merchants come to him, (and) persons charged with numerous affairs¹.

9. In such way the man becomes wealthy, but he gets old, aged, advanced in years, and he passes days and nights always sorrowful in mind on account of his son.

10. 'It is fifty years since that foolish son has run away. I have got plenty of wealth and the hour of my death draws near.'

11. Meanwhile that foolish son is wandering from village to village, poor and miserable, seeking food and clothing.

12. When begging, he at one time gets something, another time he does not. He grows lean in his travels², the unwise boy, while his body is vitiated with scabs and itch.

¹ Bahûhi kâryehi *krîtâdhikârâh*.

² For *parasaraṇeshu* of the MSS., I read *parisaraṇeshu*,

13. In course of time he in his roving reaches the town where his father is living, and comes to his father's mansion to beg for food and raiment.

14. And the wealthy, rich man happens to sit at the door on a throne under a canopy expanded in the sky and surrounded with many hundreds of living beings.

15. His trustees stand round him, some of them counting money and bullion, some writing bills, some lending money on interest.

16. The poor man, seeing the splendid mansion of the householder, thinks within himself: Where am I here? This man must be a king or a grandee.

17. Let me not incur some injury and be caught to do forced labour. With these reflections he hurried away inquiring after the road to the street of the poor.

18. The rich man on the throne is glad to see his own son, and despatches messengers with the order to fetch that poor man.

19. The messengers immediately seize the man, but he is no sooner caught than he faints away (as he thinks): These are certainly executioners who have approached me; what do I want clothing or food?

20. On seeing it, the rich, sagacious man (thinks): This ignorant and stupid person is of low disposition and will have no faith in my magnificence¹, nor believe that I am his father.

21. Under those circumstances he orders persons

a word known from classic Sanskrit and not wanting in Buddhistic Sanskrit, as appears from *Lalita-vistara*, p. 39.

¹ Or, have no liking for my magnificence; the term used in the text, *śraddadhâti*, admitting of both interpretations.

of low character, crooked, one-eyed, maimed, ill-clad, and blackish ¹, to go and search that man who shall do menial work.

22. 'Enter my service and cleanse the putrid heap of dirt, replete with fæces and urine; I will give thee a double salary' (are the words of the message).

23. On hearing this call the poor man comes and cleanses the said spot; he takes up his abode there in a hovel² near the mansion.

24. The rich man continually observes him through the windows (and thinks): There is my son engaged in a low occupation³, cleansing the heap of dirt.

25. Then he descends, takes a basket, puts on dirty garments, and goes near the man. He chides him, saying: Thou dost not perform thy work.

26. I will give thee double salary and twice more ointment for the feet; I will give thee food with salt, potherbs, and, besides, a cloak.

27. So he chides him at the time, but afterwards he wisely conciliates ⁴ him (by saying): Thou dost thy work very well, indeed; thou art my son, surely; there is no doubt of it.

28. Little by little he makes the man enter the house, and employs him in his service for fully twenty years, in the course of which time he succeeds in inspiring him with confidence.

29. At the same time he lays up in the house

¹ It is with this word, *krishnaka*, that *durvarna* above, p. 103, must agree.

² Here *nivesanasyopalikuññake*, var. lect. °*kuññike*.

³ *Hīnādhimukta*; one might render it, 'placed in a low or humble position,' but 'disposition' would seem out of place.

⁴ *Samsleshayate*.

gold, pearls, and crystal, draws up the sum total, and is always occupied in his mind with all that property.

30. The ignorant man, who is living outside the mansion, alone in a hovel, cherishes no other ideas but of poverty, and thinks to himself: Mine are no such possessions!

31. The rich man perceiving this of him (thinks): My son has arrived at the consciousness of being noble. He calls together a gathering of his friends and relatives (and says): I will give all my property to this man.

32. In the midst of the assembly where the king, burghers, citizens, and many merchantmen were present, he speaks thus: This is my son whom I lost a long time ago.

33. It is now fully fifty years—and twenty years more during which I have seen him—that he disappeared from such and such a place and that in his search I came to this place.

34. He is owner of all my property; to him I leave it all and entirely; let him do with it what he wants; I give him my whole family property.

35. And the (poor) man is struck with surprise; remembering his former poverty, his low disposition¹, and as he receives those good things of his father's and the family property, he thinks: Now am I a happy man.

36. In like manner has the leader, who knows our low disposition (or position), not declared to us: 'Ye shall become Buddhas,' but, 'Ye are, certainly, my disciples and sons.'

¹ Rather, position.

37. And the Lord of the world enjoins us : Teach, Kâsyapa, the superior path to those that strive to attain the highest summit of enlightenment, the path by following which they are to become Buddhas.

38. Being thus ordered by the Sugata, we show the path to many Bodhisattvas of great might¹, by means of myriads of kotis of illustrations and proofs.

39. And by hearing us the sons of Gina realise that eminent path to attain enlightenment, and in that case receive the prediction that they are to become Buddhas in this world.

40. Such is the work we are doing strenuously², preserving this law-treasure and revealing it to the sons of Gina, in the manner of that man who had deserved the confidence of that (other man).

41. Yet, though we diffuse the Buddha-treasure³ we feel ourselves to be poor ; we do not require the knowledge of the Gina, and yet, at the same time, we reveal it.

42. We fancy an individual⁴ Nirvâṇa ; so far, no further does our knowledge reach ; nor do we ever rejoice at hearing of the divisions of Buddha-fields.

43. All these laws are faultless, unshaken, exempt from destruction and commencement ; but there is no law⁵ in them. When we hear this, however, we cannot believe⁶.

¹ Mahâbala ; this term is obviously intended to be synonymous with mahâsattva.

² Tâyin, which here I have ventured to render by 'strenuous,' on the strength of Pâṇini I, 3, 38, where we learn that tâyate, like kramate, denotes making progress, going on successfully.

³ One MS. ghosha, call, instead of kosha.

⁴ I. e. separate.

⁵ I. e. moral law.

⁶ And, we cannot approve, agree.

44. We have put aside all aspiration to superior Buddha-knowledge a long time ago ; never have we devoted ourselves to it. This is the last and decisive word spoken by the *Gina*.

45. In this bodily existence, closing with *Nirvāṇa*, we have continually accustomed our thoughts to the void ; we have been released from the evils of the triple world we were suffering from, and have accomplished the command of the *Gina*.

46. To whom(soever) among the sons of *Gina* who in this world are on the road to superior enlightenment we revealed (the law), and whatever law we taught, we never had any predilection¹ for it.

47. And the Master of the world, the Self-born one, takes no notice of us, waiting his time; he does not explain the real connection of the things², as he is testing our disposition.

48. Able in applying devices at the right time, like that rich man (he says) : 'Be constant in subduing your low disposition,' and to those who are subdued he gives his wealth.

49. It is a very difficult task which the Lord of the world is performing, (a task) in which he displays his skilfulness, when he tames his sons of low disposition and thereupon imparts to them his knowledge.

50. On a sudden have we to-day been seized with surprise, just as the poor man who acquired riches ; now for the first time have we obtained the fruit under the rule of Buddha, (a fruit) as excellent as faultless.

51. As we have always observed the moral pre-

¹ *Sprihā*. One may also translate, 'we never were partial to it.'

² *Bhūtapadārthasandhi*.

cepts under the rule of the Knower of the world, we now receive the fruit of that morality which we have formerly practised.

52. Now have we obtained the egregious, hal-
lowed¹, exalted, and perfect fruit of our having
observed an excellent and pure spiritual life under
the rule of the Leader.

53. Now, O Lord, are we disciples, and we shall
proclaim supreme enlightenment everywhere, reveal
the word of enlightenment, by which we are formid-
able disciples².

54. Now have we become Arhats³, O Lord; and
deserving of the worship of the world, including the
gods, Mâras and Brahmas, in short, of all beings⁴.

55. Who is there, even were he to exert himself
during *koîs* of Æons, able to thwart thee, who
accomplishes in this world of mortals such difficult
things as those, and others even more difficult⁵?

¹ *Sânta*, also, tranquil, ever free from disturbance.

² *Śrāvaka bhīṣmakalpa*. This may be rendered 'disciples
like Bhīṣma.' Now it is well known from the *Mahābhārata* that
Bhīṣma, the son of *Sântanu*, was a great hero and sage, and it is
by no means impossible that the word used in the text contains an
allusion to that celebrated person. According to the dictionaries
bhīṣma occurs as an epithet of *Siva*.

³ We may translate it by 'saints,' but properly a *rahat* means any
worthy, a master, an honoured personage, in short, *Guru*. On
comparing the Greek *ἀρχεῖν*, *ἀρχεσθαι*, we may infer that one of the
oldest meanings of the word was 'a foregoer,' and in a restricted
sense, a forefather, a departed one, an ancestor, so that the becoming
an *Arhat*, an ancestor, and dying comes to be the same. The promi-
nent part played by the Arhats is, in my opinion, a remnant of
primeval *Pitri*-worship, the chiefest of the ancestors being *Dhar-*
marāga, *Yama*.

⁴ It is difficult not to perceive the true meaning of such passages.

⁵ This passage is still more explicit, if possible, than the former.

56. It would be difficult to offer resistance with hands, feet, head, shoulder, or breast, (even were one to try) during as many complete Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges.

57. One may charitably give food, soft and solid, clothing, drink, a place for sleeping and sitting, with clean coverlets; one may build monasteries of sandal-wood, and after furnishing them with double pieces of fine white muslin¹ present them;

58. One may be assiduous in giving medicines of various kinds to the sick, in honour of the Sugata; one may spend alms during as many Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges—even then one will not be able to offer resistance².

59. Of sublime nature, unequalled power, miraculous might, firm in the strength of patience is the Buddha; a great ruler is the Gina, free from imperfections. The ignorant cannot bear (or understand) such things as these³.

60. Always returning, he preaches the law to those whose course (of life) is conditioned⁴, he, the Lord of the law, the Lord of all the world, the great Lord⁵, the Chief among the leaders of the world.

The Buddha is here clearly Dharmarâga, Yama, the chief of Arhats, or Manes, the personification of death.

¹ Dûshyayugehi.

² Even virtuous actions cannot avert death, the tamer of men, the master of gods and men.

³ Sahanti bālâ na im'îdrisâni.

⁴ Nimittakârîna. The corresponding Sanskrit form would be nimittakârîṇām. I am not sure of the meaning of this term. Burnouf has 'ceux qui portent des signes favorables,' which points to a reading nimittadhârîna.

⁵ Îsvaru sarvaloke, Mahesvaro; he, the Dharmarâga, Yama, &c., is also the same with Îsvara and Mahesvara, well-known epithets of Siva, the destroyer, time, death.

61. Fully aware of the circumstances (or places) of (all) beings he indicates their duties, so multifarious, and considering the variety of their dispositions he inculcates the law with thousands of arguments.

62. He, the Tathâgata, who is fully aware of the course of all beings and individuals, preaches a multifarious law, while pointing to this superior enlightenment.

CHAPTER V.

ON PLANTS.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa and the other senior great disciples, and said: Very well, very well, Kāśyapa; you have done very well to proclaim the real qualities of the Tathāgata. They are the real qualities of the Tathāgata, Kāśyapa, but he has many more, innumerable, incalculable, the end of which it would be difficult to reach, even were one to continue enumerating them for immeasurable Æons. The Tathāgata, Kāśyapa, is the master of the law, the king, lord, and master of all laws. And whatever law for any case has been instituted by the Tathāgata, remains unchanged. All laws, Kāśyapa, have been aptly instituted by the Tathāgata. In his Tathāgata-wisdom he has instituted them in such a manner that all those laws finally lead to the stage of those who know all¹. The Tathāgata also distinctly knows the meaning of all laws. The Tathāgata, the Arhat, &c. is possessed of the faculty of penetrating all laws, possessed of the highest perfection of knowledge, so that he is able to decide all laws, able to display the knowledge of the all-knowing, impart the knowledge of the all-knowing,

¹ 'All-knowing' is one of the most frequent euphemistic phrases to denote the state of the dead. Hence all-knowing (*sarvagñā*) and knowing nothing (*agñā*) virtually come to the same, and the commentator on Bhāgavata-Purāṇa X, 78, 6 could therefore aptly identify *agñā* and *sarvagñā*.

and lay down (the rules of) the knowledge of the all-knowing.

It is a case, Kâsyapa, similar to that of a great cloud big with rain, coming up in this wide universe over all grasses, shrubs, herbs, trees of various species and kind, families of plants of different names growing on earth, on hills, or in mountain caves, a cloud covering the wide universe to pour down its rain everywhere and at the same time. Then, Kâsyapa, the grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees in this universe, such as have young and tender stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have middle-sized stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have the same fully developed, all those grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees, smaller and greater (other) trees will each, according to its faculty and power, suck the humid element from the water emitted by that great cloud, and by that water which, all of one essence, has been abundantly poured down by the cloud, they will each, according to its germ, acquire a regular development, growth, shooting up, and bigness; and so they will produce blossoms and fruits, and will receive, each severally, their names. Rooted in one and the same soil, all those families of plants and germs are drenched and vivified by water of one essence throughout.

In the same manner, Kâsyapa, does the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c. appear in the world. Like unto a great cloud coming up, the Tathâgata appears and sends forth his call to the whole world, including gods, men, and demons¹. And even as a

¹ Parganya or Indra, Jupiter pluvius, is at the same time the thunderer, Jupiter tonans.

great cloud, Kâsyapa, extending over the whole universe, in like manner, Kâsyapa, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., before the face of the world, including gods, men, and demons, lifts his voice and utters these words : I am the Tathâgata, O ye gods and men! the Arhat, the perfectly enlightened one; having reached the shore myself, I carry others to the shore; being free, I make free; being comforted, I comfort; being perfectly at rest, I lead others to rest. By my perfect wisdom I know both this world and the next, such as they really are. I am all-knowing, all-seeing. Come to me, ye gods and men! hear the law. I am he who indicates the path; who shows the path, as knowing the path, being acquainted with the path. Then, Kâsyapa, many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of beings come to hear the law of the Tathâgata; and the Tathâgata, who knows the difference as to the faculties and the energy of those beings, produces various Dharmaparyâyas, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this present life, but also after death will reach happy states, where they are to enjoy many pleasures and hear the law. By listening to the law they will be freed from hindrances and in due course apply themselves to the law of the all-knowing, according to their faculty, power, and strength.

Even as the great cloud, Kâsyapa, after expanding over the whole universe, pours out the same water and recreates by it all grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees; even as all these grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees, according to their faculty, power, and strength, suck in the water and thereby attain the full development

assigned to their kind; in like manner, Kâsyapa, is the law preached by the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., of one and the same essence, that is to say, the essence of it is deliverance, the final aim being absence of passion, annihilation, knowledge of the all-knowing¹. As to that, Kâsyapa, (it must be understood) that the beings who hear the law when it is preached by the Tathâgata, who keep it in their memory and apply themselves to it, do not know, nor perceive, nor understand their own self. For, Kâsyapa, the Tathâgata only really knows who, how, and of what kind those beings are; what², how, and whereby they are meditating; what, how, and whereby they are contemplating; what, why, and whereby they are attaining. No one but the Tathâgata, Kâsyapa, is there present, seeing all intuitively, and seeing the state of those beings in different stages, as of the lowest, highest, and mean grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees. I am he, Kâsyapa, who, knowing the law which is of but one essence, viz. the essence of deliverance, (the law) ever peaceful, ending in Nirvâna, (the law) of eternal rest, having but one stage and placed in voidness, (who knowing this) do not on a sudden reveal to all the knowledge of the all-knowing, since I pay regard to the dispositions of all beings.

You are astonished, Kâsyapa, that you cannot fathom the mystery³ expounded by the Tathâgata. It is, Kâsyapa, because the mystery expounded by

¹ The dead man knows all, i.e. has experienced all he was to experience in his span of life.

² The MSS. here and in the sequel have *yañka* instead of *yaḥka*, a trace of the original Prâkrit text.

³ *Sandhâbhâshita*.

the Tathâgatas, the Arhats, &c. is difficult to be understood.

And on that occasion, the more fully to explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. I am the Dharmarâga, born in the world as the destroyer of existence¹. I declare the law to all beings after discriminating their dispositions.

2. Superior men of wise understanding² guard the word, guard the mystery, and do not reveal it to living beings.

3. That science is difficult to be understood ; the simple, if hearing it on a sudden, would be perplexed ; they would in their ignorance fall out of the way and go astray.

4. I speak according to their reach and faculty ; by means of various meanings³ I accommodate my view (or the theory).

5. It is, Kâsyapa⁴, as if a cloud rising above the

¹ It is known from the *Kaṭha* Upanishad that the Dharmarâga, Death, knows all about death and the next world, and is questioned about it by Nâkiketas.

² Dhîrabuddhi.

³ Or, permutable meanings, anyamanyehi arthehi.

⁴ The translation is uncertain, because the MSS. most distinctly read Kâsyapo, which may be a clerical error for Kâsyapâ, a common form of the vocative in Prâkrit. As, however, Kasyapo is a personification of gloom, the gray of twilight, the construction of kâsyapo meghaḥ, as a gloomy or dark or gray cloud, is perfectly intelligible. As to Kâsyapa in the vocative, this also may be explained, because he is near the setting sun, the Dharmarâga delivering his speech on immortality at the third juncture. There he, Mahâ-Kasyapa (wrongly written Kâsyapa), immediately succeeds the Buddha after the Nirvâṇa as the president of the first council of monks. I need not add that the prevailing opinion amongst scholars is different ; they see real history in the tradition about the first council.

horizon shrouds all space (in darkness) and covers the earth.

6. That great rain-cloud, big with water, is wreathed with flashes of lightning and rouses with its thundering call all creatures.

7. By warding off the sunbeams, it cools the region; and gradually lowering so as to come in reach of hands, it begins pouring down its water all around.

8. And so, flashing on every side, it pours out an abundant mass of water equally, and refreshes this earth.

9. And all herbs which have sprung up on the face of the earth, all grasses, shrubs, forest trees, other trees small and great;

10. The various field fruits and whatever is green; all plants on hills, in caves and thickets;

11. All those grasses, shrubs, and trees are vivified by the cloud that both refreshes the thirsty earth and waters the herbs.

12. Grasses and shrubs absorb the water of one essence which issues from the cloud according to their faculty and reach.

13. And all trees, great, small, and mean, drink that water according to their growth and faculty, and grow lustily.

14. The great plants whose trunk, stalk, bark, twigs, pith, and leaves are moistened by the water from the cloud develop their blossoms and fruits.

15. They yield their products, each according to its own faculty, reach, and the particular nature of the germ; still the water emitted (from the cloud) is of but one essence.

16. In the same way, Kāśyapa, the Buddha

comes into the world like a rain-cloud¹, and, once born, he, the world's Lord, speaks and shows the real course of life.

17. And the great Seer, honoured in the world, including the gods, speaks thus: I am the Tathâgata, the highest of men, the Gina; I have appeared in this world like a cloud.

18. I shall refresh all beings whose bodies are withered, who are clogged to the triple world. I shall bring to felicity those that are pining away with toils, give them pleasures and (final) rest.

19. Hearken to me, ye hosts of gods and men; approach to behold me: I am the Tathâgata, the Lord, who has no superior, who appears in this world to save².

✓ 20. To thousands of koṭis of living beings I preach a pure and most bright law that has but one scope, to wit, deliverance and rest.

21. I preach with ever the same voice, constantly taking enlightenment as my text. For this is equal for all; no partiality is in it, neither hatred nor affection.

22. I am inexorable³, bear no love nor hatred towards any one, and proclaim the law to all creatures without distinction, to the one as well as the other.

¹ In the legend, it is well known, he enters the womb of the Great Mother, Mahâ-Mâyâ (identical with Prakṛiti, Aditi, both Nature and Earth), as an elephant. The discrepancy between the two legends is more apparent than real, for in Indian poetry the clouds are called elephants.

² Like Apollo *σωτήρ*.

³ Anunīyatâ mahya na kâṭid asti. I suppose that anunīya answers to Sanskrit anuneya.

23. Whether walking, standing, or sitting, I am exclusively occupied with this task of proclaiming the law. I never get tired of sitting on the chair I have ascended.

24. I recreate the whole world like a cloud shedding its water without distinction; I have the same feelings for respectable people as for the low; for moral persons as for the immoral;

25. For the depraved as for those who observe the rules of good conduct; for those who hold sectarian views and unsound tenets as for those whose views are sound and correct.

26. I preach the law to the inferior (in mental culture) as well as to persons of superior understanding and extraordinary faculties; inaccessible to weariness, I spread in season the rain of the law.

27. After hearing me, each according to his faculty, the several beings find their determined place in various situations, amongst gods, men, beautiful beings¹, amongst Indras, Brahmas, or the monarchs, rulers of the universe.

28. Hear, now, I am going to explain what is meant by those plants of different size, some of them being low in the world, others middle-sized and great.

29. Small plants are called the men who walk in the knowledge of the law, which is free from evil after the attaining of Nirvâṇa, who possess the six transcendent faculties and the triple science.

¹ Manorameshu, perhaps women are meant. A var. lect. has manoratheshu, i.e. amongst fancies, fanciful beings, chimeras. This reading would rather lead us to see in those beautiful or charming beings some kind of geniuses, cherubim, alias Vidyâ-dharas.

30. Mean plants are called the men who, dwelling in mountain caverns, covet the state of a Pratyekabuddha, and whose intelligence is moderately purified.

31. Those who aspire to become leading men (thinking), I will become a Buddha, a chief of gods and men, and who practise exertion and meditation, are called the highest plants.

32. But the sons of Sugata, who sedulously practise benevolence and a peaceful conduct, who have arrived at certainty about their being leading men, these are called trees.

33. Those who move forward the wheel that never rolls back, and with manly strength stand firm in the exercise of miraculous power, releasing many *koṭis* of beings, those are called great trees¹.

34. Yet it is one and the same law which is preached by the *Gina*, like the water emitted by the cloud is one and the same; different only are the faculties as described, just as the plants on the face of the earth.

35. By this parable thou mayst understand the skilfulness of the *Tathāgata*, how he preaches one law, the various developments whereof may be likened to drops of rain.

36. I also pour out rain: the rain of the law

¹ It is not easy to make out what kind of terrestrial beings are severally alluded to in stanzas 29–33. I first thought that the small plants were simply the *Brahmakārin*s, the mean ones the *Vānaprasthas* or hermits, and the highest plants the *Yatis*; but it seems more reasonable to suppose that real sons of Buddha are meant; cf. the stanzas 39–41. The Buddhists alluded to in stanza 32 are simple monks, whereas those of the following stanza are preachers, able exponents of the law, and clever propagandists of the *Bauddha* religion.

by which this whole world is refreshed; and each according to his faculty takes to heart this well-spoken law¹ that is one in its essence.

37. Even as all grasses and shrubs, as well as plants of middle size, trees and great trees at the time of rain look bright in all quarters;

38. So it is the very nature of the law to promote the everlasting weal of the world; by the law the whole world is recreated, and as the plants (when refreshed) expand their blossoms, the world does the same when refreshed.

39. The plants that in their growth remain middle-sized, are Arhats (saints) stopping when they have overcome frailties, (and) the Pratyekabuddhas who, living in woody thickets², accomplish this well-spoken law.

40. (But) the many Bodhisattvas who, thoughtful and wise, go their way all over the triple world, striving after supreme enlightenment, they continue increasing in growth like trees.

41. Those who, endowed with magical powers and being adepts in the four degrees of meditation, feel delight at hearing of complete voidness³ and emit thousands of rays, they are called the great trees on earth.

42. So then, Kâsyapa, is the preaching of the law, like the water poured out by the cloud everywhere alike; by which plants and men(?) thrive, endless (and eternal) blossoms (are produced)⁴.

¹ The term used might be rendered by 'gospel.'

² Pratyekabuddhâ vanashandakârino, &c. Burnouf must have had quite a different reading.

³ Or unreality, sūnyatâ.

⁴ Yehî (the Sanskrit would require the dual) vivarddhanti

43. I reveal the law which has its cause in itself; at due time I show Buddha-enlightenment; this is my supreme skilfulness and that of all leaders of the world.

44. What I here say is true in the highest sense of the word; all my disciples attain Nirvâṇa; by following the sublime path of enlightenment all my disciples shall become Buddhas.

And further, Kâsyapa, the Tathâgata, in his educating¹ creatures, is equal (i.e. impartial) and not unequal (i.e. partial). As the light of the sun and moon, Kâsyapa, shines upon all the world, upon the virtuous and the wicked, upon high and low, upon the fragrant and the ill-smelling; as their beams are sent down upon everything equally, without inequality (partiality); so, too, Kâsyapa, the intellectual light of the knowledge of the omniscient, the Tathâgatas, the Arhats, &c., the preaching of the true law proceeds equally in respect to all beings in the five states of existence, to all who according to their particular disposition are devoted to the great vehicle, or to the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or to the vehicle of the disciples. Nor is there any deficiency or excess in the brightness of the Tathâgata-knowledge² up to one's becoming fully acquainted with the law. There are not three vehicles, Kâsyapa; there are but beings who act differently; therefore it is declared that there are three vehicles.

When the Lord had thus spoken, the venerable

(Sansk. °nte) mahoshadhīyo manushya (Sansk. manushyâḥ?)
pushpâṇi anantakâṇi.

¹ And removing.

² Tathâgatagñânprabhâṃ; var. lect. Tathâgatapragñâyâḥ.

Mahâ-Kâsyapa said to him : Lord, if there are not three vehicles, for what reason then is the designation of disciples (Śrâvakas), Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas kept up in the present times ?

On this speech the Lord answered the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa as follows : It is, Kâsyapa, as if a potter made different vessels out of the same clay. Some of those pots are to contain sugar, others ghee, others curds and milk ; others, of inferior quality, are vessels of impurity. There is no diversity in the clay used ; no, the diversity of the pots is only due to the substances which are put into each of them. In like manner, Kâsyapa, is there but one vehicle, viz. the Buddha-vehicle ; there is no second vehicle, no third.

The Lord having thus spoken, the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa said : Lord, if the beings are of different disposition, will there be for those who have left the triple world one Nirvâṇa, or two, or three ? The Lord replied : Nirvâṇa, Kâsyapa, is a consequence of understanding that all laws (things) are equal. Hence there is but one Nirvâṇa, not two, not three¹. Therefore, Kâsyapa, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

It is a case, Kâsyapa, similar to that of a certain blind-born man, who says : There are no handsome or ugly shapes ; there are no men able to see handsome or ugly shapes ; there exists no sun nor moon ; there are no asterisms nor planets ; there are no

¹ Cf. Ecclesiastes ix. 2 : 'All things come alike to all : there is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked ; to the good and to the clean, and to the unclean.'

men able to see planets. But other persons say to the blind-born : There are handsome and ugly shapes ; there are men able to see handsome and ugly shapes ; there is a sun and moon ; there are asterisms and planets ; there are men able to see planets. But the blind-born does not believe them, nor accept what they say. Now there is a physician who knows all diseases. He sees that blind-born man and makes to himself this reflection : The disease of this man originates in his sinful actions in former times. All diseases possible to arise are fourfold : rheumatism, cholera, phlegmatic, and caused by a complication of the (corrupted) humours. The physician, after thinking again and again on a means to cure the disease, makes to himself this reflection : Surely, with the drugs in common use it is impossible to cure this disease, but there are in the Himālaya, the king of mountains, four herbs, to wit : first, one called Possessed-of-all-sorts-of-colours-and-flavours ; second, Delivering-from-all-diseases ; third, Delivering-from-all-poisons ; fourth, Procuring-happiness-to-those-standing-in-the-right-place. As the physician feels compassion for the blind-born man he contrives some device to get to the Himālaya, the king of mountains. There he goes up and down and across to search. In doing so he finds the four herbs. One he gives after chewing it with the teeth ; another after pounding ; another after having it mixed with another drug and boiled ; another after having it mixed with a raw drug ; another after piercing with a lancet somewhere a vein¹ ; another after singeing it in fire ;

¹ *Sarirasthānam* viddhvā, var. lect. *sarasthānam* v., with a marginal correction *sarīrasthānam* v. I consider the original reading to have been *sirāsthānam*.

another after combining it with various other substances so as to enter in a compound potion, food, &c. Owing to these means being applied the blind-born recovers his eyesight, and in consequence of that recovery he sees outwardly and inwardly¹, far and near, the shine of sun and moon, the asterisms, planets, and all phenomena. Then he says: O how foolish was I that I did not believe what they told me, nor accepted what they affirmed. Now I see all; I am delivered from my blindness and have recovered my eyesight; there is none in the world who could surpass me. And at the same moment Seers of the five transcendent faculties², strong in the divine sight and hearing, in the knowledge of others' minds, in the memory of former abodes, in magical science and intuition, speak to the man thus: Good man, thou hast just recovered thine eyesight, nothing more, and dost not know yet anything. Whence comes this conceitedness to thee? Thou hast no wisdom, nor art thou a clever man. Further they say to him: Good man, when sitting in the interior of thy room, thou canst not see nor distinguish forms

¹ Bahir adhyâtmam, (the things) external and in relation to one's own self.

² I. e. simply the five senses. The term Abhigñâ can hardly originally have meant 'transcendent faculty or knowledge,' because it is a derivation from a compound abhigânâti. Neither in Sanskrit nor in Prâkrit can abhigñâ denote anything else but perception, acknowledgment, recognition. Yet it cannot be denied that those who used it intended by it to convey the meaning of something grand and imposing, especially the senses of a spiritual man, as distinguished from the profanum vulgus. As to the Seers, Rîshis, here mentioned, I think that they are the senses personified, otherwise called devas, gods. Deva, to denote an organ of sense, occurs frequently, e. g. *Mundaka Upanishad* III, 1, 8.

outside, nor discern which beings are animated with kind feelings and which with hostile feelings; thou canst not distinguish nor hear at the distance of five yoganās the voice of a man or the sound of a drum, conch trumpet, and the like; thou canst not even walk as far as a kos without lifting up thy feet; thou hast been produced and developed in thy mother's womb without remembering the fact; how then wouldst thou be clever, and how canst thou say: I see all? Good man, thou takest¹ darkness for light, and takest light for darkness.

Whereupon the Seers are asked by the man: By what means and by what good work shall I acquire such wisdom and with your favour acquire those good qualities (or virtues)? And the Seers say to that man: If that be thy wish, go and live in the wilderness or take thine abode in mountain caves, to meditate on the law and cast off evil passions. So shalt thou become endowed with the virtues of an ascetic² and acquire the transcendent faculties. The man catches their meaning and becomes an ascetic. Living in the wilderness, the mind intent upon one sole object, he shakes off worldly desires, and acquires the five transcendent faculties. After that acquisition he reflects thus: Formerly I did not do the right thing; hence no good accrued to me³. Now,

¹ *Samgânâsi*, var. lect. *samgânîshe*.

² *Dhutaguna*, Pâli the same, besides *dhûtaguna*. In Fâli the *dhutaṅgas* or *dhû°* denote thirteen ascetic practices; see Childers, Pâli Dict. s. v. The *Dhutagunas* are, according to the same author's statement, other names for the *Dhutaṅgas*, but I venture to think that they are the twenty-eight virtues of a *Dhutaṅga*, as enumerated in *Milinda Pañho* (ed. Trenckner), p. 351.

³ *Pûrvam anyat karma kṛitavân, tena me na kaśid guṇo 'dhigataḥ*.

however, I can go whither my mind prompts me; formerly I was ignorant, of little understanding, in fact, a blind man.

Such, Kâsyapa, is the parable I have invented to make thee understand my meaning. The moral to be drawn from it is as follows. The word 'blind-born,' Kâsyapa, is a designation for the creatures staying in the whirl of the world with its six states; the creatures who do not know the true law and are heaping up the thick darkness of evil passions. Those are blind from ignorance¹, and in consequence of it they build up conceptions²; in consequence of the latter name-and-form, and so forth, up to the genesis of this whole huge mass of evils³.

So the creatures blind from ignorance remain in the whirl of life, but the Tathâgata, who is out of the triple world, feels compassion, prompted by which, like a father for his dear and only son, he appears in the triple world and sees with his eye of wisdom that the creatures are revolving in the circle of the mundane whirl, and are toiling without finding the right means to escape from the rotation. And

¹ Or, false knowledge, avidyâ, which in the Chain of Causation (pratītyasamutpāda, Pāli patikkasamutpāda) occupies exactly the same place as in other systems of Indian philosophy. In reality the avidyâ was not only the origin of all evils, but also the remedy, the panacea. It was, however, thought convenient to veil that conclusion and to call the future state of complete ignorance 'all-knowingness.'

² Rather, products (saṃskāra) of the imaginative power, of fancy. These form the second item in the enumeration of Causes and Effects.

³ The genesis of diseases, death, &c. The merely ideal nature of this genesis is proved by the fact that the sage who has overcome avidyâ is just as liable to diseases and death as the most ignorant creature.

on seeing this he comes to the conclusion: Yon beings, according to the good works they have done in former states, have feeble aversions and strong attachments; (or) feeble attachments and strong aversions; some have little wisdom, others are clever; some have soundly developed views, others have unsound views. To all of them the Tathâgata skilfully shows three vehicles¹.

The Seers in the parable, those possessing the five transcendent faculties and clear-sight, are the Bodhisattvas² who produce enlightened thought, and by the acquirement of acquiescence in the eternal law³ awake us to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

The great physician in the parable is the Tathâgata. To the blind-born may be likened the creatures

¹ With this we may compare the term *trivartman* (of three paths), applied to the individual or living being, *Svetâsvatara Upanishad* V, 7. *Saṅkara* explains it by *devayânâdi*; in the more ancient and natural meaning, the word may have been applied to the three divisions of time. Cf. the same *Upanishad* I, 4, where the *brahmaṣakra*, the brahma-wheel, is said to be *trivṛt*, threefold.

² In the Yoga called *buddhisattva*, the reasoning faculty. The *Bodhisattvas* are the five *Dhyâni-Bodhisattvas* *Samantabhadra*, &c., who do no more differ from the five *Dhyâni-Buddhas* *Vairocana*, &c., than the *balas* do from the *indriyas*. Cf. *Burnouf*, *Intro.* p. 118.

³ *Anutpattikadharmakshântim pratilabhya*, var. *lect. anutpattikîṃ kshântim p.* *Anutpattika*, being a *Bahuvrîhi*, necessarily means 'having no origin, no beginning,' alias *anâdi*. The eternal law is that of rise and decay, and in so far the purport of the phrase seems not materially to differ from the translation in *Goldstûcker's Dict.*, 'enduring conditions which have not yet taken place.' The word 'acquiescence' in my version gives but one side of the meaning, for it also denotes 'undergoing.' In reality the sanctimonious phrase comes to this: every thinking being suffers the eternal law, i. e. he must die.

blind with infatuation. Attachment, aversion, and infatuation are likened to rheum, bile, and phlegm. The sixty-two false theories also must be looked upon as such (i. e. as *do shas*, 'humours and corrupted humours of the body,' 'faults and corruptions'). The four herbs are like vanity (or voidness), causelessness (or purposelessness), unfixedness, and reaching *Nirvâna*. Just as by using different drugs different diseases are healed, so by developing the idea of vanity (or voidness), purposelessness, unfixedness, (which are) the principles of emancipation, is ignorance suppressed; the suppression of ignorance is succeeded by the suppression of conceptions (or fancies); and so forth, up to the suppression of the whole huge mass of evils. And thus one's mind will dwell no more on good nor on evil.

To the man who recovers his eyesight is likened the votary of the vehicle of the disciples and of *Pratyekabuddhas*. He rends the ties of evil passion in the whirl of the world; freed from those ties he is released from the triple world with its six states of existence. Therefore the votary of the vehicle of the disciples may think and speak thus: There are no more laws to be penetrated; I have reached *Nirvâna*. Then the *Tathâgata* preaches to him: How can he who has not penetrated all laws have reached *Nirvâna*? The Lord rouses him to enlightenment, and the disciple, when the consciousness of enlightenment has been awakened in him, no longer stays in the mundane whirl, but at the same time has not yet reached *Nirvâna*¹. As he has arrived at

¹ I. e. he is not yet actually dead, but dead to the world; he is a *Gîvan-mukta*.

true insight, he looks upon this triple world in every direction as void, resembling the produce of magic, similar to a dream, a mirage, an echo. He sees that all laws (and phenomena) are unborn and undestroyed, not bound and not loose, not dark and not bright. He who views the profound laws in such a light, sees, as if he were not seeing, the whole triple world full of beings of contrary and omnifarious fancies and dispositions.

And on that occasion, in order to more amply explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

45. As the rays of the sun and moon descend alike on all men, good and bad, without deficiency (in one case) or surplus (in the other);

46. So the wisdom of the Tathâgata shines like the sun and moon¹, leading all beings without partiality.

47. As the potter, making clay vessels, produces from the same clay pots for sugar, milk, ghee, or water ;

48. Some for impurities, others for curdled milk, the clay used by the artificer² for the vessels being of but one sort ;

49. As a vessel is made to receive all its distinguishing qualities according to the quality of the substance laid into it³, so the Tathâgatas, on account of the diversity of taste,

¹ Tathâgatasya pragñā ka bhâsad' âdityaṭandratvat. Bhâsad' stands for bhâsadi, Sansk. bhâsate. A var. lect. has Tathâgatasya pragñâbhâ samâ hy â., i. e. 'the lustre of the Tathâgata's wisdom is equal (to all), like the sun and moon.'

² Bhârgava, to which we may assign the meaning of 'a skilful workman, artificer,' because it is one of the synonyms of tvashtri.

³ Yâdrîk prakshipyate dravyam bhâganam tena labhyate (read,

50. Mention a diversity of vehicles, though the Buddha-vehicle be the only indisputable one. He who ignores the rotation of mundane existence, has no perception of blessed rest ;

51. But he who understands that all laws are void and without reality (and without individual character) penetrates the enlightenment of the perfectly enlightened Lords in its very essence.

52. One who occupies a middle position of wisdom¹ is called a Pratyekagīna (i. e. Pratyekabuddha); one lacking the insight of voidness² is termed a disciple.

53. But after understanding all laws one is called a perfectly-enlightened one ; such a one is assiduous in preaching the law to living beings by means of hundreds of devices.

54. It is as if some blind-born man, because he sees no sun, moon, planets, and stars, in his blind ignorance (should say): There are no visible things³ at all.

55. But a great physician taking compassion on the blind man, goes to the Himālaya, where (seeking) across, up and down,

56. He fetches from the mountain four plants ;

lambhyate) sarvā(n) viśeṣe 'pi (Prākṛit for viśeṣhān api, though the stanza bears the traces of having originally been in Sanskrit) tathā ruṣībhedāt Tathāgatāḥ. A var. lect. has kṣhate (one syllable wanting) instead of la(m)bhyate ; what is intended is rakṣhate, it keeps.

¹ Pragnāmadhyavyavasthānāt Pratyekagīna uḷyate.

² I am at a loss to explain how this statement is to be reconciled with the bearings of the passage in prose before, unless we assume that the philosophers here alluded to are followers of other creeds, who believe in the existence of a soul. Their views are in opposition to those of the Buddha ; yet they are to be spoken of with moderate respect, because they do not belong to the profanum vulgus.

³ Rather here, phenomena.

the herb Of-all-colours-flavours-and-cases¹, and others. These he intends to apply.

57. He applies them in this manner: one he gives to the blind man after chewing it, another after pounding, again another by introducing it with the point of a needle into the man's body.

58. The man having got his eyesight, sees the sun, moon, planets, and stars, and arrives at the conclusion that it was from sheer ignorance that he spoke thus as he had formerly done.

59. In the same way do people of great ignorance, blind from their birth, move in the turmoil of the world, because they do not know the wheel of causes and effects, the path of toils².

60. In the world so blinded by ignorance appears the highest of those who know all, the Tathâgata, the great physician, of compassionate nature.

61. As an able teacher he shows the true law; he reveals supreme Buddha-enlightenment to him who is most advanced.

62. To those of middling wisdom the Leader preaches a middling enlightenment; again another enlightenment he recommends to him who is afraid of the mundane whirl.

63. The disciple who by his discrimination has escaped from the triple world thinks he has reached pure, blest Nirvâṇa³, but it is only by knowing all

¹ The reading is doubtful: *sarvavarṇarasasthânân nagâl labhata oshadhīm, evamâdīs katasro 'tha, &c.*; var. lect. *°sthânânugâm l.*, &c. This may mean, fit for all colours, flavours, and cases.

² *Pratī(t)yotpâdâḥkrasya—duḥkhavartmânâḥ.*

³ In other words, he has indeed attained a qualified (*sopadhiśeṣha*, Pâli *upâdisesa* or *sa-upâdisesa*) Nirvâṇa, or as non-Buddhists say, *gīvanmukti*.

laws (and the universal laws) that the immortal¹ Nirvâṇa is reached.

64. In that case it is as if the great Seers, moved by compassion, said to him : Thou art mistaken ; do not be proud of thy knowledge.

65. When thou art in the interior of thy room, thou canst not perceive what is going on without, fool as thou art.

66. Thou who, when staying within, dost not perceive even now what people outside are doing or not doing, how wouldst thou be wise, fool as thou art ?

67. Thou art not able to hear a sound at a distance of but five yoganās, far less at a greater distance.

68. Thou canst not discern who are malevolent or benevolent towards thee. Whence then comes that pride to thee ?

69. If thou hast to walk so far as a kos, thou canst not go without a beaten track²; and what happened to thee when in thy mother's womb thou hast immediately forgotten.

70. In this world he is called all-knowing who possesses the five transcendent faculties, but when thou who knowest nothing pretendest to be all-knowing, it is an effect of infatuation.

71. If thou art desirous of omniscience, direct thy attention to transcendent wisdom ; then betake thy-

¹ I.e. eternal, because in this system the dead is dead for ever. This immortal, everlasting Nirvâṇa is, of course, the anupādisesha, Pāli anupādisesa N.

² Or, perhaps, without a guide, padavīn tu vinā 'gatiḥ. This does not agree with the prose version, but it is not rare to meet with such discrepancies.

self to the wilderness and meditate on the pure law ; by it thou shalt acquire the transcendent faculties.

72. The man catches the meaning, goes to the wilderness, meditates with the greatest attention, and, as he is endowed with good qualities, ere long acquires the five transcendent faculties.

73. Similarly all disciples fancy having reached Nirvâna, but the Gina instructs them (by saying): This is a (temporary) repose, no final rest.

74. It is an artifice of the Buddhas to enunciate this dogma¹. There is no (real) Nirvâna without all-knowingness ; try to reach this.

75. The boundless knowledge of the three paths (of time), the six utmost perfections (Pâramitâs), voidness, the absence of purpose (or object), the absence of finiteness²;

76. The idea of enlightenment and the other laws leading to Nirvâna, both such as are mixed with imperfection and such as are exempt from it, such as are tranquil and comparable to ethereal space ;

77. The four Brahmavihâras³ and the four Saṅgrahas⁴, as well as the laws sanctioned by eminent sages for the education of creatures ;

78. (He who knows these things) and that all phenomena have the nature of illusion and dreams,

¹ Of temporary repose, it would seem.

² Or, absence of fixed purpose, *prañidhānavivargitam*.

³ Otherwise termed *Appamaññā* in Pāli ; they are identical with the four *bhāvanās*, or exercises to develop benevolence, compassion, cheerful sympathy, and equanimity, well known from the Yoga ; see *Yogasāstra* I, 33.

⁴ Commonly called *saṅgrahavastūni*, Pāli *saṅgahavatthūni*, articles of sociability, viz. liberality, affability, promoting another's interest, and pursuit of a common aim ; see e.g. *Lalita-vistara*, p. 39, l. 1.

that they are pithless as the stem of the plantain¹, and similar to an echo ;

79. And who knows that the triple world throughout is of that nature, not fast and not loose, he knows rest.

80. He who considers all laws² to be alike, void, devoid of particularity and individuality, not derived from an intelligent cause ; nay, who discerns that nothingness is law³ ;

81. Such a one has great wisdom and sees the whole of the law entirely. There are no three vehicles by any means ; there is but one vehicle in this world.

82. All laws (or the laws of all) are alike, equal, for all, and ever alike. Knowing this, one understands immortal, blest Nirvâna.

¹ Cf. the words of the funeral song in Yâgñavalkya III, 8 : 'Foolish is he who would seek pithfulness in humanity, which is pithless as the plantain's stem and resembling a water bubble.'

² Or all things ; or the laws of all things.

³ Sarvadharmân samâ(ñ)kê kshûnyâ(n) nirnânâkaranâtmakâm (r. °kân), na kaitân (I think kaittân) prekshate nâpi kimkîd dharmâm (sic) vipasyate. The other MS. has sarvadharmâm (r. °mân) samâ(n) sūnyân nirnânâkaranâtmikân, na ketâm prekshate nâpi kimkîd dharmam vinasyati. The great difficulty lies in the second half verse, which is evidently corrupt and wrongly Sanskritised, so that the correctness of the translation in this respect is problematical.

CHAPTER VI.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FUTURE DESTINY.

After pronouncing these stanzas the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known to you that the monk Kâsyapa, my disciple, here present, shall do homage to thirty thousand koṭis of Buddhas; shall respect, honour, and worship them; and shall keep the true law of those Lords and Buddhas. In his last bodily existence¹ in the world Avabhâsa (i. e. lustre), in the age (Æon) Mahâvyûha (i.e. great division) he shall be a Tathâgata, an Arhat, &c. &c., by the name of Rasmiprabhâsa (i.e. beaming with rays). His lifetime shall last twelve intermediate kalpas, and his true law twenty intermediate kalpas; the counterfeit of his true law shall last as many intermediate kalpas. His Buddha-field will be pure, clean, devoid of stones, grit, gravel; of pits and precipices; devoid of gutters and dirty pools²; even, pretty, beautiful, and pleasant to see; consisting of lapis lazuli, adorned with jewel-trees, and looking like a checker-board with eight compartments set off with gold threads. It will be strewed

¹ *Paṣkima samuḍḍhaya*, which also means western rise, elevation.

² *Apagatasyandanikagûthodilla*, var. lect. *°thodigalla*. My rendering of the last part of the compound is conjectural.

with flowers, and many hundred thousand Bodhisattvas are to appear in it. As to disciples, there will be innumerable hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of them. Neither Māra the evil one, nor his host will be discoverable in it, though Māra and his followers shall afterwards be there; for they will apply themselves to receive the true law under the command of that very Lord Rasmiprabhāsa.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. With my Buddha-eye, monks, I see that the senior Kāsyapa here shall become a Buddha at a future epoch, in an incalculable Æon, after he shall have paid homage to the most high of men.

2. This Kāsyapa shall see fully thirty thousand koṭis of Gīnas, under whom he shall lead a spiritual life for the sake of Buddha-knowledge.

3. After having paid homage to those highest of men and acquired that supreme knowledge, he shall in his last bodily existence be a Lord of the world, a matchless, great Seer.

4. And his field will be magnificent, excellent, pure, goodly, beautiful, pretty, nice, ever delightful, and set off with gold threads.

5. That field, monks, (appearing like) a board divided into eight compartments, will have several jewel-trees, one in each compartment, from which issues a delicious odour.

6. It will be adorned with plenty of flowers, and embellished with variegated blossoms; in it are no pits nor precipices; it is even, goodly, beautiful.

7. There will be found hundreds of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, subdued of mind and of great magical

power, mighty keepers¹ of Sûtrântas of great extension.

8. As to disciples, faultless, princes of the law, standing in their last period of life, their number can never be known, even if one should go on counting for Æons, and that with the aid of divine knowledge.

9. He himself shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas, and his true law twenty complete Æons ; the counterfeit is to continue as many Æons, in the domain of Rasmiprabhâsa.

Thereupon the venerable senior Mahâ-Maudgalyâyana, the venerable Subhûti, and the venerable Mahâ-Kâtyâyana, their bodies trembling, gazed up to the Lord with unblenching eyes, and at the same moment severally uttered, in mental concert, the following stanzas :

10. O hallowed one (Arhat), great hero, Sâkyalion, most high of men ! out of compassion to us speak the Buddha-word.

11. The highest of men, the Gina, he who knows the fatal term, will, as it were, sprinkle us with nectar by predicting our destiny also.

12. (It is as if) a certain man, in time of famine, comes and gets good food, but to whom, when the food is already in his hands, they say that he should wait².

13. Similarly it was with us, who after minding

¹ Vaipulyasûtrântadharâna tâyinâm. Here the word tâyin would seem to be used in the sense of 'able,' agreeing with the meaning of tâyana in Pânini I, 3, 38.

² Durbhiksha âgataḥ kaskin naro labdhvâ subhoganam, 'pratîksha' bhûya ukṛeta hastaprâptasmi bhogane. The Prâkrit underlying this literary dialect is easily reconstrued.

the lower vehicle, at the calamitous conjuncture of a bad time ¹, were longing for Buddha-knowledge.

14. But the perfectly-enlightened great Seer has not yet favoured us with a prediction (of our destiny), as if he would say: Do not eat the food that has been put into your hand.

15. Quite so, O hero, we were longing as we heard the exalted voice (and thought): Then shall we be at rest ², when we shall have received a prediction.

16. Utter a prediction, O great hero, so benevolent and merciful! let there be an end of our feeling of poverty!

And the Lord, who in his mind apprehended the thoughts arising in the minds of those great senior disciples, again addressed the complete assembly of monks: This great disciple of mine, monks, the senior Subhûti, shall likewise pay homage to thirty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Under them shall he lead a spiritual life and achieve enlightenment. After the performance of such duties shall he, in his last bodily existence, become a Tathâgata in the world, an Arhat, &c. &c., by the name of Sasiketu ³.

His Buddha-field will be called Ratnasambhava and his epoch Ratnaprabhâsa ⁴. And that Buddha-field will be even, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, devoid of pits and precipices, devoid

¹ Dushkâlabhagnasandhau.

² And felicitous, blest, beatified (nirvṛita).

³ I. e. moon-signal, or having the moon for ensign.

⁴ Var. lect. Ratnâvabhâsa.

of sewers¹, nice, covered with flowers. And there will men have their abode in palaces (or towers) given them for their use. In it will be many disciples, innumerable, so that it would be impossible to terminate the calculation. Many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas also will be there. The lifetime of that Lord is to last twelve intermediate kalpas; his true law is to continue twenty intermediate kalpas, and its counterfeit as many. That Lord will, while standing poised in the firmament², preach the law to the monks, and educate many thousands of Bodhisattvas and disciples.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

17. I have something to announce, monks, something to make known; listen then to me: The senior Subhūti, my disciple, shall in days to come be a Buddha.

18. After having seen of most mighty Buddhas thirty myriads of koṭis in full, he shall enter upon the straight³ course to obtain this knowledge.

19. In his last bodily existence shall the hero, possessed of the thirty-two distinctive signs, become a great Seer, similar to a column of gold, beneficial and bounteous to the world.

20. The field where that friend of the world⁴ shall save myriads of koṭis of living beings will be most beautiful, pretty, and delightful to people at large.

¹ Doubtful, the MSS. having *gūthodigilla* and *gūthodigalla*.

² Properly, standing as a great meteor, *mahāvaiḥāyasaṃ sthitvā*; *vaiḥāyasa* is exactly the Greek *μετέωρος*.

³ *Anuloma*, direct, straight; the reverse of *vakragati*, the retrograde motion of planets, &c.

⁴ *Lokabandhu*.

21. In it will be many Bodhisattvas to turn the wheel that never rolls back (or never deviates); endowed with keen faculties they will, under that Gina, be the ornaments of the Buddha-field.

22. His disciples are so numerous as to pass calculation and measure; gifted with the six transcendent faculties, the triple science and magic power; firm in the eight emancipations.

23. His magic power, while he reveals supreme enlightenment, is inconceivable. Gods and men, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, will always reverentially salute him with joined hands.

24. He shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas; the true law of that most high of men is to last twenty intermediate kalpas and the counterfeit of it as many.

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known that the senior Mahâ-Kâtyâyana here present, my disciple, shall pay homage to eight thousand koṭis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship; at the expiration of those Tathâgatas he shall build Stûpas, a thousand yoganas in height, fifty yoganas in circumference, and consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl¹, emerald, and, seventhly, coral². Those Stûpas he shall worship

¹ Lohitamukti, according to Buddhist authorities, red pearl. The word is of so frequent occurrence that there can be no question of muktes in the genitive case being a clerical error for muktâyâs. If the word ever had any existence out of Buddhist writings, mukti must have been a variation of muktâ.

² Musâragalva; whether this precious stone really be coral, as Buddhist dictionaries assert, is rather doubtful. As the enumerated substances represent the seven colours—originally the

with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers. Afterwards he shall again pay a similar homage to twenty koṭis of Buddhas; show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Then in his last bodily existence ¹, his last corporeal appearance, he shall be a Tathâgata in the world, an Arhat, &c. &c., named Gâmbûnada-prabhâsa (i.e. gold-shine), endowed with science and conduct, &c. His Buddha-field will be thoroughly pure, even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, interlaced with gold threads, strewn with flowers, free from beings of the brute creation, hell, and the host of demons, replete with numerous men and gods, adorned with many hundred thousand disciples and many hundred thousand Bodhi-sattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twelve intermediate kalpas; his true law shall continue twenty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

25. Listen all to me, ye monks, since I am going to utter an infallible word ². Kâtyâyana here, the senior, my disciple, shall render worship to the Leaders.

26. He shall show veneration of various kinds and in many ways to the Leaders, after whose

rainbow colours, I think—the interpretation either of lohita-mukti or of musâragalva must be wrong, perhaps both are false.

¹ Properly, western elevation or rise.

² The Buddha may in sober truth say so, because the astronomer can predict future risings and settings. He here shows himself to be Brahma, in his function of the first of astronomers, to whom the ancient Brahma-Siddhânta is referred.

expiration he shall build Stûpas, worshipping them with flowers and perfumes.

27. In his last bodily existence he shall be a Gina, in a thoroughly pure field, and after acquiring full knowledge he shall preach to a thousand koṭis of living beings.

28. He shall be a mighty Buddha and illuminator, highly honoured in this world, including the gods, under the name of Gâmbunada-prabhâsa ¹, and save koṭis of gods and men.

29. Many Bodhisattvas as well as disciples, beyond measure and calculation, will in that field adorn the reign of that Buddha, all of them freed from existence and exempt from existence ².

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks : I announce to you, monks, I make known, that the senior Mahâ-Maudgalyâyana here present, my disciple, shall propitiate twenty-eight thousand Buddhas ³ and pay those Lords homage of various kinds ; he shall show them respect, &c., and after their expiration build Stûpas consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl, emerald, and, seventhly, coral ; (Stûpas) a thousand yoganas in height and five hundred yoganas in circumference, which Stûpas he shall worship in different ways, with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and triumphal streamers.

¹ One MS. has a second-hand reading, °dâbhâsa.

² Vibhava ; Burnouf must have read vibhaya, 'exempts de terreur.'

³ The number of twenty-eight—the cyphers not being taken into account—probably indicates the number of days (Buddhas) during which the planet is standing in some stage of its course.

Afterwards he shall again pay a similar worship to twenty¹ hundred thousand koṭis of Buddhas; he shall show respect, &c., and in his last bodily existence become in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Tamâlapatra~~k~~andanagandha²; endowed with science and conduct, &c. The field of that Buddha will be called Manobhirâma; his period Ratipratipûrṇa. And that Buddha-field will be even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, strewn with detached flowers, replete with gods and men, frequented by hundred thousands of Seers, that is to say, disciples and Bodhisattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twenty-four intermediate kalpas; his true law is to last forty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

30. The scion of the Mudgala-race, my disciple here, after leaving³ human existence shall see twenty thousand mighty⁴ Ginas and eight (thousand) more of these faultless beings.

31. Under them he shall follow a course of duty, trying to reach Buddha-knowledge; he shall pay homage in various ways to those Leaders and to the most high of men.

32. After keeping their true law, of wide reach and sublime, for thousands of koṭis of Æons, he shall at the expiration of those Sugatas worship their Stûpas.

¹ As many days in another stage.

² I. e. having the odour (or resemblance) of Xanthochymus and sandal. From the dark colour I infer that Saturn is meant, for this planet is represented as being black.

³ Gahitva.

⁴ Tâyin.

33. In honour of those most high Ginas, those mighty beings¹ so beneficial to the world, he shall erect Stūpas consisting of precious substances, and decorated with triumphal streamers, worshipping them with flowers, perfumes, and the sounds of music.

34. At the period of his last bodily existence he shall, in a nice and beautiful field, be a Buddha bounteous and compassionate to the world, under the name of Tamālapatrakāndanagandha.

35. The measure of that Sugata's life shall be fully twenty-four intermediate kalpas, during which he shall be assiduous in declaring the Buddha-rule to men and gods.

36. That Gina shall have many thousands of koṭis of disciples, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, gifted with the six transcendent faculties and the triple science, and possessed of magic power, under the command of that Sugata.

37. Under the reign of that Sugata there shall also appear numerous Bodhisattvas, many thousands of them, unable to slide back (or to deviate), developing zeal, of extensive knowledge and studious habits.

38. After that Gina's expiration his true law shall measure in time twenty-four² intermediate kalpas in full; its counterfeit shall have the same measure.

39. These are my five mighty disciples whom I

¹ Tāyin.

² The original reading has been meddled with; one MS. has *vimsaḥ kavam* (second-hand, *ka vim*) *syāntarakalpa*; another, *vimsaḥ ka viśāntarak*^o. The original Prākṛit may have had something like *vimsam katum*.

have destined to supreme enlightenment and to become in future self-born *Ginas*; now hear from me their course¹.

¹ In this chapter only four disciples are mentioned; the fifth must be *Sâriputra*, whose destination has been predicted before.

CHAPTER VII.

ANCIENT DEVOTION¹.

Of yore, monks, in the past, incalculable, more than incalculable, inconceivable, immense, measureless Æons since, nay, at a period, an epoch far beyond, there appeared in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, endowed with science and conduct², a Sugata, &c. &c., in the sphere Sambhava (i. e. origin, genesis), in the period Mahârûpa. (You ask), monks, how long ago is it that the Tathâgata was born? Well, suppose some man was to reduce to powder the whole mass of the earth element as much as is to be found in this whole universe; that after taking one atom of dust from this world he is to walk a thousand worlds farther in easterly direction to deposit that single atom; that after taking a second atom of dust and walking a thousand worlds farther he deposits that second atom, and proceeding in this way at last gets the whole of the earth element deposited in eastern

¹ Pûrvayoga, which recurs as the heading of chaps. XXII and XXV, would at first sight seem to mean 'former conjunction,' but that does not answer any more than 'ancient devotion.' I think that yoga here is an alteration of yuga, age, period, or a Prâkritism for yauga, i. e. referring to an age. A Sanskrit pûrva-yauga would be formed like pûrva-yâyâta, &c.; cf. Pânini VI, 2, 103. The original meaning of pûrva-yoga is, I suppose, pre-history. Cf. *pubbayogo ti pubbakammam*, Milinda Pañho, p. 2.

² I. e. with light and motion.

direction. Now, monks, what do you think of it, is it possible by calculation to find the end or limit of these worlds? They answered: Certainly not, Lord; certainly not, Sugata. The Lord said: On the contrary, monks, some arithmetician or master of arithmetic might, indeed, be able by calculation to find the end or limit of the worlds, both those where the atoms have been deposited and where they have not, but it is impossible by applying the rules of arithmetic to find the limit of those hundred thousands of myriads of Æons; so long, so inconceivable, so immense is the number of Æons which have elapsed since the expiration of that Lord, the Tathâgata Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû. Yet, monks, I perfectly remember that Tathâgata who has been extinct for so long a time¹, as if he had reached extinction to-day or yesterday², because of my possessing the mighty knowledge and sight of the Tathâgata.

And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas:

1. I remember³ the great Seer Abhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the most high of men, who existed many kotis of Æons ago as the superior *Gina* of the period.

2. If, for example, some men after reducing this

¹ Hence follows that the Buddha has existed since time immemorial; in other words, that he is Âdibuddha.

² I have taken the liberty to render *svas* by 'yesterday,' though I have no other warrant for the word ever being taken in this sense except the context and the fact that in sundry languages the notions of to-morrow and yesterday are occasionally expressed by the same term, e.g. Hindî *kal* (properly morning, to-morrow, Sansk. *kalyam*, *kâlyam*); the English 'yesterday' is the very same word with Gothic *gistradagis*, to-morrow.

³ *Anusmarâmi*, omitted by Burnouf.

universe to atoms of dust took one atom to deposit it a thousand regions farther on ;

3. If he deposited a second, a third atom, and so proceeded until he had done with the whole mass of dust, so that this world were empty and the mass of dust exhausted ;

4. To that immense mass of the dust of these worlds, entirely reduced to atoms, I liken the number of Æons past.

5. So immense is the number of *koṭis* of Æons past since that extinct Sugata ; the whole of (existing) atoms is no (adequate) expression of it ; so many are the Æons which have expired since.

6. That Leader who has expired so long ago, those disciples and Bodhisattvas, I remember all of them as if it were to-day or yesterday. Such is the knowledge of the Tathāgatas.

7. So endless, monks, is the knowledge of the Tathāgata ; I know what has taken place many hundreds of Æons ago, by my precise and faultless memory.

To proceed, monks, the measure of the lifetime of the Tathāgata Mahābhigñāgñānābhībhū, the Arhat, &c. was fifty-four hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Æons.

In the beginning when the Lord had not yet reached supreme, perfect enlightenment and had just occupied the summit of the terrace of enlightenment¹, he discomfited and defeated the whole host of Māra, after which he thought : I am to reach

¹ Bodhimandavarāgragata eva ; var. lect. bodhimandavarāgata eva, i. e. just having come to the terrace of enlightenment. Vara here is vára, circuit ; it adds little to the notion of the simple bodhi-manda, this also being a round terrace.

perfect enlightenment¹. But those laws (of perfect enlightenment) had not yet dawned upon him. He stayed on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment during one intermediate kalpa. He stayed there a second, a third intermediate kalpa, but did not yet attain supreme, perfect enlightenment. He remained a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth, a ninth, a tenth intermediate kalpa on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment², continuing sitting cross-legged without in the meanwhile rising. He stayed, the mind motionless, the body unstirring and untrembling, but those laws had not yet dawned upon him.

Now, monks, while the Lord was just on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, the gods of Paradise (*Trâyastrimsas*) prepared him a magnificent royal throne, a hundred *yoganas* high, on occupying which the Lord attained supreme, perfect enlightenment; and no sooner had the Lord occupied the seat of enlightenment than the *Brahmakâyika* gods scattered a rain of flowers all around the seat of enlightenment over a distance of a hundred *yoganas*; in the sky they let loose storms by which the flowers, withered, were swept away. From the beginning of the rain of flowers, while the Lord was sitting on the seat of enlightenment, it poured without interruption during fully ten intermediate kalpas³,

¹ It is difficult not to see that we have here, as well as in the opening of the *Mahāvagga* and in *Lalita-vistara*, chap. 21, a description of the rising of the sun, the beginning of a kalpa, a myth of the creation of the visible world.

² The so-called Bo-tree.

³ An intermediate kalpa is the twentieth part of an incalculable kalpa, which in reality is equal to one day of twenty-four hours,

covering the Lord. That rain of flowers having once begun falling continued to the moment of the Lord's complete Nirvâna. The angels belonging to the division of the four guardians of the cardinal points made the celestial drums of the gods resound¹; they made them resound without interruption in honour of the Lord who had attained the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. Thereafter, during fully ten intermediate kalpas, they made uninterruptedly resound those celestial musical instruments up to the moment of the complete extinction of the Lord.

Again, monks, after the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment². Immediately on knowing his having become enlightened the sixteen³ sons born to that Lord when a prince royal, the eldest of whom was named *Gñânâkara*—which sixteen young princes, monks, had severally toys to play with, variegated and pretty—those sixteen princes, I repeat, monks, left their toys, their amusements, and since they knew that the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., had attained supreme, perfect knowledge, went, surrounded and attended by their weeping mothers and nurses, along with the noble, rich king *Kakravartin*, many ministers, and hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of living beings, to the place where the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the

consequently ten intermediate kalpas are equal to one day (half day-night) of twelve hours, from sunrise until sunset at the equinox.

¹ It must have been a stormy day, far from rare about the time of the equinoxes.

² Just at sunset.

³ Sixteen is the number of the kalâs (digits) of the moon.

Tathāgata, &c., was seated on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. They went up to the Lord in order to honour, respect, worship, revere, and venerate him, saluted his feet with their heads, made three turns round him keeping him to the right¹, lifted up their joined hands, and praised the Lord, face to face, with the following stanzas:

8. Thou art the great physician², having no superior, rendered perfect in endless Æons³. Thy benign wish of saving all mortals (from darkness) has to-day been fulfilled.

9. Most difficult things hast thou achieved⁴ during the ten intermediate kalpas now past; thou hast been sitting all that time without once moving thy body, hand, foot, or any other part⁵.

10. Thy mind also was tranquil and steady, motionless, never to be shaken; thou knewest no distraction⁶; thou art completely quiet and faultless.

11. Joy with thee⁷! that thou so happily and safely,

¹ And, moving from east to south, and so forth.

² Like Apollo. Therefore the Buddha immediately after his bodhi, i. e. awakening, pronounces the four Âryasatyâni, which are nothing else but the well-known four chief points in the medical art,—the disease, the cause of the disease, necessity to remove that cause, and the remedy.

³ And, of infinite body; and, whose pharmacology is boundless; anantakalpa is the term used.

⁴ Out of a figure similar and akin to Hercules, the active Nârâyana has become a sage tranquil, peaceful, and refraining from action.

⁵ Desa. This immovability must be taken cum grano salis, in so far as the sun is represented to continue in the same portion of the ecliptic for one day.

⁶ Vikshepa as an astronomical term means celestial latitude; the sun knows no deviation from the ecliptic, of course.

⁷ Dish'yâsi.

without any hurt, hast reached supreme enlightenment. How great a fortune is ours! we congratulate ourselves, O Lion amongst kings!

12. These unhappy¹ creatures, vexed in all ways, deprived of eyes, as it were, and joyless, do not find the road leading to the end of toils, nor develop energy for the sake of deliverance.

13. Dangers are for a long time on the increase, and the laws (or phenomena, things) are deprived of the (possession of a) celestial body; the word of the Gina is not being heard; the whole world is plunged in thick darkness.

14. But to-day (or now) hast thou, Majesty of the world, reached this hallowed, high, and faultless spot; we as well as the world are obliged to thee, and approach to seek our refuge with thee, O Protector!

When, O monks, those sixteen princes in the condition of boys, childlike and young, had with such stanzas celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâ-bhibhû, the Tâthâgata, &c., they urged the Lord to move on the wheel of the law²: Preach the law, O Lord; preach the law, O Sugata, for the weal of the public, the happiness of the public, out of compassion for the world; for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the people generally, both of gods and men. And on that occasion they uttered the following stanzas:

15. Preach the law, O thou who art marked with a hundred auspicious signs, O Leader, O incomparable great Seer! thou hast attained exalted,

¹ Anâyika, derived from an and âya.

² I. e. to rise a second day, to awaken from his Nirvâna.

sublime knowledge ; let it shine in the world, including the gods.

16. Release us as well as these creatures ; display the knowledge of the Tathâgatas, that we also and, further, these beings may obtain this supreme¹ enlightenment.

17. Thou knowest every course (of duty) and knowledge ; thou knowest the (mental and moral) disposition and the good works done in a former state ; the (natural) bent of all living beings. Move on the most exalted, sublime wheel !

Then, monks, as the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâ-bhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of spheres in each of the ten directions of space were shaken in six different ways and became illumined with a great lustre. And in the intervals between all those spheres, in the dreary places of dark gloom, where even the sun and moon, so powerful, mighty, and splendid, have no advantage of the shining power they are endowed with, have no advantage of the colour and brightness they possess, even in those places a great lustre arose instantly. And the beings who appeared² in those intervals behold each other, acknowledge each other, (and exclaim): Lo, there are other beings also here appearing ! lo, there are other beings also here appearing ! The palaces and aerial cars of the gods in all those spheres up to the Brahma-world shook in six different ways and became illumined with a

¹ Or, foremost ; the word used being *agra*.

² *Upapanna*, by so-called *aupapâduka* (Pâli *opapâtika*), apparitional birth, birth by metamorphosis. Clouds e.g. are so born.

great lustre, surpassing the divine majesty of the gods. So then, monks, a great earthquake and a great, sublime lustre arose simultaneously. And the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels to the east, in these fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres, began excessively to glitter, glow, and sparkle in splendour and glory. And those Brahma-angels made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres went all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named *Sarvasattvatrâtri* (i. e. Saviour of all beings)¹, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in the following stanzas:

18. Our aerial cars to-day (or now) are all bristling² with rays in an extraordinary degree, and blazing in beautiful splendour and brilliancy. What may be the cause of it?

19. Come, let us investigate the matter, what divine being has to-day sprung into existence, whose power, such as was never seen before, here now appears?

20. Or should it be the Buddha, the king of kings, who to-day has been born somewhere in the world, and whose birth is announced by such a token that all the points of the horizon are now blazing in splendour?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the

¹ Probably a veiled name of the regent of the eastern quarter, Indra, one of whose epithets is *Sutrâman*.

² *Harshita*.

fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the western quarter, where those great Brahma-angels, O monks, stationed in the western quarter, saw the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhībhū, the Tathāgata, &c., on the summit of the exalted terrace of enlightenment, seated on the royal throne at the foot of the tree of enlightenment¹, surrounded and attended by gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, while his sons, the sixteen young princes, were urging him to move forward the wheel of the law. On seeing which the Brahma-angels came up to the Lord, saluted his feet with their heads, walked many hundred thousand times round him from left to right, strewing (flowers) and overwhelming both him and the tree of enlightenment, over a distance of ten yoganas, with those flower-bags as large as Mount Sumeru. After that they presented to the Lord their aerial cars (with the words): Accept, O Lord, these aerial cars out of compassion to us; use, O Sugata, those cars out of compassion to us.

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

21. A (or the) wonderful, matchless *Gina*, so beneficial and merciful, has arisen in the world. Thou art born a protector, a ruler (and teacher), a master; to-day all quarters are blessed.

¹ The sun rises the second day.

22. We have come as far as fully fifty thousand *koṭis* of worlds from here to humbly salute the *Gina* by surrendering our lofty aerial cars all together.

23. We possess these variegated and bright cars, owing to previous works; accept them to oblige us, and make use of them to thine heart's content, O Knower of the world!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him, saying: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! May the Lord preach final rest! May the Lord release all beings! Be favourable, O Lord, to this world! Preach the law, O Lord, to this world, including gods, Mâras, and Brahma-angels; to all people, including ascetics and Brahmans, gods¹, men, and demons! It will tend to the weal of the public, to the happiness of the public; out of mercy to the world, for the benefit and happiness of the people at large, both gods and men.

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus², with the following stanza:

24. Show the law, O Lord; show it, O most high of men! Show the power of thy kindness; save the tormented beings.

25. Rare³ is the light⁴ of the world like the

¹ The gods have been enumerated just before; therefore it would seem that gods, men, and demons here are veiled expressions for kings or Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras.

² MSS. sometimes *samaṅgîtyâ*, but more frequently *samaṁ s.*, i. e. all together in chorus or concert.

³ And, precious, durlabha.

⁴ Pradyota.

blossom of the glomerated fig-tree. Thou hast arisen, O great Hero; we pray to thee, the Tathâgata.

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the south-eastern quarter in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of spheres began excessively to glitter, glow, and sparkle in splendour and glory. And those Brahma-angels made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kofis of spheres went all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Adhimâtrakârūṇika (i.e. exceedingly compassionate), addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the following stanzas:

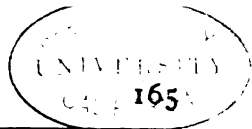
26. What foretold is it we see to-day (or now), friends? Who or what is foreboded by the celestial cars shining with such uncommon glory?

27. May, perhaps, some blessed divine being have come hither, by whose power all these aerial cars are illumined?

28. Or may the Buddha, the most high of men, have appeared in this world, that by his power these celestial cars are in such a condition as we see them?

29. Let us all together go and search; no trifle can be the cause of it; such a foretold, indeed, was never seen before¹.

¹ Viz. in the same kalpa, i. e. on that same day.



30. Come, let us go and visit *koṭis* of fields, along the four quarters ; a Buddha will certainly now have made his appearance in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the north-western quarter, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed in the north-western quarter, saw the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū [&c., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas :

31. Homage to thee, matchless great Seer, chief god of gods, whose voice is sweet as the lark's¹. Leader in the world, including the gods, I salute thee, who art so benign and bounteous to the world.

32. How wonderful, O Lord, is it that after so long a time thou appearest in the world². Eighty hundred complete Æons this world of the living was without Buddha³.

¹ Kalaviṅka, which I have freely rendered in this manner, commonly denotes a sparrow, but the corresponding Pāli word *kuraviṅka* is supposed to be the Indian cuckoo, the koil, which in Indian poetry may be said to answer to our nightingale ; in so far one might perhaps render *kalaviṅka* by nightingale.

² Consequently it was not for the first time that he appeared.

³ I do not understand this reckoning, unless Æon (*kalpa*) here be taken in the sense of intermediate *kalpa*. A *mahākālpā* is the period elapsing from the commencement of the world's destruction (i. e. sunset) to its complete restoration (i. e. sunrise). So, indeed,

33. It was deprived of the most high of men; hell was prevailing and the celestial bodies constantly went on waning during eighty hundred complete Æons.

34. But now he has appeared, owing to our good works, who is (our) eye, refuge, resting-place¹, protection, father, and kinsman²; he, the benign and bounteous one, the King of the law.

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū, the Tathāgata, &c., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

35. Move forward the exalted wheel, O great ascetic! reveal the law in all directions; deliver all beings oppressed with suffering³; produce amongst mortals gladness and joy!

36. Let them by hearing the law partake of enlightenment and reach divine places. Let all shake off their demon body and be peaceful, meek, and at ease⁴.

the Buddha has been absent for a kalpa, such a kalpa = mahākalpa contains 4 asaṅkhyeya-kalpas; each asaṅkhyeya-kalpa has 20 intermediate kalpas; hence a mahākalpa = 80 intermediate kalpas.

¹ Lena, Sansk. layana. In Burnouf's translation we find this word rendered by appui.

² The sun is lokabandhu, the kinsman and friend of the world, of mankind.

³ Or relieve all beings oppressed with toil.

⁴ It is not easy to say what is really meant by those divine

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to these Brahma-angels also.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the southern quarter [&c., as above till to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sudharma¹, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in stanzas :

37. It cannot be without cause or reason, friends, that to-day (or now) all these celestial cars are so brilliant; this bespeaks some portent somewhere in the world. Come, let us go and investigate the matter.

38. No such portent has appeared in hundreds of Æons past. Either some god has been born or a Buddha has arisen in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṣis* of spheres mounted [&c., as above² till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas :

39. Most rare (and precious) is the sight of the Leaders. Be welcome, thou dispeller of worldly defilement. It is after a long time that thou now appearest in the world; after hundreds of complete Æons one (now) beholds thee.

40. Refresh the thirsty creatures, O Lord of the

places; I think the temples and shrines to be visited in the morning.

¹ Of course Dharma, Yama, the regent of the south. The name here applied to him is derived from Sudharmâ, Yama's hall.

² Save the substitution of 'northern quarter' to 'north-western quarter.'

world! Now first thou art seen¹; it is not easy to behold thee. As rare (or precious) as the flowers of the glomerated fig-tree is thine appearance, O Lord.

41. By thy power these aerial cars of ours are so uncommonly illumined now, O Leader. To show us thy favour accept them, O thou whose look pierces everywhere!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

42. Preach the law, O Lord and Leader! move forward the wheel of the law, make the drum of the law resound, and blow the conch-trumpet of the law.

43. Shed the rain of the true law over this world and proclaim the sweet-sounding good word; manifest the law required, save myriads of koṭis of beings.

And the Lord, monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Repetition; the same occurred in the south-west, in the west, in the north-west, in the north, in the north-east, in the nadir.

Then, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the nadir², in those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of spheres [&c., as above till

¹ We must in thought add, in full glory, because we are at noontide.

² Yenâdhodigbhâga.

to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sikhin, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the following stanzas :

44. What may be the cause, O friends, that our cars are so bright with splendour, colour, and light ? What may be the reason of their being so exceedingly glorious ?

45. We have seen nothing like this before nor heard of it from others. These (cars) are now bright with splendour and exceedingly glorious ; what may be the cause of it ?

46. Should it be some god who has been bestowed upon¹ the world in recompense of good works, and whose grandeur thus comes to light ? Or is perhaps a Buddha born in the world ?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of *kośis* of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the zenith, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed at the zenith, saw the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhîhû [&c., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas :

47. How goodly is the sight of the Buddhas, the mighty² Lords of the world ; those Buddhas who are to deliver all beings in this triple world.

¹ Samarpita.

² Tâyin.

48. The all-seeing Masters of the world send their looks in all directions of the horizon, and by opening the gate of immortality¹ they make people reach the (safe) shore².

49. An inconceivable number of Æons now past were void, and all quarters wrapt in darkness, as the chief Ginas did not appear.

50. The dreary hells, the brute creation and demons were on the increase; thousands of kotis of living beings fell into the state of ghosts³.

51. The heavenly bodies were on the wane; after their disappearance they entered upon evil ways; their course became wrong because they did not hear the law of the Buddhas.

52. All creatures lacked dutiful behaviour⁴, purity, good state⁵, and understanding; their happiness was lost, and the consciousness of happiness was gone.

53. They did not observe the rules of morality; were firmly rooted in the false law⁶; not being led by the Lord of the world, they were precipitated into a false course.

54. Hail! thou art come at last, O Light of the world! thou, born to be bounteous towards all beings.

¹ In the Mahābhārata III, 156, and Yogayâtrâ I, 1, the sun is called 'the opened gate of deliverance,' mokshadvâram apâvritam.

² Âtânti; the var. lect. avatânti is out of place and destroys the metre.

³ Preta, properly 'deceased, a deceased one.' The real meaning of the passage is that men at night fall asleep.

⁴ Properly, movement, karyâ.

⁵ Gati, going, gait; the latter is really meant.

⁶ Asaddharme pratishhita; the real meaning may be, 'firmly established in the condition of non-existence,' i. e. in sleep.

55. Hail! thou hast safely arrived at supreme Buddha-knowledge; we feel thankful before thee, and so does the world, including the gods.

56. By thy power, O mighty Lord, our aerial cars are glittering; to thee we present them, great Hero; deign to accept them, great Solitary.

57. Out of grace to us, O Leader, make use of them, so that we, as well as all (other) beings, may attain supreme enlightenment.

After the great Brahma-angels, O monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., face to face, with seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [&c., as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following two stanzas:

58. Move forward the exalted, unsurpassed wheel! beat the drum of immortality! release all beings from hundreds of evils, and show the path of Nirvâṇa.

59. Expound the law we pray for; show thy favour to us and this world. Let us hear thy sweet and lovely voice which thou hast exercised during thousands of koṭis of Æons.

Now, monks, the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., being acquainted with the prayer of the hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels and of the sixteen princes, his sons, commenced at that juncture to turn the wheel that has three turns and twelve parts, the wheel never moved by any ascetic, Brahman, god, demon, nor

by any one else. (His preaching) consisted in this : This is pain ; this is the origin of pain ; this is the suppression of pain ; this is the treatment leading to suppression of pain. He moreover extensively set forth how the series of causes and effects is evolved, (and said): It is thus, monks. From ignorance proceed conceptions (or fancies) ; from conceptions (or fancies) proceeds understanding¹ ; from understanding name and form ; from name and form the six senses² ; from the six senses proceeds contact ; from contact sensation ; from sensation proceeds longing ; from longing proceeds striving³ ; from striving as cause issues existence ; from existence birth ; from birth old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and despondency. So originates this whole mass of misery. From the suppression of ignorance results the suppression of conceptions ; from the suppression of conceptions results that of understanding ; from the suppression of understanding results that of name and form ; from the suppression of name and form results that of the six senses ; from the suppression of the six senses results that of contact ; from the suppression of contact results that of sensation ; from the suppression of sensation results that of longing ; from the suppression of longing results that of striving ; from the suppression of striving results that of existence ; from the suppression of existence results that of birth ; from the suppression of birth results that of old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and

¹ Or, distinctive knowledge, judgment.

² And, the objects of the six senses.

³ Upâdâna, also taking up, and material.

despondency. In this manner the whole mass of misery is suppressed.

And while this wheel of the law, monks, was being moved onward¹ by the Lord Mahâbhigñāgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., in presence of the world, including the gods, demons, and Brahma-angels; of the assemblage, including ascetics and Brahmans; then, at that time, on that occasion, the minds of sixty² hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings were without effort freed from imperfections and became all possessed of the triple science, of the sixfold transcendent wisdom, of the emancipations and meditations. In due course, monks, the Lord Mahâbhigñāgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., again gave a second exposition of the law; likewise a third and a fourth exposition³. And at each exposition, monks, the minds of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of beings, like the sands of the river Ganges, were without effort freed from imperfections. Afterwards, monks, the congregation of disciples of that Lord was so numerous as to surpass all calculation.

Meanwhile, monks, the sixteen princes, the youths, had, full of faith, left home to lead the vagrant life of mendicants, and had all of them become novices, clever, bright, intelligent, pious, followers of the course (of duty) under many hundred thousand Buddhas, and striving after supreme, perfect en-

¹ Var. lect. *sahapravartti kedaṃ buddhakshetram tena Bhagavatâ, &c.*, 'and while this Buddha-field moved on along with the Lord,' or 'while this B. moved on with the Lord.'

² Sixty is the number of *ghaṭikâs*, Indian half-hours, making one day.

³ Cf. the four *vyûhas*, appearances, divisions of the Lord Vishṇu.

lightenment. These sixteen novices, monks, said to the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū, the Tathāgata, &c., the following : O Lord, these many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of disciples of the Tathāgata have become very mighty, very powerful, very potent, owing to the Lord's teaching of the law. Deign, O Lord, to teach us also, for mercy's sake, the law with a view to supreme, perfect enlightenment, so that we also may follow the teaching of the Tathāgata¹. We want, O Lord, to see the knowledge of the Tathāgata ; the Lord can himself testify to this, for thou, O Lord, who knowest the disposition of all beings, also knowest ours.

Then, monks, on seeing that those princes, the youths, had chosen the vagrant life of mendicants and become novices, the half of the whole retinue of the king Kakravartin, to the number of eighty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of living beings², chose the vagrant life of mendicants.

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū, the Tathāgata, &c., viewing the prayer of those novices at the lapse³ of twenty thousand Æons, amply and completely revealed the Dharma-paryāya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' a text⁴ of great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper for all Buddhas, in presence of all the four classes of auditors.

¹ Yad vayam-api Tathāgatasyānusikshemahi, which may also be rendered, that we also may profit by the teaching, &c.

² The use of the term prāṇin, a living being, an animal, to denote lifeless objects, is quite analogous to that of ζῷον in Greek.

³ Or, within the lapse, atyayena.

⁴ Sūtrānta, a word formed after the model of Siddhānta or Rāddhānta.

In course of time, monks, those sixteen novices grasped, kept, and fully penetrated the Lord's teaching. *

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., foretold those sixteen novices their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. And while the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., was propounding the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, the disciples as well as the sixteen novices were full of faith, and many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of beings acquired perfect certainty¹.

Thereupon, monks, after propounding the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law during eight thousand Æons without interruption, the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., entered the monastery to retire for the purpose of meditation², and in that retirement, monks, the Tathâgata continued in the monastery during eighty-four thousand koṭis of Æons.

Now, monks, when the sixteen novices perceived that the Lord was absorbed, they sat down on the seats, the royal thrones which had been prepared for each of them, and³ amply expounded, during eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of koṭis⁴, the Dhar-

¹ Nirvikikitsâprâpta; a var. lect. has vikikitsâprâpta, which means exactly the reverse, at least if we take vikikitsâ in its usual acceptation.

² Pratisamlayana, seclusion, retirement for the purpose of meditation, absorbing oneself in meditation; Pâli paṭisallâna.

³ In one MS. added in the margin, 'after rendering homage to the Lord M., the Tathâgata.'

⁴ One would expect eighty-four thousand koṭis, the same number as above. Burnouf has in both cases eighty-four thousand Æons, and that would seem to be the preferable reading.

maparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law to the four classes. By doing this, monks, each of those novices, as Bodhisattvas fully developed, instructed, excited, stimulated, edified, confirmed¹ in respect to supreme, perfect enlightenment 60 × 60² hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges.

Now, monks, at the lapse of eighty-four thousand Æons the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhībhū, the Tathāgata, &c., rose from his meditation, in possession of memory and consciousness, whereafter he went up to the seat of the law, designed for him, in order to occupy it.

As soon as the Lord had occupied the seat of the law, monks, he cast his looks over the whole circle of the audience and addressed the congregation of monks: They are wonderfully gifted, monks, they are prodigiously gifted, these sixteen novices, wise, servitors to many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas, observers of the course (of duty), who have received Buddha-knowledge, transmitted Buddha-knowledge, expounded Buddha-knowledge. Honour these sixteen novices, monks, again and again; and all, be they devoted to the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas,

¹ Avadhāritavān; var. lect. avatāritavān, 'brought (them) to, initiated (them) in.'

² Shashāṁ shashā (var. lect. shashāshashā) Gaṅgānadīvālikāsāmāni prāṇikośānayatatasahasrāṇi; the second reading admits of being rendered, hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of living beings, equal to the sands of 60 × 60 rivers (like the) Ganges. The number 360 is that of the days in a year, the five supernumerary days (avama) not being taken into account.

who shall not reject nor repudiate the preaching of these young men of good family, O monks, shall quickly gain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and obtain Tathâgata-knowledge.

In the sequel also, monks, have these young men of good family repeatedly revealed this Dharma-paryâya of the Lotus of the True Law under the mastership of that Lord. And the 60 × 60 hundred thousand myriads of kośis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges¹, who by each of the sixteen novices, the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, in the quality of Bodhisattva, had been roused to enlightenment, all those beings followed the example of the sixteen novices in choosing along with them the vagrant life of mendicants, in their several existences; they enjoyed their sight and heard the law from their mouth. They propitiated forty kośis² of Buddhas, and some are doing so up to this day.

I announce to you, monks, I declare to you : Those sixteen princes, the youths, who as novices under the mastership of the Lord were interpreters of the law, have all reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, and all of them are staying, existing, living even now, in the several directions of space, in different Buddha-fields, preaching the law to many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of disciples and Bodhisattvas, to wit : In the east, monks, in the world³ Abhirati the Tathâgata named Akshobhya,

¹ Or, as above in note 2, page 176.

² Var. lect. has 40 × 100,000 × 10,000 kośis.

³ Lokadhâtu ; it appears from this passage that this term, though it may be rendered by 'world' or 'universe,' in reality means what is implied by its etymology, viz. a fixed point of the world. It is needless to remark that the points of the compass are meant.

the Arhat, &c., and the Tathâgata Merukûta, the Arhat, &c.¹ In the south-east, monks, is the Tathâgata Simhaghosha, &c., and the Tathâgata Simhadhvaga, &c.² In the south, monks, is the Tathâgata named Âkâsapratishtâ, &c., and the Tathâgata named Nityaparinivrita³, &c. In the south-west, monks, is the Tathâgata named Indradhvaga, &c., and the Tathâgata named Brahmadvaga, &c. In the west, monks, is the Tathâgata named Amitâyus⁴, &c., and the Tathâgata named Sarvalokadhâtûpadravodvegapatyuttirna, &c. In the north-west, monks, is the Tathâgata named Tamâlapatrazandaganandhâbhigña⁵, &c., and the Tathâgata Merukalpa, &c. In the north, monks, is the Tathâgata named Meghasvarapradîpa⁶, &c., and the Tathâgata

¹ I am at a loss to explain by what trick the S. E. E. point is called 'summit of the Meru.'

² The names of these two Tathâgatas mean severally, having a lion's voice, and having a lion for ensign. 'Lion' is one of the constant veiled expressions for hari, yellow, ruddy, Vishnu, lion, &c., because hari possesses all these different meanings. The Buddhas here intended may be Agni and Anila or Antariksha (=vâyû, air), both of them known by the name of hari. Cf. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, VI (new series), p. 287 seq.

³ So have my MSS.; Nityaparinivrita, 'always extinct or quiet,' is Yama, Death.

⁴ Identical with Amitâbha; he is the ruler of the blessed dead in the city of Bliss (Sukhâvatî), and therefore a variety of Yama. His being placed in the west is explainable, because Yama and Varuna in a certain function coincide, and the latter otherwise appears as the ruler of the west. The following worthy with endless name, 'Having past all worldly calamities and emotions,' is another designation of Amitâyus, i. e. he whose life is of unlimited duration.

⁵ According to the Camb. MSS.; the name 'cognizant of the scent of Xanthochymus and sandal' denotes the Wind, the ruler of the north-west.

⁶ Var. lect. Meghasvaradîpa; Burnouf has a third form, Megha-

named Meghasvararâga, &c. In the north-east, monks, is the Tathâgata named Sarvalokabhayaâgitakḥambhitatvavidhvamsanakara¹, the Arhat, &c., and, the sixteenth, myself, Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., who have attained supreme, perfect enlightenment in the centre of this Saha-world².

Further, monks, those beings who have heard the law from us when we were novices, those many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of beings, numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, whom we have severally initiated in supreme, perfect enlightenment, they are up to this day standing on the stage of disciples and matured for supreme, perfect enlightenment. In regular turn they are to attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, for it is difficult, monks, to penetrate the knowledge of the Tathâgatas. And which are those beings, monks, who,

svara. Dîpa or pradîpa, torch, candle, light, is necessary, because the ruler of the north is the moon; meghasvara, sound of the clouds, must somehow denote the sky. Râgan, king, is king Soma (identified with the moon).

¹ Var. lect. °bhayadevâgakkha°, and, according to Burnouf, °bhayâstambhitatva°. The compound contains four epithets of Siva, the ruler of the north-east; sarvalokabhaya, the terror of all the world; agita, unconquerable (the var. lect. devâga is probably devâgra, the chief or supreme of gods); kḥambhitatvakara, he who causes stiffness; vidhvamsanakara, the destroyer. Kam-bhita is the regular Prâkrit form for stambhita, and here, without doubt, the original reading.

² Which seems to imply that Sâkyamuni is both the ruler of the north-west and the central point. As a ruler of the north-west we find Sikhin in *Brîhat Samhitâ*, chap. 53, 51; in Buddhist writings Sikhin is synonymous with Brahma Sahâmpati. So it would seem as if Sâkyamuni in this passage were considered to be one with Brahma.

innumerable, incalculable like the sands of the Ganges, those hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of living beings, whom I, when I was a Bodhisattva under the mastership of that Lord, have taught the law of omniscience? Yourselves, monks, were at that time those beings.

And those who shall be my disciples in future, when I shall have attained complete Nirvâṇa, shall learn the course (of duty) of Bodhisattvas, without conceiving the idea of their being Bodhisattvas. And, monks, all who shall have the idea of complete Nirvâṇa, shall reach it. It should be added, monks, as¹ I stay under different names in other worlds, they shall there be born again seeking after the knowledge of the Tathâgatas, and there they shall anew hear this dogma: The complete Nirvâṇa of the Tathâgatas is but one; there is no other, no second Nirvâṇa of the Tathâgatas. Herein, monks, one has to see a device of the Tathâgatas and a direction² for the preaching of the law. When the Tathâgata, monks, knows that the moment of his complete extinction has arrived, and sees that the assemblage is pure, strong in faith, penetrated with the law of voidness, devoted to meditation, devoted to great meditation, then, monks, the Tathâgata, because the time has arrived, calls together all Bodhisattvas and all disciples to teach them thus: There

¹ Or, perhaps, when; *api tu khalu punar, bhikshavo, yad aham anyâsu lokadhâtushu anyonyair (to r. anyânyair?) nâmadheyair viharâmi*; in one MS. a correcting hand has written in the margin *vihareyam*.

² *Abhinirhâra*; I am not sure of the correctness of this rendering; in Pâli *abhinîhâra* is interpreted to be 'earnest wish or aspiration'; *abhinîharati*, to turn, direct.

is, O monks, in this world no second vehicle at all, no second Nirvâna, far less a third. It is an able device of the Tathâgata, monks, that on seeing creatures¹ far advanced on the path of perdition, delighting in the low and plunged in the mud of sensual desires, the Tathâgata teaches them that Nirvâna to which they are attached.

By way of example, monks, suppose there is some dense forest five hundred yoganâs in extent which has been reached by a great company of men. They have a guide to lead them on their journey to the Isle of Jewels, which guide, being able, clever, sagacious, well acquainted with the difficult passages of the forest, is to bring the whole company² out of the forest. Meanwhile that great troop of men, tired, weary, afraid, and anxious, say: 'Verily, Master, guide, and leader, know that we are tired, weary, afraid, and anxious; let us return; this dense forest stretches so far.' The guide, who is a man of able devices, on seeing those people desirous of returning, thinks within himself: It ought not to be that these poor creatures should not reach that great Isle of Jewels. Therefore out of pity for them he makes use of an artifice. In the middle of that forest he produces a magic city more than a hundred or two hundred yoganâs in extent. Thereafter he says to those men: 'Be not afraid, sirs, do not return; there you see a populous place where you may take repose and perform all you have to do; there stay in the enjoyment of happy rest³. Let him who after

¹ Satvân, var. lect. satvadhâtûm; Burnouf has 'la réunion des êtres.'

² Sârtha, usually a company of merchants, a caravan.

³ And, of Nirvâna, nirvânâprâptâ viharadhvam.

reposing there wants to do so, proceed to the great Isle of Jewels.'

Then, monks, the men who are in the forest are struck with astonishment, and think: We are out of the forest; we have reached the place of happy rest; let us stay here. They enter that magic city, in the meaning that they have arrived at the place of their destination, that they are saved and in the enjoyment of rest. They think: We are at rest, we are refreshed¹. After a while, when the guide perceives that their fatigue is gone, he causes the magic city to disappear, and says to them: 'Come, sirs, there you see the great Isle of Jewels quite near; as to this great city, it has been produced by me for no other purpose but to give you some repose.'

In the same manner, monks, is the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., your guide, and the guide of all other beings. Indeed, monks, the Tathâgata, &c., reflects thus: Great is this forest of evils which must be crossed, left, shunned. It ought not to be that these beings, after hearing the Buddha-knowledge, should suddenly turn back and not proceed to the end because they think: This Buddha-knowledge is attended with too many difficulties to be gone through to the end. Under those circumstances the Tathâgata, knowing the creatures to be feeble of character, (does) as the guide (who) produces the magic city in order that those people may have repose, and after their having taken repose, he tells them that the city is one produced by magic. In the same manner, monks, the Tathâgata, &c., to give a repose to the creatures, very skilfully teaches and proclaims two stages of

¹ *Sitibhûta*.

Nirvâna, viz. the stage of the disciples and that of the Pratyekabuddhas. And, monks, when the creatures are there halting, then the Tathâgata, &c., himself, pronounces these words: 'You have not accomplished your task, monks; you have not finished what you had to do. But behold, monks! the Buddha-knowledge is near; behold and be convinced¹: what to you (seems) Nirvâna, that is not Nirvâna. Nay, monks, it is an able device of the Tathâgatas, &c., that they expound three vehicles.'

And in order to explain this same subject more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

60. The Leader of the world, Abhigñâgñânâbhibhû, having occupied the terrace of enlightenment, continued ten complete intermediate kalpas without gaining enlightenment, though he saw the things in their very essence.

61. Then the gods, Nâgas, demons, and goblins, zealous to honour the Gina, sent down a rain of flowers on the spot where the Leader awakened to enlightenment.

62. And high in the sky they beat the cymbals to worship and honour the Gina, and they were vexed that the Gina delayed so long in coming to the highest place.

63. After the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Anâbhibhû² attained enlightenment; then

¹ Vyavakârayadhvam; I have not met this word elsewhere, and am not certain of its precise meaning; Burnouf renders it by 'réfléchissez-y.'

² I.e. 'he who has no one surpassing him;' it is virtually the same with Abhibhû.

all gods, men, serpents, and demons were glad and overjoyed.

64. The sixteen sons of the Leader of men, those heroes, being at the time young princes, rich in virtues, came along with thousands of koṭis of living beings to honour the eminent chiefs of men.

65. And after saluting the feet of the Leader they prayed: Reveal the law and refresh us as well as this world with thy good word, O Lion amongst kings.

66. After a long time thou art seen (again) in the ten points of this world; thou appearest, great Leader, while the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels are stirring to reveal a token to living beings.

67. In the eastern quarter fifty thousand koṭis of fields have been shaken, and the lofty angelic cars¹ in them have become excessively brilliant.

68. The Brahma-angels on perceiving this fore-token went and approached the Chief of the Leaders of the world, and, covering him with flowers, presented all of them their cars to him.

69. They prayed him to move forward the wheel of the law, and celebrated him with stanzas and songs. But the king of kings was silent, (for he thought): The time has not yet arrived for me to proclaim the law.

70. Likewise in the south, west, north, the nadir, zenith, and in the intermediate points of the compass there were thousands of koṭis of Brahma-angels.

71. Unremittingly covering the Lord (with flowers) they saluted the feet of the Leader, presented all their aerial cars, celebrated him, and again prayed :

¹ Literally, Brahma-cars.

72. Move forward the wheel, O thou whose sight is infinite! Rarely art thou met in (the course of) many *koṭis* of *Æons*. Display the benevolence thou hast observed in so many former generations¹; open the gate of immortality.

73. On hearing their prayer, he whose sight is infinite exposed the multifarious law and the four Truths, extensively. All existences (said he) spring successively from their antecedents.

74. Starting from Ignorance, the Seer proceeded to speak of death, endless woe²; all those evils spring from birth. Know likewise that death is the lot of mankind³.

75. No sooner had he expounded the multifarious, different, endless laws, than eighty myriads of *koṭis* of creatures who had heard them quickly attained the stage of disciples.

76. On a second occasion⁴ the *Gina* expounded many laws, and beings like the sands of the Ganges became instantly purified and disciples.

77. From that moment the assembly of that Leader of the world was innumerable; no man would be able to reach the term (of its number), even were he to go on counting for myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

78. Those sixteen princes also, his own dear sons,

¹ *Maitrīm* bahupūrvasevitām.*

² MSS. *prabhāshate maraṇam anantaṁ duḥkham*; Burnouf has 'parle de la mort dont la douleur est sans fin.'

³ The translation is uncertain; *mṛītyuṇi ka mānushyam imeva gānatha*. I take *imeva*, like *emeva* in other passages (e.g. in st. 103), for the *hemeva* (Sansk. *evam eva*) of the Asoka inscriptions. One might also render: 'Know that death (mortality) and humanity (human lot) are one and the same.'

⁴ Or, at a second moment, *kshaṇe*.

who had become mendicants¹ and novices, said to the *Gina* : 'Expound, O Chief, the superior law ;

79. 'That we may become sages, knowers of the world, such as thyself art, O supreme of all *Ginas*, and that all these beings may become such as thyself art, O hero, O clear-sighted one².'

80. And the *Gina*, considering the wish of his sons, the young princes, explained the highest superior enlightenment by means of many myriads of *koṭis* of illustrations.

81. Demonstrating with thousands of arguments and elucidating the knowledge of transcendent wisdom, the Lord of the world indicated the veritable course (of duty) such as was followed by the wise Bodhisattvas.

82. This very *Sûtra* of great extension, this good Lotus of the True Law, was by the Lord delivered in many thousands of stanzas, so numerous as to equal the sands of the Ganges.

83. After delivering this *Sûtra*, the *Gina* entered the monastery for the purpose of becoming absorbed³ in meditation ; during eighty-four complete *Æons* the Lord of the world continued meditating, sitting on the same seat.

84. Those novices, perceiving that the Chief remained in the monastery without coming out of it, imparted to many *koṭis* of creatures that Buddha-

¹ *Kellakabhûta*, var. lect. *kelukabh.* and *kailakabhûta*. The *Kailaka* 'is he who contents himself with such a portion of clothes as barely suffices to cover his nakedness, rejecting everything more as superfluous.' Hodgson Essays, p. 52, cf. pp. 30 and 64.

² Or, according to the reading followed by Burnouf, 'clear-sighted as thyself, O hero.'

³ *Vilakshayîti*.

knowledge, which is free from imperfections and blissful.

85. On the seats which they had made to be prepared, one for each, they expounded this very Sûtra under the mastership of the Sugata of that period. A service of the same kind they render to me¹.

86. Innumerable as the sands of sixty thousand (rivers like the) Ganges were the beings then taught ; each of the sons of the Sugata converted (or trained) endless beings.

87. After the *Gina*'s complete *Nirvâna* they commenced a wandering life and saw *koṭis* of Buddhas ; along with those pupils they rendered homage to the most exalted amongst men.

88. Having observed the extensive and sublime course of duty and reached enlightenment in the ten points of space, those sixteen sons of the *Gina* became themselves *Ginas*, two by two, in each point of the horizon.

89. And all those who had been their pupils became disciples of those *Ginas*, and gradually obtained possession of enlightenment by various means.

90. I myself was one of their number, and you have all been taught by me. Therefore you are my disciples now also, and I lead you all to enlightenment by (my) devices.

91. This is the cause dating from old, this is the motive of my expounding the law, that I lead you to superior enlightenment. This being the case, monks, you need not be afraid.

92. It is as if there were a forest dreadful, terrific, barren, without a place of refuge or shelter, replete

¹ *Adhikâru kurvanti mamaivarûpam.*

with wild beasts, deprived of water, frightful for persons of no experience.

93. (Suppose further that) many thousand men have come to the forest, that waste track of wilderness which is fully five hundred yoganās in extent.

94. And he who is to act as their guide through that rough and horrible forest is a rich man, thoughtful, intelligent, wise, well instructed, and undaunted.

95. And those beings, numbering many *koṭis*, feel tired, and say to the guide: 'We are tired, Master; we are not able to go on; we should like now to return.'

96. But he, the dexterous and clever guide, is searching in his mind for some apt device. Alas! he thinks, by going back these foolish men will be deprived of the possession of the jewels.

97. Therefore let me by dint of magic power now produce a great city adorned with thousands of *koṭis* of buildings and embellished by monasteries and parks.

98. Let me produce ponds and canals; (a city) adorned with gardens and flowers, provided with walls and gates, and inhabited by an infinite number of men and women.

99. After creating that city he speaks to them in this manner: 'Do not fear, and be cheerful; you have reached a most excellent city; enter it and do your business, speedily.

100. 'Be joyful and at ease; you have reached the limit of the whole forest.' It is to give them a time for repose that he speaks these words, and, in fact, they recover from their weariness.

101. As he perceives that they have sufficiently

reposed, he collects them and addresses them again :
 ' Come, hear what I have to tell you : this city have
 I produced by magic.

102. ' On seeing you fatigued, I have, lest you
 should go back, made use of this device ; now strain
 your energy to reach the Isle.'

103. In the same manner, monks, I am the guide,
 the conductor of thousands of *koṭis* of living beings ;
 in the same manner I see creatures toiling and un-
 able to break the shell of the egg of evils¹.

104. Then I reflect on this matter : These beings
 have enjoyed repose, have been tranquillised ; now
 I will remind² them of the misery of all things (and
 I say) : ' At the stage of Arhat you shall reach your
 aim.'

105. At that time, when you shall have attained
 that state, and when I see all of you have become
 Arhats, then will I call you all together and explain
 to you how the law really is.

106. It is an artifice of the Leaders, when they,
 the great Seers, show three vehicles, for there is
 but one vehicle, no second ; it is only to help (crea-
 tures) that two vehicles are spoken of.

107. Therefore I now tell you, monks : Rouse to
 the utmost your lofty energy for the sake of the
 knowledge of the all-knowing ; as yet, you have not
 come so far as to possess complete *Nirvâṇa*.

108. But when you shall have attained the know-
 ledge of the all-knowing and the ten powers proper
 to *Ginas*, you shall become Buddhas marked by

¹ *Klesâṇḍakosa*.

² The rendering of this passage is doubtful ; the text runs thus :
sarvasya duḥkhasya 'nubodha eshu.

the thirty-two characteristic signs and have rest for ever.

109. Such is the teaching of the Leaders : in order to give quiet they speak of repose, (but) when they see that (the creatures) have had a repose, they, knowing this to be no final resting-place, initiate them in the knowledge of the all-knowing.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FUTURE DESTINY OF THE
FIVE HUNDRED MONKS.

On hearing from the Lord that display of skilfulness and the instruction by means of mysterious speech ; on hearing the announcement of the future destiny of the great Disciples, as well as the foregoing tale concerning ancient devotion and the leadership¹ of the Lord, the venerable Pârna, son of Maitrâyaṇī, was filled with wonder and amazement, thrilled² with pure-heartedness³, a feeling of delight and joy. He rose from his seat, full of delight and joy, full of great respect for the law, and while prostrating himself before the Lord's feet, made within himself the following reflection : Wonderful, O Lord ; wonderful, O Sugata ; it is an extremely difficult thing that the Tathâgatas, &c., perform, the conforming to this world, composed of so many elements, and preaching the law to all creatures with many proofs of their skilfulness, and skilfully releasing them when attached to this or that. What could we

¹ *Vrīṣhabhitva*, a curious and irregular form instead of *vrīṣhabhatva*.

² *Sphuṭa*, in the sense of *vyâpta* ; Pâli *phuṭa*.

³ *Nirâmishaḥittena*. *Nirâmisha* is both 'free from worldly taint, sensual desire,' and 'without having a lure, not eager for reward,' i.e. disinterested. Both meanings are so intimately connected that it is not always easy to decide which we should prefer, e.g. *Lalita-vistara*, p. 215, and *Manu* VI, 49.

do, O Lord, in such a case? None but the Tathâgata knows our inclination and our ancient course. Then, after saluting with his head the Lord's feet, Pûrna went and stood apart, gazing up to the Lord with unmoved eyes and so showing his veneration.

And the Lord, regarding the mental disposition of the venerable Pûrna, son of Maitrâyani, addressed the entire assembly of monks in this strain: Ye monks, see¹ this disciple, Pûrna, son of Maitrâyani, whom I have designated as the foremost of preachers in this assembly, praised for his many virtues, and who has applied himself in various ways to comprehend the true law. He is the man to excite, arouse, and stimulate the four classes of the audience; unwearied in the preaching of the law; as capable to preach the law as to oblige his fellow-followers of the course of duty. The Tathâgata excepted, monks, there is none able to equal Pûrna, son of Maitrâyani, either essentially or in accessories. Now, monks, do you suppose that he keeps my true law only? No, monks, you must not think so. For I remember, monks, that in the past, in the times of the ninety-nine Buddhas, the same Pûrna kept the true law under the mastership of those Buddhas. Even as he is now with me, so he has, in all periods, been the foremost of the preachers of the law; has in all periods been a consummate knower of Voidness; has in all periods acquired the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat²; has in all periods reached mastership in the transcendent

¹ Pasyata, var. lect. pasyadhvam.

² Pratissamvid, in meaning answering to Pâli paṭisambhidâ.

wisdom of the Bodhisattvas. He has been a strongly convinced¹ preacher of the law, exempt from doubt, and quite pure. Under the mastership of those Buddhas he has during his whole existence observed a spiritual life, and everywhere they termed him 'the Disciple.' By this means he has promoted the interest of innumerable, incalculable hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of beings, and brought innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. In all periods he has assisted the creatures in the function of a Buddha, and in all periods he has purified his own Buddha-field, always striving to bring creatures to ripeness. He was also, monks, the foremost among the preachers of the law under the seven Tathâgatas, the first of whom is Vipasyin and the seventh myself².

And as to the Buddhas, monks, who have in future to appear in this Bhadra-kalpa, to the number of a thousand less four, under the mastership of them also shall this same Pârna, son of Maitrâyanî, be the foremost among the preachers of the law and the keeper of the true law. Thus he shall keep the true law of innumerable and incalculable Lords and Buddhas in future, promote the interest of innumerable and incalculable beings, and bring innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. Constantly and assiduously he shall be instant in purifying his own Buddha-field and bringing creatures to ripeness.

¹ *Suvinisṛita*.

² The seven so-called Mânushi-Buddhas; a rather transparent disguise of the fact that in cosmological mythology there are seven Manus, rulers of certain periods.

After completing such a Bodhisattva-course, at the end of innumerable, incalculable Æons, he shall reach supreme and perfect enlightenment; he shall in the world be the Tathâgata called Dharmaprabhâsa, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c. He shall appear in this very Buddha-field.

Further, monks, at that time the Buddha-field spoken of will look as if formed by thousands of spheres similar to the sands of the river Ganges. It will be even, like the palm of the hand, consist of seven precious substances, be without hills, and filled with high edifices of seven precious substances¹. There will be cars of the gods stationed in the sky; the gods will behold men, and men will behold the gods. Moreover, monks, at that time that Buddha-field shall be exempt from places of punishment and from womankind, as all beings shall be born by apparitional birth. They shall lead a spiritual life, have ideal² bodies, be self-lighting, magical, moving in the firmament, strenuous, of good memory, wise, possessed of gold-coloured bodies, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristics of a great man. And at that time, monks, the beings in that Buddha-field will have two things to feed upon, viz. the delight in the law and the delight in meditation. There will

¹ The Buddha-field of Pûrṇa, i.e. full, is so extremely pure, because he is, I suppose, the full moon. He is called the son of Maitrâyaṇî, because the full moon is born on the 15th day of the month. Maitrâyaṇî is a slightly disguised Maitrî, otherwise called Anurâdhâ, the 15th asterism, in the ancient series. Hence we may infer that the story of Pûrṇa is comparatively old. No wonder that Pûrṇa is surpassed by none, the Buddha excepted.

² Manomaya.

be an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Bodhisattvas; all endowed with great transcendent wisdom, accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat, able in instructing creatures. He (that Buddha) will have a number of disciples, beyond all calculation, mighty in magic, powerful, masters in the meditation of the eight emancipations. So immense are the good qualities that Buddha-field will be possessed of. And that Æon shall be called Ratnâvabhâsa (i. e. radiant with gems), and that world Suvisuddha (i. e. very pure). His lifetime shall last immense, incalculable Æons; and after the complete extinction of that Lord Dharmaprabhâsa, the Tathâgata, &c., his true law shall last long, and his world shall be full of Stûpas made of precious substances. Such inconceivable good qualities, monks, shall the Buddha-field of that Lord be possessed of.

So spoke the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following stanzas :

1. Listen to me, monks, and hear how my son has achieved his course of duty, and how he, well-trained and skilful, has observed the course of enlightenment.

2. Viewing these beings to be lowly-disposed and to be startled at the lofty vehicle, the Bodhisattvas become disciples and exercise Pratyekabuddhaship.

3. By many hundreds of able devices they bring numerous Bodhisattvas to full ripeness and declare : We are but disciples, indeed, and we are far away from the highest and supreme enlightenment.

4. It is by learning from them this course (of duty) that *koṭis* of beings arrive at full ripeness,

who (at first), lowly-disposed and somewhat lazy, in course of time all become Buddhas.

5. They follow a course in ignorance (thinking): We, disciples, are of little use, indeed! In dependency they descend into all places of existence (successively), and (so) clear their own field.

6. They show in their own persons that they are not free from affection, hatred, and infatuation; and on perceiving (other) beings clinging to (heretical) views¹, they go so far as to accommodate themselves to those views.

7. By following such a course my numerous disciples skilfully save creatures; simple people would go mad, if they were taught the whole course of life (or story).

8. Pârma here, monks, my disciple, has formerly fulfilled his course (of duty) under thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, he has got possession of this true law by seeking after Buddha-knowledge.

9. And at all periods has he been the foremost of the disciples, learned, a brilliant orator, free from hesitation; he has, indeed, always been able to excite to gladness and at all times ready to perform the Buddha-task.

10. He has always been accomplished in the sublime transcendent faculties and endowed with the distinctive qualifications of an Arhat; he knew the faculties and range of (other) beings, and has always preached the perfectly pure law.

11. By exposing the most eminent of true laws he has brought thousands of koṭis of beings to full ripeness for this supreme, foremost vehicle, whilst purifying his own excellent field.

¹ *Drishṭivilagna.*

12. In future also he shall likewise honour thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, acquire knowledge of the most eminent of good laws, and clean his own field.

13. Always free from timidity he shall preach the law with thousands of koṭis of able devices, and bring many beings to full ripeness for the knowledge of the all-knowing that is free from imperfections.

14. After having paid homage to the Chiefs of men and always kept the most eminent of laws, he shall in the world be a Buddha self-born, widely renowned everywhere by the name of Dharma-prabhâsa.

15. And his field shall always be very pure and always set off with seven precious substances; his Æon shall be (called) Ratnâvabhâsa, and his world Suvisuddha.

16. That world shall be pervaded with many thousand koṭis of Bodhisattvas, accomplished masters in the great transcendent sciences, pure in every respect, and endowed with magical power.

17. At that period the Chief shall also have an assemblage of thousands of koṭis of disciples, endowed with magical power, adepts at the meditation of the (eight) emancipations, and accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat.

18. And all beings in that Buddha-field shall be pure and lead a spiritual life. Springing into existence by apparitional birth, they shall all be gold-coloured and display the thirty-two characteristic signs.

19. They shall know no other food but pleasure in the law and delight in knowledge. No woman-kind shall be there, nor fear of the places of punishments or of dismal states.

20. Such shall be the excellent field of Pûrṇa, who is possessed of all good qualities; it shall abound with all goodly things¹, a small part (only) of which has here been mentioned.

Then this thought arose in the mind of those twelve hundred self-controlled (Arhats): We are struck with wonder and amazement. (How) if the Tathâgata would predict to us severally our future destiny as the Lord has done to those other great disciples? And the Lord apprehending in his own mind what was going on in the minds of these great disciples addressed the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa: Those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers whom I am now beholding from face to face, to all those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers, Kâsyapa, I will presently foretell their destiny. Amongst them, Kâsyapa, the monk Kaundînya, a great disciple, shall, after sixty-two hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas, become a Tathâgata, an Arhat, &c., under the name of Samantaprabhâsa, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c. &c.; but of those (twelve hundred), Kâsyapa, five hundred shall become Tathâgatas of the same name. Thereafter shall all those five hundred great disciples reach supreme and perfect enlightenment, all bearing the name of Samantaprabhâsa; viz. Gayâ-Kâsyapa, Nadî-Kâsyapa, Uruvilvâ-Kâsyapa, Kâla, Kâlodayin, Aniruddha, Kapphina, Vakkula², Kunda³, Svâgata⁴,

¹ Âkîrṇa sarvehi subhadrakehi; Burnouf takes it as a masculine, rendering it by 'créatures fortunées.'

² Also spelt Vakula; see p. 2.

³ Probably the same with Mahâ-Kunda in Mahâvagga I, 6, 36; Kullavagga I, 18, 1.

⁴ Pâli Sâgata, Mahâvagga V, 1, 3.

and the rest of the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats).

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

21. The scion of the *Kundīna* family, my disciple here, shall in future be a Tathâgata, a Lord of the world, after the lapse of an endless period ; he shall educate hundreds of *koṭis* of living beings.

22. After seeing many endless Buddhas, he shall in future, after the lapse of an endless period, become the *Gina Samantaprabhâsa*, whose field shall be thoroughly pure.

23. Brilliant, gifted with the powers of a Buddha, with a voice far resounding in all quarters, waited upon by thousands of *koṭis* of beings, he shall preach supreme and eminent enlightenment.

24. There shall be most zealous Bodhisattvas, mounted on lofty aerial cars, and moving, meditative, pure in morals, and assiduous in doing good.

25. After hearing the law from the highest of men, they shall invariably go to other fields, to salute thousands of Buddhas and show them great honour.

26. But ere long they shall return to the field of the Leader called *Prabhâsa*, the Tathâgata¹. So great shall be the power of their course (of duty).

27. The measure of the lifetime of that Sugata shall be sixty thousand *Æons*, and, after the complete extinction of that mighty one², his true law shall remain twice as long in the world.

28. And the counterfeit of it shall continue three

¹ Var. lect. 'the most high (or best) of men.'

² *Tâyin*.

times as long. When the true law of that holy one shall he exhausted, men and gods shall be vexed.

29. There shall appear a complete number of five hundred Chiefs, supreme amongst men, who shall bear the same name with that *Gina*, *Samantaprabha*, and follow one another in regular succession.

30. All shall have like divisions, magical powers, Buddha-fields, and hosts (of followers). Their true law also shall be the same and stand equally long.

31. All shall have in this world, including the gods, the same voice as *Samantaprabhâsa*, the highest of men, such as I have mentioned before.

32. Moved by benevolence and compassion they shall in succession foretell each other's destiny, with the words: This is to be my immediate successor, and he is to command the world as I do at present.

33. Thus, *Kâsyapa*, keep now in view¹ here these self-controlled (Arhats), no less than five hundred (in number), as well as my other disciples, and speak of this matter to the other disciples.

On hearing from the Lord the announcement of their own future destiny, the five hundred Arhats, contented, satisfied, in high spirits and ecstasy, filled with cheerfulness, joy, and delight, went up to the place where the Lord was sitting, reverentially saluted with their heads his feet, and spoke thus: We confess our fault, O Lord, in having continually and constantly persuaded ourselves that we had arrived

¹ *Dhârehi*. I am not sure of the correctness of this translation; the word usually means 'to keep,' but this seems out of place, unless it be assumed that the injunction is given in anticipation, because *Kâsyapa* succeeded to the Lord after the latter's *Nirvâna*. Burnouf has: 'Voilà-comme tu dois considérer ici en ce jour ces Auditeurs,' &c.

at final Nirvāṇa, as (persons who are) dull, inept, ignorant of the rules. For, O Lord, whereas we should have thoroughly penetrated the knowledge of the Tathāgatas, we were content with such a trifling degree of knowledge.

It is, O Lord, as if some man having come to a friend's house got drunk or fell asleep, and that friend bound a priceless gem within¹ his garment, with the thought: Let this gem be his. After a while, O Lord, that man rises from his seat and travels further; he goes to some other country, where he is befallen by incessant difficulties, and has great trouble to find food and clothing. By dint of great exertion he is hardly able to obtain a bit of food, with which (however) he is contented and satisfied. The old friend of that man, O Lord, who bound within the man's garment that priceless gem, happens to see him again and says: How is it, good friend, that thou hast such difficulty in seeking food and clothing, while I, in order that thou shouldst live in ease, good friend, have bound within thy garment a priceless gem, quite sufficient to fulfil all thy wishes? I have given thee that gem, my good friend, the very gem I have bound within thy garment. Still thou art deliberating: What has been bound? by whom? for what reason and purpose? It is something foolish², my good friend, to be contented, when thou hast with (so much) difficulty to procure food and clothing. Go, my good friend, betake thyself, with this gem, to some great city,

¹ Vastrānte, vasanānte; below in stanza 40 we find vasa-nāntarasmi.

² Etad bālagātiyam.

exchange the gem for money, and with that money do all that can be done with money.

In the same manner, O Lord, has the Tathâgata formerly, when he still followed the course of duty of a Bodhisattva, raised in us also ideas of omniscience, but we, O Lord, did not perceive, nor know it. We fancied, O Lord, that on the stage of Arhat we had reached Nirvâna. We live in difficulty, O Lord, because we content ourselves with such a trifling degree of knowledge. But as our strong aspiration after the knowledge of the all-knowing has never ceased, the Tathâgata teaches us the right: 'Have no such idea of Nirvâna, monks; there are in your intelligence¹ roots of goodness which of yore I have fully developed. In this you have to see an able device of mine that from the expressions used by me, in preaching the law, you fancy Nirvâna to take place at this moment².' And after having taught us the right in such a way, the Lord now predicts our future destiny to supreme and perfect knowledge.

And on that occasion the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats), Âgñâta-Kaundînya and the rest, uttered the following stanzas:

34. We are rejoicing and delighted to hear this unsurpassed word of comfort that we are destined to the highest, supreme enlightenment. Homage be to thee, O Lord of unlimited sight!

35. We confess our fault before thee; we were so childish, nescient, ignorant that we were fully contented with a small part of Nirvâna, under the mastership of the Sugata.

¹ Santâne.

² Or, at present, etarhi.

36. This is a case like that of a certain man who enters the house of a friend, which friend, being rich and wealthy, gives him much food, both hard and soft.

37. After satiating him with nourishment, he gives him a jewel of great value. He ties it with a knot within the upper robe and feels satisfaction at having given that jewel.

38. The other man, unaware of it, goes forth and from that place travels to another town. There he is befallen with misfortune and, as a miserable beggar, seeks his food in affliction.

39. He is contented with the pittance he gets by begging without caring for dainty food; as to that jewel, he has forgotten it; he has not the slightest remembrance of its having been tied in his upper robe.

40. Under these circumstances he is seen by his old friend who at home gave him that jewel. This friend properly reprimands him and shows him the jewel within his robe.

41. At this sight the man feels extremely happy. The value of the jewel is such that he becomes a very rich man, of great power, and in possession of all that the five senses can enjoy.

42. In the same manner, O Lord, we were unaware of our former aspiration¹, (the aspiration) laid in us by the Tathâgata himself in previous existences from time immemorial.

43. And we were living in this world, O Lord, with dull understanding and in ignorance, under the

¹ *Pranidhâna*; from the context one would gather that the real meaning had been 'predestination.'

mastership of the Sugata ; for we were contented with a little of Nirvâṇa ; we required nothing higher, nor even cared for it.

44. But the Friend of the world has taught us better : ' This is no blessed Rest¹ at all ; the full knowledge of the highest men², that is blessed Rest, that is supreme beatitude.'

45. After hearing this sublime, grand, splendid, and matchless prediction, O Lord, we are greatly elated with joy, when thinking of the prediction (we shall have to make to each other) in regular succession.

¹ Nirvṛiti.

² Purushottamânâm.

CHAPTER IX.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FUTURE DESTINY OF ÂNANDA,
RÂHULA, AND THE TWO THOUSAND MONKS.

On that occasion the venerable Ânanda made this reflection: Should we also receive a similar prediction? Thus thinking, pondering, wishing, he rose from his seat, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and uttered the following words. And the venerable Râhula also, in whom rose the same thought and the same wish as in Ânanda, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet, and uttered these words: 'Let it be our turn also, O Lord; let it be our turn also, O Sugata. The Lord is our father and procreator, our refuge and protection. For in this world, including men, gods, and demons, O Lord, we are particularly distinguished¹, as people say: These are the Lord's sons, the Lord's attendants; these are the keepers of the law-treasure of the Lord. Therefore, Lord, it would seem meet², were the Lord ere long to predict our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.'

Two thousand other monks, and more, both such as were still under training and such as were not, likewise rose from their seats, put their upper robes upon one shoulder, stretched their joined hands

¹ Or respected, *ġitirīkrīta*; cf. Pāli *ġittīkâra* and Sansk. *ġitirīkâra*, *Lalita-vistara*, p. 347.

² *Pratirūpa*.

towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him, all pre-occupied with the same thought, viz. of this very Buddha-knowledge: Should we also receive a prediction of our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Then the Lord addressed the venerable Ānanda in these words: Thou, Ānanda, shalt in future become a Tathāgata by the name of Sāgaravaradharabuddhivikrāntābhigñā¹, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. After having honoured, respected, venerated, and worshipped sixty-two koṭis of Buddhas, kept in memory the true law of those Buddhas and received this command, thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment, and bring to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of twenty Ganges². And thy Buddha-field shall consist of lapis lazuli and be superabundant. The sphere shall be named Anavanāmita-vaigayanta and the Æon Manogñā-sadbābhigargita. The lifetime of that Lord Sāgaravaradharabuddhivikrāntābhigñā, the Tathāgata, &c., shall measure an immense number of Æons, Æons

¹ The epithet Sāgaravaradharavipulabuddhi, i.e. having the great intelligence of Sāgaravaradhara, is bestowed on the Bodhisattva destined to be born as Sākyamuni, Lalita-vistara, p. 10. As the next preceding epithet, l. c. mahāpadmagarbhekshana, seems to point to the sun, I infer that Sāgaravara, the choicest of oceans, denotes Soma, and Sāgaravaradhara, the keeper of that ocean, the moon.

² According to the reading *vimsatim Gaṅgānadvālikopamāni*; var. lect. has *vimsati-Gaṅgā*, so that Burnouf's rendering 'égal à celui des sables de vingt fleuves du Gange' is admissible. On the other hand it must be remarked that we shall meet in the sequel with the phrase *bahūni Gaṅgānadvālikopamāni Buddhakośinayuta-sata sahasrāni*.

the term of which is not to be found by calculation. So many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of incalculable *Æons* shall last the lifetime of that Lord. Twice as long, Ânanda, after the complete extinction of that Lord, shall his true law stand, and twice as long again shall continue its counterfeit. And further, Ânanda, many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Buddhas, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, shall in all directions of space speak the praise of that Tathâgata Sâgaravaradharabuddhivikrîḍitâbhigñā, the Arhat, &c.

1. I announce to you, congregated monks, that Ânanda-Bhadra, the keeper of my law, shall in future become a *Gina*, after having worshipped sixty *koṭis* of Sugatas.

2. He shall be widely renowned by the name of Sâgarabuddhidhârin Abhigñâprâpta¹, in a beautiful, thoroughly clear field, (termed) Anavanatâ Vaigayantî (i. e. triumphal banner unlowered).

3. There shall be Bodhisattvas like the sands of the Ganges and even more, whom he shall bring to full ripeness; he shall be a *Gina* endowed with great (magical) power, whose word shall widely resound in all quarters of the world.

4. The duration of his life shall be immense. He shall always be benign and merciful to the world. After the complete extinction of that *Gina* and mighty saint², his true law shall stand twice as long.

5. The counterfeit (shall continue) twice as long

¹ These names may be translated by 'possessor of an intellect (unfathomable) as the ocean, having arrived at transcendent wisdom.'

² Tâyin.

under the rule¹ of that *Gina*. Then also shall beings like grains of sand of the Ganges produce in this world what is the cause of Buddha-enlightenment.

In that assembly were eight thousand Bodhisattvas who had newly entered the vehicle. To them this thought presented itself: Never before did we have such a sublime prediction to Bodhisattvas, far less to disciples. What may be the cause of it? what the motive? The Lord, who apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those Bodhisattvas, addressed them in these words: Young men of good family, I and Ānanda have in the same moment, the same instant conceived the idea of supreme and perfect enlightenment in the presence of the Tathāgata Dharmagahanābhyudgatarāja², the Arhat, &c. At that period, young men of good family, he (Ānanda) constantly and assiduously applied himself to great learning, whereas I was applying myself to strenuous labour. Hence I sooner arrived at supreme and perfect enlightenment, whilst Ānanda-Bhadra was the keeper of the law-treasure of the Lords Buddhas; that is to say, young men of good family, he made a vow³ to bring Bodhisattvas to full development.

When the venerable Ānanda heard from the Lord the announcement of his own destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment, when he learned the good qualities of his Buddha-field and its divisions, when he heard of the vow he had made in the

¹ I.e. reign, epoch inaugurated by him.

² Var. lect. Dharmagaganā° and Dharmagamanā°.

³ Prañidhāna.

past, he felt pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight. And at that juncture he remembered the true law of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas and his own vow of yore.

And on that occasion the venerable Ânanda uttered the following stanzas :

6. Wonderful, boundless are the *Gīnas*¹ who remind us of the law preached by the extinct *Gīnas* and mighty saints². Now I remember it as if it had happened to-day or yesterday³.

7. I am freed from all doubts; I am ready for enlightenment. Such is my skilfulness, (as) I am the servitor⁴, and keep the true law for the sake of enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Râhula-Bhadra in these words: Thou, Râhula, shalt be in future a Tathâgata of the name of Saptaratnapadmavikrântagâmin⁵, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. After having honoured, respected, venerated, worshipped a number of Tathâgatas, &c., equal to the atoms of ten worlds, thou shalt always be the eldest son of those Lords Buddhas, just as thou art mine at present. And, Râhula, the measure of the lifetime of that Lord Saptaratnapadmavikrântagâmin, the Tathâgata, &c., and the abundance of all sorts of good qualities (belonging to him) shall be exactly the same as of

¹ This may be interpreted as being a pluralis majestatis.

² Tâyin.

³ Adya svo vâ; cf. note 2, p. 154.

⁴ *Pariââraka*, synonymous with *upasthâyaka*, one who is in attendance, in readiness, an attendant, a servitor, a satellite.

⁵ So my MSS.; Burnouf has *Saptaratnapadmavikrâmin*.

the Lord Sâgaravaradharabuddhivikrāṭītabhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c.; likewise shall the divisions of the Buddha-field and its qualities be the same as those possessed by that Lord. And, Râhula, thou shalt be the eldest son of that Tathâgata Sâgaravaradharabuddhivikrāṭītabhigñā, the Arhat, &c. Afterwards thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment.

8. Râhula here, my own eldest son, who was born to me when I was a prince royal, he, my son, after my reaching enlightenment, is a great Seer, an heir to the law¹.

9. The great number of koṭis of Buddhas which he shall see in future, is immense. To all these Ginas he shall be a son, striving after enlightenment.

10. Unknown is this course (of duty) to Râhula², but I know his (former) vow. He glorifies the Friend of the world³ (by saying): I am, forsooth, the Tathâgata's son.

11. Innumerable myriads of koṭis of good qualities, the measure of which is never to be found, appertain to this Râhula, my son; for it has been said: He exists by reason of enlightenment.

The Lord now again regarded those two thousand disciples, both such as were still under training and such as were not, who were looking up to him with serene, mild, placid minds. And the Lord then addressed the venerable Ânanda: Seest thou, Ânanda, these two thousand disciples, both such as are still under training and such as are not? 'I

¹ Cf. the myth according to which Râhu, the personified eclipse, came in for his share before Brahma, the father of the world.

² Or of Râhula.

³ Lokabandhu, from elsewhere known as an epithet of the sun.

do, Lord; I do, Sugata.' The Lord proceeded: All these two thousand monks, Ânanda, shall simultaneously accomplish the course of Bodhi-sattvas, and after honouring, respecting, venerating, worshipping Buddhas as numerous as the atoms of fifty worlds, and after acquiring the true law, they shall, in their last bodily existence, attain supreme and perfect enlightenment at the same time, the same moment, the same instant, the same juncture in all directions of space, in different worlds, each in his own Buddha-field. They shall become Tathâgatas, Arhats, &c., by the name of Ratnaketurâgas¹. Their lifetime shall last a complete Æon. The division and good qualities of their Buddha-fields shall be equal; equal also shall be the number of the congregation of their disciples and Bodhi-sattvas; equal also shall be their complete extinction, and their true law shall continue an equal time.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

12. These two thousand disciples, Ânanda, who here are standing before me, to them, the sages, I now predict that in future they shall become Tathâgatas.

13. After having paid eminent worship to the Buddhas, by means of infinite comparisons and examples, they shall, when standing in their last bodily existence, reach my extreme enlightenment.

14. They shall all, under the same name, in every direction, at the same moment and instant, and

¹ In astrological works, in the enumeration of Grahas (sun, moon, planets, &c.), the Ketus are constantly named after Râhu. It is hardly fortuitous that here we find these 'kings of Ketus' mentioned immediately after Râhula.

sitting at the foot of the most exalted tree, become Buddhas, after they shall have reached the knowledge.

15. All shall bear the same name of Ketu¹ of the Ratna, by which they shall be widely famed in this world. Their excellent fields shall be equal, and equal the congregation of disciples and Bodhisattvas.

16. Strong in magic power, they shall all simultaneously, in every direction of space, reveal the law in this world and all at once² become extinct; their true law shall last equally long.

And the disciples, both such as were still under training and such as were not, on hearing from the Lord, face to face, the prediction concerning each of them, were pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight, and addressed the Lord with the following stanzas :

17. We are satisfied, O Light of the world, to hear this prediction; we are pleased, O Tathâgata, as if sprinkled with nectar.

18. We have no doubt, no uncertainty that we shall become supreme amongst men; to-day we have obtained felicity, because we have heard that prediction.

¹ Ketumâlâ, apparently 'cluster of Ketu,' is the appellation of the western region; Ketumat is a ruler of the western quarter, i.e. the personification of the west. The phrase rendered by 'standing in their last bodily existence' (*paśkīme samukkkhaya*), in stanza 13, also means 'standing in their elevation in the west.'

² MSS. have *sadâpi*, but this is obviously a clerical error for *sahâpi*.



CHAPTER X.

THE PREACHER.

The Lord then addressed the eighty thousand Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas by turning to Bhaishagya-râga as their representative. Seest thou, Bhaishagya-râga, in this assembly the many gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, votaries of the vehicle of disciples, votaries of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas, and those of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, who have heard this Dharmaparyâya from the mouth of the Tathâgata? ‘I do, Lord; I do, Sugata.’ The Lord proceeded: Well, Bhaishagya-râga, all those Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who in this assembly have heard, were it but a single stanza, a single verse (or word), or who even by a single rising thought have joyfully accepted this Sûtra, to all of them, Bhaishagya-râga, among the four classes of my audience I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. And all whosoever, Bhaishagya-râga, who, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, shall hear this Dharmaparyâya and after hearing, were it but a single stanza, joyfully accept it, even with a single rising thought, to those also, Bhaishagya-râga, be they young men or young ladies of good family, I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Those young men or ladies

of good family, Bhaishagyaṛāga, shall be worshippers of many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas. Those young men or ladies of good family, Bhaishagyaṛāga, shall have made a vow under hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Buddhas. They must be considered as being reborn amongst the people of Gambudvīpa¹, out of compassion to all creatures. Those who shall take, read, make known, recite, copy, and after copying always keep in memory and from time to time regard were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyāya; who by that book² shall feel veneration for the Tathāgatas, treat them with the respect due to Masters³, honour, revere, worship them; who shall worship that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, &c., and with acts of reverence such as bowing and joining hands; in short, Bhaishagyaṛāga, any young men or young ladies of good family who shall keep or joyfully accept were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyāya, to all of them, Bhaishagyaṛāga, I predict their being destined to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Should some man or woman, Bhaishagyaṛāga, happen to ask: How now have those creatures to be who in future are to become Tathāgatas, Arhats, &c.? then that man or woman should be referred to the example of that young man or young lady of good family. 'Whoever is able to keep, recite, or teach,

¹ I. e. India.

² Tasmin pustake, literally 'at that book,' i. e. when that book is being read, written, heard, &c.

³ Sâstrigauraveṇa satkarishyanti. I take the instrumental case here to be the instrumental of manner.

were it but a single stanza of four lines, and whoever shows respect for this Dharmaparyâya, that young man or young lady of good family shall in future become a Tathâgata, &c.; be persuaded of it.' For, Bhaishagyarâga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be considered to be a Tathâgata, and by the whole world, including the gods, honour should be done to such a Tathâgata who keeps were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyâya, and far more, of course, to one who grasps, keeps, comprehends, makes known, copies, and after copying always retains in his memory this Dharmaparyâya entirely and completely, and who honours that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, joined hands, reverential bows and salutations. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyarâga, must be held to be accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment; must be held to be the like of a Tathâgata, who out of compassion and for the benefit of the world, by virtue of a former vow, makes his appearance here in Gambudvîpa, in order to make this Dharmaparyâya generally known. Whosoever, after leaving¹ his own lofty conception of the law² and the lofty Buddha-field occupied by him, in order to make generally known this Dharmaparyâya, after my

¹ Sthâpayitvâ, which commonly means 'apart from, barring.'

² Yaś svam (var. lect. yas tam)—dharmâbhisamskâram. If we follow the former reading, sthâpayitvâ can hardly be taken in the sense of 'apart from;'; in the other case it would be possible, though I should be at a loss to guess the purport of the phrase. The real meaning of dharmâbhisamskâra is, probably, 'position in life' or 'religion.' Cf. stanza 4 below.

complete Nirvâna, may be deemed to have appeared¹ in the predicament of a Tathâgata², such a one, Bhaishagyarâga, be it a young man or a young lady of good family, must be held to perform the function of the Tathâgata, to be a deputy of the Tathâgata. As such, Bhaishagyarâga, should be acknowledged the young man or the young lady of good family, who communicates this Dharmaparyâya, after the complete Nirvâna of the Tathâgata, were it but in secret or by stealth or to one single creature that he communicated or told it.

Again, Bhaishagyarâga, if some creature vicious, wicked, and cruel-minded should in the (current) Age speak something injurious in the face of the Tathâgata, and if some should utter a single harsh word, founded or unfounded, to those irreproachable preachers of the law and keepers of this Sûtrânta, whether lay devotees or clergymen, I declare that the latter sin is the graver. For, Bhaishagyarâga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be held to be adorned with the apparel of the Tathâgata. He carries the Tathâgata on his shoulder, Bhaishagyarâga, who after having copied this Dharmaparyâya and made a volume of it, carries it on his shoulder. Such a one, wherever he goes, must be saluted by all beings with joined hands, must be honoured, respected, worshipped, venerated, revered by gods and men with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, musical instruments, with

¹ Upapanna, an ambiguous term ; it may also mean 'fit.'

² Tathâgata-bhûta ; a var. lect. has Tathâgata-dûta, a messenger, a deputy of the Tathâgata.

food, soft and hard, with nourishment and drink, with vehicles, with heaps of choice and gorgeous jewels. That preacher of the law must be honoured by heaps of gorgeous jewels being presented to that preacher of the law. For it may be that by his expounding this Dharmaparyâya, were it only once, innumerable, incalculable beings who hear it shall soon become accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1. He who wishes to be established in Buddhahood and aspires to the knowledge of the Self-born¹, must honour those who keep this doctrine.

2. And he who is desirous of omniscience and thinks: How shall I soonest reach it? must try to know this Sûtra by heart, or at least honour one who knows it.

3. He has been sent by the Lord of the world to convert (or catechise) men, he who out of compassion for mankind recites this Sûtra².

4. After giving up a good position, that great man³ has come hither, he who out of compassion for mankind keeps this Sûtra (in memory).

5. It is by force of his position, that in the last times he is seen preaching this unsurpassed Sûtra.

6. That preacher of the law must be honoured

¹ Svayambhûgñâna, which, to my apprehension, is an alteration of brahmavidyâ.

² From such a passage as this one might be tempted to believe that it had been the intention of the author of this verse to represent Buddha as eternal; cf. Burnouf's remarks in his Introduction, p. 119.

³ I. e. the preacher or catechiser.

with divine and human flowers and all sorts of perfumes; be decked with divine cloth and strewed with jewels.

7. One should always reverentially salute him with joined hands, as if he were the Chief of *Gīnas* or the Self-born, he who in these most dreadful, last days keeps this *Sūtra* of the Extinct (Buddha).

8. One should give food, hard and soft, nourishment and drink, lodging in a convent, *koṭis* of robes to honour the son of *Gīna*, when he has propounded, be it but once, this *Sūtra*.

9. He performs the task of the *Tathāgatas* and has been sent by me to the world of men, he who in the last days shall copy, keep, or hear this *Sūtra*.

10. The man who in wickedness of heart or with frowning brow should at any time of a whole *Æon* utter something injurious in my presence, commits a great sin.

11. But one who reviles and abuses those guardians of this *Sūtrānta*, when they are expounding this *Sūtra*, I say that he commits a still greater sin.

12. The man who, striving for superior enlightenment, shall in a complete *Æon* praise me in my face with joined hands, with many myriads of *koṭis* of stanzas,

13. Shall thence derive a great merit, since he has glorified me in gladness of heart. But a still greater merit shall he acquire who pronounces the praise of those (preachers).

14. One who shall during eighteen thousand *koṭis* of *Æons* pay worship to those objects of veneration¹, with words, visible things, flavours, with divine scents and divine kinds of touch,

¹ *Pusteshu*. I think that these *pustas*, models, images, denote

15. If such a one, by his paying that worship to the objects of veneration during eighteen thousand *koṭis* of *Æons*, happens to hear this *Sūtra*, were it only once, he shall obtain an amazingly great advantage.

I announce to thee, *Bhaishagya-râga*, I declare to thee, that many are the *Dharmaparyâyas* which I have propounded, am propounding, and shall propound. And among all those *Dharmaparyâyas*, *Bhaishagya-râga*, it is this which is apt to meet with no acceptance with everybody, to find no belief with everybody. This, indeed, *Bhaishagya-râga*, is the transcendent spiritual esoteric lore of the law, preserved by the power of the *Tathâgatas*, but never divulged; it is an article (of creed)¹ not yet made known. By the majority of people, *Bhaishagya-râga*, this *Dharmaparyâya* is rejected during the lifetime of the *Tathâgata*; in far higher degree such will be the case after his complete extinction.

Nevertheless, *Bhaishagya-râga*, one has to consider those young men or young ladies of good family to be invested with the robes of the *Tathâgata*; to be regarded and blessed by the *Tathâgatas* living in other worlds, that they shall have the force of individual persuasion, the force that is rooted in virtue,

the exemplary preachers who are likened to the *Tathâgata*, and sent by him (*Tathâgata-bhûta* and *Tathâgata-dûta*), spoken of in the preceding verses as well as in the prose passages above. Instead of models, I have used the phrase, objects of veneration, for clearness sake. Burnouf's original rendering 'images' is, so far as I can see, preferable to his correction of it into 'books.' There is no question of books, only of a single work, the *Lotus*; and it is clear that we must try to make the contents of the last two stanzas agree with the final part of the preceding prose.

¹ Or point of view, standpoint.

and the force of a pious vow. They shall dwell apart in the convents of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagya-râga, and shall have their heads stroked by the hand of the Tathâgata, those young men and young ladies of good family, who after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata shall believe, read, write, honour this Dharmaparyâya and recite it to others.

Again, Bhaishagya-râga, on any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyâya is expounded, preached, written, studied, or recited in chorus, on that spot, Bhaishagya-râga, one should build a Tathâgata-shrine, magnificent, consisting of precious substances, high, and spacious ; but it is not necessary to depose in it relics of the Tathâgata. For the body of the Tathâgata is, so to say, collectively deposited there. Any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyâya is expounded or taught or recited or rehearsed in chorus or written or kept in a volume, must be honoured, respected, revered, worshipped as if it were a Stûpa, with all sorts of flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal streamers, with all kinds of song, music, dancing, musical instruments, castanets¹, and shouts in chorus. And those, Bhaishagya-râga, who approach a Tathâgata-shrine to salute or see it, must be held to be near supreme and perfect enlightenment. For, Bhaishagya-râga, there are many laymen as well as priests who observe the course of a Bodhisattva without, however, coming so far as to see, hear, write or worship this Dharmaparyâya. So long as they do not hear this Dharmaparyâya, they are not yet proficient in the course of a Bodhisattva. But

¹ Tâdâvâkara.

those who hear this, Dharmaparyâya and thereupon accept, penetrate, understand, comprehend it, are at the time near supreme, perfect enlightenment, so to say, immediately near it.

It is a case, Bhaishagyarâga, similar to that of a certain man, who in need and in quest of water, in order to get water, causes a well to be dug in an arid tract of land. So long as he sees that the sand being dug out is dry and white, he thinks: the water is still far off. After some time he sees that the sand being dug out is moist, mixed with water, muddy, with trickling drops, and that the working men who are engaged in digging the well are bespattered with mire and mud. On seeing that foretold, Bhaishagyarâga, the man will be convinced and certain that water is near. In the same manner, Bhaishagyarâga, will these Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas be far away from supreme and perfect enlightenment so long as they do not hear, nor catch, nor penetrate, nor fathom, nor mind this Dharmaparyâya. But when the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas shall hear, catch, penetrate, study, and mind this Dharmaparyâya, then, Bhaishagyarâga, they will be, so to say, immediately near supreme, perfect enlightenment. From this Dharmaparyâya, Bhaishagyarâga, will accrue to creatures supreme and perfect enlightenment. For this Dharmaparyâya contains an explanation of the highest mystery, the secret article¹ of the law which the Tathâgatas, &c., have revealed for the perfecting of the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. Any Bodhisattva, Bhaishagyarâga, who is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyâya,

¹ Or point.

may be held, Bhaishagyarâga, to have (but) newly entered the vehicle¹. If, however, a votary of the vehicle of the disciples is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyâya, such a person, devoted to the vehicle of the disciples, Bhaishagyarâga, may be deemed a conceited man.

Any Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, Bhaishagyarâga, who after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, in the last times, the last period shall set forth this Dharmaparyâya to the four classes of hearers, should do so, Bhaishagyarâga, after having entered the abode² of the Tathâgata, after having put on the robe of the Tathâgata, and occupied the pulpit of the Tathâgata. And what is the abode of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga? It is the abiding³ in charity (or kindness) to all beings; that is the abode of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga, which the young man of good family has to enter. And what is the robe of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga? It is the apparel of sublime forbearance; that is the robe of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga, which the young man of good family has to put on. What is the pulpit of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga? It is the entering into the voidness (or complete abstraction) of all laws (or things); that is the pulpit, Bhaishagyarâga, on which the young man of good family has to sit in order to set forth this Dharmaparyâya to the four classes of hearers. A Bodhisattva ought to propound this Dharmaparyâya with unshrinking mind, before the face of the congregated Bodhisattvas, the four classes

¹ The Mahâyâna, apparently.

² Layana, recess, retreat, refuge, cell, lair, stronghold, asylum, abode.

³ Vihâra, both walk and abode, and further, monastery.

of hearers, who are striving for the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, and I, staying in another world, Bhaishagya-râga, will by means of fictitious creatures¹ make the minds of the whole congregation favourably disposed to that young man of good family, and I will send fictitious monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees in order to hear the sermon of the preacher, who are unable to gainsay or contradict him². If afterwards he shall have retired to the forest, I will send thither many gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, and great serpents to hear him preach, while I, staying in another world, Bhaishagya-râga, will show my face to that young man of good family, and the words and syllables of this Dharmaparyâya which he happens to have forgotten will I again suggest to him³ when he repeats his lesson.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

16. Let one listen to this exalted Sûtra, avoiding all distractedness ; for rare is the occasion (given) for hearing it, and rare also the belief in it.

¹ Nirmitaiḥ ; the word is masculine, as appears from the sequel.

² I cannot tell what real phenomena are underlying these creations of the Buddha after his Nirvâṇa ; but this much seems clear, that we have in this piece a description of the practical course a young preacher has to go through in order to become fit for his task.

³ Pratyukṣârayishyâmi, literally, I will cause him to re-utter. The real purport, unless I am much mistaken, is : on a following day (Buddha) will restore what the student has forgotten from his lesson, provided he reads the passage again ; or, if we take the words in a spiritual sense, the mental light of the student will again supply what he has forgotten of his lesson. Cf. stanza 31.

17. It is a case similar to that of a certain man who in want of water goes to dig a well in an arid tract of land, and sees how again and again only dry sand is being dug up.

18. On seeing which he thinks : the water is far off ; a token of its being far off is the dry white sand which appears in digging.

19. But when he (afterwards) sees again and again the sand moist and smooth, he gets the conviction that water cannot be very far off.

20. So, too, are those men far from Buddha-knowledge who have not heard this Sûtra and have failed to repeatedly meditate on it.

21. But those who have heard and oft meditated on this profound king amongst Sûtras, this authoritative book ¹ for disciples,

22. Are wise and near Buddha-knowledge, even as from the moisture of sand may be inferred that water is near.

23. After entering the abode of the *Gina*, putting on his robe and sitting down on my seat, the preacher should, undaunted, expound this Sûtra.

24. The strength of charity (or kindness) is my abode ; the apparel of forbearance is my robe ; and voidness (or complete abstraction) is my seat ; let (the preacher) take his stand on this and preach.

25. Where clods, sticks, pikes, or abusive words and threats fall to the lot of the preacher, let him be patient, thinking of me.

26. My body has existed entire in thousands of

¹ *Viniskaya*, decision, here hardly differing from *tantra* or *siddhânta*. After the model of the latter has been framed the term *Sûtrânta* ; and the *Lotus*, as we know, is a *Sûtrânta*.

koṭis of regions; during a number of koṭis of Æons beyond comprehension I teach the law to creatures.

27. To that courageous man who shall proclaim this Sûtra after my complete extinction I will also send many creations¹.

28. Monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, will honour him as well as the classes of the audience.

29. And should there be some to attack him with clods, sticks, injurious words, threats, taunts, then the creations shall defend him.

30. And when he shall stay alone, engaged in study, in a lonely place, in the forest or the hills,

31. Then will I show him my luminous body and enable him to remember the lesson he forgot².

32. While he is living lonely in the wilderness, I will send him gods and goblins in great number to keep him company.

33. Such are the advantages he is to enjoy; whether he is preaching to the four classes, or living, a solitary, in mountain caverns and studying his lesson, he will see me.

34. His readiness of speech knows no impediment; he understands the manifold requisites of exegesis; he satisfies thousands of koṭis of beings because he is, so to say, inspired (or blessed) by the Buddha³.

¹ Bahunirmitân. As a class of angels is called Parinirmita Vasavartin, it may be that the idea the word nirmita was intended to convey to the simple-minded is that of angels.

² Here the Buddha seems to be the personification of the faculty of memory, of mental light.

³ Buddhena. Burnouf seems to have read Buddhaiḥ, the plural.

35. And the creatures who are entrusted to his care shall very soon all become Bodhisattvas, and by cultivating his intimacy they shall behold Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

CHAPTER XI.

APPARITION OF A STÛPA.

Then there arose a Stûpa, consisting of seven precious substances, from the place of the earth opposite the Lord, the assembly being in the middle¹, a Stûpa five hundred yoganas in height and proportionate in circumference. After its rising, the Stûpa, a meteoric phenomenon², stood in the sky sparkling, beautiful, nicely decorated with five thousand³ successive terraces of flowers⁴, adorned with many thousands of arches, embellished by thousands of banners and triumphal streamers, hung with thousands of jewel-garlands and with hour-plates and bells, and emitting the scent of Xanthochymus and sandal, which scent filled this whole world. Its row of umbrellas rose so far on high as to touch the abodes of the four guardians of the

¹ Between the Lord (i. e. the Sun) and the Stûpa of seven Ratnas, i. e. here, it would seem, the rainbow of seven colours. We shall see that the Stûpa has also another function, that of symbolising the celestial *dhishnya* in which sun and moon are standing. Cf. E. Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, p. 436.

² *Vaihôyasam*, in the neuter gender, whereas *stûpa* is masculine.

³ The number of colours is now five, then seven. Moreover there ought to be a parallelism between the five colours and the five planets, and, on the other hand, between the seven ratnas, or colours, and the grahas, including sun and moon. In *Rig-veda* we find *saptarâsmi* and *pañkarâsmi*.

⁴ *Pushpagrahanivedikâ*.

horizon and the gods. It consisted of seven precious substances, viz. gold, silver, lapis lazuli, Musâragalva, emerald, red coral, and Karketana-stone¹. This Stûpa of precious substances once formed, the gods of paradise strewed and covered it with Mandârava and great Mandâra flowers². And from that Stûpa of precious substances there issued this voice: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sâkyamuni! thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. So it is, Lord; so it is, Sugata.

At the sight of that great Stûpa of precious substances, that meteoric phenomenon in the sky, the four classes of hearers were filled with gladness, delight, satisfaction and joy. Instantly they rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and remained standing in that position. Then the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâpratibhâna, perceiving the world, including gods, men, and demons, filled with curiosity, said to the Lord: O Lord, what is the cause, what is the reason of so magnificent a Stûpa of precious substances appearing in the world? Who is it, O Lord, who causes that sound to go out from the magnificent Stûpa of precious substances? Thus asked, the Lord spake to Mahâpratibhâna, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, as follows: In this great Stûpa of precious substances, Mahâpratibhâna, the proper body³ of the Tathâgata is contained condensed; his is the Stûpa; it is he who causes this sound to go out.

¹ The raising of a seven-jewelled Stûpa is also narrated in the Vinaya Pîṭaka of the Mahâsânghika school, according to Beal in the Indian Antiquary, vol. xi, p. 47. The particulars of the description in that narrative bear little resemblance to those found in our text.

² There fell smaller and bigger drops of rain.

³ Âtmabhâva, also the very nature, the essential being.

In the point of space below, Mahâpratibhâna, there are innumerable thousands of worlds¹. Further on is the world called Ratnavisuddha², there is the Tathâgata named Prabhûtaratna, the Arhat, &c. This Lord of yore made this vow : Formerly, when following the course of a Bodhisattva, I have not arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment before I had heard this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, serving for the instruction of Bodhisattvas. But from the moment that I had heard this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, I have become fully ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Now, Mahâpratibhâna, that Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., at the juncture of time when his complete extinction was to take place, announced in presence of the world, including the gods : After my complete extinction, monks, one Stûpa must be made of precious substances of this frame (or form) of the proper body of the Tathâgata³; the other Stûpas, again, should be made in dedication (or in reference) to me. Thereupon, Mahâpratibhâna, the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., pronounced this blessing : Let my Stûpa here, this Stûpa of my proper bodily frame (or form), arise wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space, in all worlds, the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law is propounded, and let

¹ Var. lect. innumerable hundred thousand myriads of koûs of worlds.

² I. e. clear by jewels (stars), or, quite the reverse, cleared from jewels. Most probably, however, we have to take it in the former sense. The world so called is, apparently, the starry vault, beyond the atmosphere where the rainbow is glittering.

³ Asya Tathâgatâtmbhâvavigrahasya.

it stand in the sky above the assembled congregation when this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law is being preached by some Lord Buddha or another, and let this Stûpa of the frame (or form) of my proper body give a shout of applause to those Buddhas while preaching this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law¹. It is that Stûpa, Mahâpratibhâna, of the relics of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., which, while I was preaching this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Saha-world, arose above this assembled congregation and, standing as a meteor in the sky, gave its applause.

Then said Mahâpratibhâna, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, to the Lord: Show us, O Lord, through thy power the frame of the afore-mentioned Tathâgata. Whereon the Lord spake to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâpratibhâna as follows: This Lord Prabhûtaratna, Mahâpratibhâna, has made a grave and pious vow. That vow consisted in this: When the Lords, the Buddhas, being in other Buddha-fields, shall preach this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the

¹ We shall see that the 'extinct Lord Prabhûtaratna' is to sit in the middle of the Stûpa along with the Buddha. The moon is 'completely extinct' when in conjunction with the sun, and it seems sufficiently clear that Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., is the moon at the time of amâvâsyâ, conjunction. The Stûpa, in the centre of which sun and moon are sitting together at that period, cannot be the rainbow, so that we have in the sequel again to take Stûpa in the sense of *dhishnya*, asterism; see note 1, p. 227. The crescent surmounting the Stûpa-symbols on coins (see Senart, l. c.) is not exactly the representation of the 'extinct Lord'—who is difficult to be represented—but of the same nature. The appearance of this symbol on those coins is by itself sufficient to show the high antiquity of a refined nature-worship in Buddhism.

True Law, then let this Stûpa of the frame of my proper body be near the Tathâgata¹ to hear from him this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. And when those Lords, those Buddhas wish to uncover the frame of my proper body and show it to the four classes of hearers, let then the Tathâgata-frames, made by the Tathâgatas in all quarters, in different Buddha-fields, from their own proper body, and preaching the law to creatures, under different names in several Buddha-fields, let all those Tathâgata-frames, made from the proper body, united together, along with this Stûpa containing the frame of my own body, be opened and shown to the four classes of hearers. Therefore, Mahâpratibhâna, have I made many Tathâgata-frames² which in all quarters, in several Buddha-fields in thousands of worlds, preach the law to creatures. All those ought to be brought hither.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâpratibhâna said to the Lord: Then, O Lord, shall we reverentially salute all those bodily emanations of the Tathâgata and created by the Tathâgata.

And instantly the Lord darted from the circle of hair on his brow a ray, which was no sooner darted than the Lords, the Buddhas stationed in the east in fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of worlds, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, became all visible, and the Buddha-fields there, consisting of crystal, became visible, variegated with jewel trees, decorated

¹ The place of the moon just before entering Nirvâna must of course be near the sun's seat of the law.

² It is hardly necessary to remark that by the luminous bodies, the attendants of Prabhûtaratna, i. e. the stars, are meant.

with strings of fine cloth, replete with many hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas, covered with canopies, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold¹. And in those fields appeared the Lords, the Buddhas, teaching with sweet and gentle voice the law to creatures; and those Buddha-fields seemed replete with hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas. So, too, it was in the south-east; so in the south; so in the south-west; so in the west; so in the north-west; so in the north; so in the north-east; so in the nadir; so in the zenith; so in the ten directions of space; in each direction were to be seen many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, in many worlds similar to the sands of the river Ganges, Lords Buddhas in many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Buddha-fields.

Those Tathâgatas, &c., in the ten directions of space then addressed each his own troop of Bodhisattvas: We shall have to go, young men of good family, to the Saha-world near the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., to humbly salute the Stûpa of the relics of Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c. Thereupon those Lords, those Buddhas resorted with their own satellites, each with one or two, to this Saha-world. At that period this all-embracing world was adorned with jewel trees; it consisted of lapis lazuli, was covered with a network of seven precious substances and gold, smoking with the odorous incense of magnificent jewels, everywhere strewn with Mandârava and great Mandârava flowers,

¹ Here we see that gold does not belong to the seven ratnas. The whole list of the seven colours seems to have undergone some alterations.

decorated with a network of little bells¹, showing a checker board divided by gold threads into eight compartments, devoid of villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, without Kâla-mountain, without the mountains Muṣṣilinda and great Muṣṣilinda, without a mount Sumeru, without a *Kakravâla* (i. e. horizon) and great *Kakra-vâla* (i. e. extended horizon), without other principal mountains, without great oceans, without rivers and great rivers, without bodies of gods, men, and demons, without hells, without brute creation, without a kingdom of Yama. For it must be understood that at that period all beings in any of the six states of existence in this world had been removed to other worlds, with the exception of those who were assembled at that congregation². Then it was that those Lords, those Buddhas, attended by one or two satellites, arrived at this Saha-world and went one after the other to occupy their place close to the foot of a jewel tree. Each of the jewel trees was five hundred yoganas in height, had boughs, leaves, foliage, and circumference in proportion³, and was provided with blossoms and fruits. At the foot of each jewel tree stood prepared a throne, five yoganas in height, and adorned with magnificent jewels. Each Tathâgata went to occupy his throne and sat on it cross-legged. And so all the Tathâgatas of the whole sphere sat cross-legged at the foot of the jewel trees.

¹ *Kaṅkaṇigâlâlâṅkrîta*.

² The hells at least, which are places of darkness, could not be present when the stars are shining brightly.

³ My MSS. read *paññayoganasatâṇy ukkaistvenâbhût, anupûrva-sâkhâpatrapalâsaparinâhaḥ*. In the sequel we meet with another reading agreeing with Burnouf's.

At that moment the whole sphere was replete with Tathāgatas, but the beings produced from the proper body of the Lord Śākyamuni had not yet arrived, not even from a single point of the horizon. Then the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., proceeded to make room for those Tathāgata-frames that were arriving one after the other. On every side in the eight directions of space (appeared) twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddha-fields of lapis lazuli, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold, decorated with a fringe of little bells, strewn with Mandārava and great Mandārava flowers, covered with heavenly awnings, hung with wreaths of heavenly flowers, smoking with heavenly odorous incense. All those twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddha-fields were without villages, towns, boroughs, &c.; without Kāla-mountain, &c.; without great oceans, &c.; without bodies of gods, &c. All those Buddha-fields were so arranged by him as to form one Buddha-field, one soil, even, lovely, set off with trees of seven precious substances, trees five hundred yoganās in height and circumference, provided with boughs, flowers, and fruits in proportion¹. At the foot of each tree stood prepared a throne, five yoganās in height and width, consisting of celestial gems, glittering and beautiful. The Tathāgatas arriving one after the other occupied the throne near the foot of each tree, and sat cross-legged. In like manner the Tathāgata Śākyamuni prepared twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of other

¹ The reading is somewhat doubtful: ārohaparināhonupūrva- (var. lect. °haḥ, anupūrva-)śākhāpatrapushpaphalopeta(ḥ).

worlds, in every direction of space, in order to give room to the Tathâgatas who were arriving one after the other. Those twenty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of worlds in every direction of space were likewise so made by him as to be without villages, towns, &c. [as above]. They were without bodies of gods, &c. [as above]; all those beings had been removed to other worlds. These Buddha-fields also were of lapis lazuli, &c. [as above]. All those jewel trees measured five hundred *yoganas*, and near them were thrones, artificially made and measuring five *yoganas*. Then those Tathâgatas sat down cross-legged, each on a throne at the foot of a jewel tree.

At that moment the Tathâgatas produced by the Lord Sâkyamuni, who in the east were preaching the law to creatures in hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, all arrived from the ten points of space and sat down in the eight quarters. Thereupon thirty *koṭis* of worlds in each direction were occupied¹ by those Tathâgatas from all the eight quarters. Then, seated on their thrones, those Tathâgatas deputed their satellites into the presence of the Lord Sâkyamuni, and after giving them bags with jewel flowers enjoined them thus: Go, young men of good family, to the *Grîdhra-kûṭa* mountain, where the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., is; salute him reverentially and ask, in our name, after the state of health, well-being, lustiness, and comfort both of himself and the crowd of Bodhisattvas and disciples. Strew

¹ Burnouf seems to have read *atikrânta*, for his translation has 'franchirent,' whereas my MSS. have *âkrânta*. One of the MSS. has *lokadhâtukoḥibhyo* instead of *°ko/yo*.

him with this heap of jewels and speak thus: Would the Lord Tathâgata deign to open this great Stûpa of jewels? It was in this manner that all those Tathâgatas deputed their satellites.

And when the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, perceived that his creations, none wanting, had arrived; perceived that they were severally seated on their thrones, and perceived that the satellites of those Tathâgatas, &c., were present, he, in consideration of the wish expressed by those Tathâgatas, &c., rose from his seat and stood in the sky, as a meteor. And all the four classes of the assembly rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and stood gazing up to the face of the Lord. The Lord then, with the right fore-finger¹, unlocked the middle of the great Stûpa of jewels, which showed like a meteor, and so severed the two parts. Even as the double doors of a great city gate separate when the bolt is removed, so the Lord opened the great Stûpa, which showed like a meteor, by unlocking it in the middle with the right fore-finger. The great Stûpa of jewels had no sooner been opened than the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., was seen sitting cross-legged on his throne, with emaciated² limbs and faint body, as if absorbed in abstract meditation, and he pronounced these words: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sâkyamuni; thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. I repeat, thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law,

¹ Dakshinayâ hastângulyâ.

² Parisushkagâtra, var. lect. parisuddha°, with thoroughly pure or correct limbs. Burnouf had committed no mistake in reading parisushka°, though he accuses himself of having done so.

Lord Sâkyamuni, to the (four) classes of the assembly. I myself, Lord, have come hither to hear the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law.

Now the four classes of the assembly, on perceiving the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who had been extinct for many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Æons, speaking in this way, were filled with wonder and amazement. Instantly they covered the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., with heaps of divine and human flowers. And then the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., ceded to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., the half of the seat on that very throne within that same great Stûpa of jewels and said : Let the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., sit down here. Whereon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., sat down upon that half-seat together with the other Tathâgata, so that both Tathâgatas were seen as meteors in the sky, sitting on the throne in the middle of the great Stûpa of jewels.

And in the minds of those four classes of the assembly rose this thought : We are far off from the two Tathâgatas ; therefore let us also, through the power of the Tathâgata, rise up to the sky. As the Lord apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those four classes of the assembly, he instantly, by magic power, established the four classes as meteors in the sky. Thereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, addressed the four classes : Who amongst you, monks, will endeavour to expound this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Saha-world ? The

fatal term, the time (of death), is now at hand ; the Tathâgata longs for complete extinction, monks, after entrusting to you this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. Here you see, monks, the great Seer, the extinct Chief, within the Stûpa of jewels, who now has come to hear the law. Who would not call up his energy for the law's sake ?

2. Albeit completely extinct for many koṭis of Æons, he yet now comes to hear the law ; for the law's sake he moves hither and thither ; very rare (and very precious) is a law like this.

3. This Leader practised¹ a vow when he was in a former existence ; even after his complete extinction he wanders through this whole world in all ten points of space.

4. And all these (you here see) are my proper bodies, by thousands of koṭis, like² the sands of the Ganges ; they have appeared that the law may be fulfilled³ and in order to see this extinct Master.

5. After laying out⁴ for each his peculiar field, as well as having (created) all disciples, men and gods, in order to preserve the true law, as long as the reign of the law shall last,

6. I have by magic power cleared many worlds,

¹ Nishevita.

² Yathâ.

³ Dharmakṛityasya kṛitena, literally, for the sake of the task or office of the law.

⁴ Khoritvâ, Sansk. kṣuritvâ and kṣorayitvâ, to inlay, make inlaid work, cut figures, fashion. Sâkyamuni is most distinctly represented as a creator—in the Indian sense, of course—in the same way as Brahma Hiranyagarbha is a creator.

destined as seats for those Buddhas, and transported all creatures.

7. It has (always) been my anxious care how this line of the law might be manifested. So (you see) Buddhas here in immense number staying at the foot of trees like a great multitude of lotuses.

8. Many *koṭis* of bases of trees are brightened by the Leaders sitting on the thrones which are perpetually occupied by them and brightened as darkness is by fire.

9. A delicious fragrance spreads from the Leaders of the world over all quarters, (a fragrance) by which, when the wind is blowing, all these creatures are intoxicated.

10. Let him who after my extinction shall keep this Dharmaparyāya quickly pronounce his declaration in the presence of the Lords of the world.

11. The Seer Prabhûtaratna who, though completely extinct, is awake, will hear the lion's roar of him who shall take this resolution¹.

12. Myself, in the second place, as well as the many Chiefs who have flocked hither by *koṭis*, will hear that resolution from the son of Gina, who is to exert himself to expound this law.

13. And thereby shall I always be honoured as well as Prabhûtaratna, the self-born Gina, who perpetually wanders through the quarters and intermediate quarters in order to hear such a law as this.

14. And these (other) Lords of the world here present, by whom this soil is so variegated and splendid, to them also will accrue ample and manifold honour from this Sûtra being preached.

¹ Vyavasâya.

15. Here on this seat you see me, together with the Lord next to me, in the middle of the Stûpa ; likewise many other Lords of the world here present, in many hundreds of fields.

16. Ye, young men of good family, mind, for mercy's sake towards all beings, that it is a very difficult task to which the Chief urges you.

17. One might expound many thousands of Sûtras, like to the sands of the Ganges, without overmuch difficulty.

18. One who after grasping the Sumeru in the fist were to hurl it a distance of koṭis of fields, would do nothing very difficult.

19. Nor would it be so very difficult if one could shake this whole universe by the thumb to hurl it a distance of koṭis of fields.

20. Nor would one who, after taking stand on the limit of the existing world, were to expound the law and thousands of other Sûtras, do something so very difficult.

21. But to keep and preach this Sûtra in the dreadful period succeeding the extinction of the Chief of the world, that is difficult¹.

22. To throw down the totality of ether-element after compressing it in one fist, and to leave it behind after having thrown it away, is not difficult.

23. But to copy a Sûtra like this in the period after my extinction, that is difficult².

24. To collect the whole earth-element at a nail's

¹ Yet the stars perform that extremely difficult task apparently with the greatest ease.

² Nay, it is impossible, if one does not avail oneself of a lamp or other artificial light.

end, cast it away, and then walk off to the Brahma-world¹,

25. Is not difficult, nor would it require a strength surpassing everybody's strength to do this work of difficulty.

26. Something more difficult than that will he do who in the last days after my extinction shall pronounce this Sūtra, were it but a single moment.

27. It will not be difficult for him to walk in the midst of the conflagration at the (time of the) end of the world, even if he carries with him a load of hay.

28. More difficult it will be to keep this Sūtra after my extinction and teach it to a single creature.

29. One may keep the eighty-four thousand divisions of the law² and expound them, with the

¹ Brahmaloka may mean either one of the twenty Brahma heavens, or all of them collectively. There are four arūpabrahmalokas, and sixteen rūpabrahmalokas.

² Dharmaskandha, Pāli Dhammakkhanda; see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 34 seq.; B. H. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 14; Childers, *Pāli Dict.* p. 117, where the following definition is given: 'The Tipiṭaka is divided into eighty-four thousand dhammakkhanda, "articles" or "sections of the Law." They are divisions according to subject. Buddhaghosa, as an illustration of the meaning of this term, says that a Sutta, or discourse, dealing with one subject forms one dh., while a Sutta embracing several subjects forms several.' It is worth while to compare this number of divisions with the eighty-four thousand monasteries erected by king Asoka in the eighty-four (thousand) towns of India, as we know from the historical work *Dīpavaṃsa* VI, 95 seq., where we read (according to Dr. Oldenberg's transl.): 'Full and complete eighty-four thousand most precious sections of the Truth (dhammakkhanda) have been taught by the most excellent Buddha; I will build eighty-four thousand monasteries, honouring each single section of the Truth by one monastery.'

instructions and such as they have been set forth, to koṭis of living beings ;

30. This is not so difficult ; nor is it, to train at the present time monks, and confirm my disciples in the five parts of transcendent knowledge.

31. But more difficult is it to keep this Sūtra, believe in it, adhere to it, or expound it again and again.

32. Even he who confirms many thousands of koṭis of Arhats, blest with the possession of the six transcendent faculties (Abhiṅgās), like sands of the Ganges¹,

33. Performs something not so difficult by far as the excellent man does who after my extinction shall keep my sublime law.

34. I have often, in thousands of worlds, preached the law, and to-day also I preach it with the view that Buddha-knowledge may be obtained.

35. This Sūtra is declared the principal of all Sūtras ; he who keeps in his memory this Sūtra, keeps the body of the *Gina*.

36. Speak, O young men of good family, while the Tathāgata is (still) in your presence, who amongst you is to exert himself² in later times to keep the Sūtra.

37. Not only I myself shall be pleased, but the Lords of the world in general, if one would keep for a moment this Sūtra so difficult to keep.

38. Such a one shall ever be praised by all the Lords of the world, famed as an eminent hero, and quick in arriving at transcendent wisdom.

¹ The latter half of the stanza runs thus : *śaḍabhiṅgāmahā-bhāgān yathā Gaṅgāya vālikā*.

² Or, shall be capable.

39. He shall be entrusted with the leadership¹ amongst the sons of the Tathâgatas, he who, after having reached the stage of meekness², shall keep this Sûtra.

40. He shall be the eye of the world, including gods and men, who shall speak this Sûtra after the extinction of the Chief of men.

41. He is to be venerated by all beings, the wise man who in the last times shall preach this Sûtra (were it but) a single moment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the whole company of Bodhisattvas and the world, including gods and demons, and said: Of yore, monks, in times past I have, unwearied and without repose, sought after the Sûtra of the Lotus of the True Law, during immense, immeasurable Æons; many Æons before I have been a king, during many thousands of Æons. Having once taken the strong resolution to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment, my mind did not swerve from its aim. I exerted myself to fulfil the six Perfections (Pâramitâs), bestowing immense alms: gold, money, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones(?), coral, gold and silver, emerald, Musâragalva, red pearls; villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, royal capitals; wives, sons, daughters, slaves, male and female; elephants, horses, cars, up to the sacrifice of life and body, of limbs and members, hands, feet, head. And never did the thought of self-complacency³ rise in me. In

¹ Dhuravâha.

² Dântabhûmi. Dânta is tamed, subject, meek; and also a young tamed bullock.

³ Âgrahañittam.

those days the life of men lasted long, so that for a time of many hundred thousand years I was exercising the rule of a King of the Law for the sake of duty, not for the sake of enjoyment¹. After installing in government the eldest prince royal, I went in quest of the best law in the four quarters, and had promulgated with sound of bell the following proclamation : He who procures for me the best law² or points out what is useful, to him will I become a servant. At that time there lived a Seer ; he told me : Noble king, there is a Sûtra, called the Lotus of the True Law, which is an exposition of the best law. If thou consent to become my servant, I will teach thee that law. And I, glad, content, exulting and ravished at the words I heard from the Seer, became his pupil³, and said : I will do for thee the work of a servant. And so having agreed upon becoming the servant of the Seer, I performed the duties of a servitor, such as fetching grass, fuel, water, bulbs, roots, fruit, &c. I held also the office of a doorkeeper. When I had done such kind of work at day-time, I at night kept his feet while he

¹ This golden age evidently coincided with the reign of king Yima in Iran, of king Frôði in Denmark, of king Manu in India ; in short, with the dawn of humanity.

² Or, the best right.

³ Upeyitavân. The original must have had upeyivân. The whole story, so different in language, style, phraseology, choice of words and spirit from anything else in the Lotus, has been so profoundly altered that almost every word must be taken in another sense than what originally was attached to it. I am not sure that those who modified the ancient tale understood the meaning of upeyivân ; even the grammatical form was a puzzle, if not to them, at least to the scribes.

was lying on his couch¹, and never did I feel fatigue of body or mind. In such occupations I passed a full millennium.

And for the fuller elucidation of this matter the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas :

42. I have a remembrance of past ages when I was Dhârmika², the King of the Law, and exercised the royal sway for duty's sake, not for love's sake, in the interest of the best law³.

43. I let go out in all directions this proclamation: I will become a servant to him who shall explain Dharma⁴. At that time there was a far-seeing Sage, a revealer of the Sûtra called the True Law⁵.

44. He said to me: If thou wish to know Dharma, become my servant⁶; then I will explain it to thee. As I heard these words I rejoiced and carefully performed such work as a servant ought to do.

45. I never felt any bodily nor mental weariness since I had become a servant for the sake of the true law. I did my best⁷ for real truth's sake⁸, not with a view to win honour or enjoy pleasure.

¹ Sayanasya maññake pādān dhārayāmāsa, which is sheer nonsense; we have to read sayānasya. The plural pādān shows that not the feet are meant—for that is pādau in the dual—but the lower end of the couch; the plural, if applied to one person, is always metaphorical.

² The text of these verses is one mass of corruption, as is proved by the repeated offences against the metre.

³ Perhaps those who changed the original text intended to join the last sentence to the following.

⁴ In the intention of the original author: (what is) Right.

⁵ Sûtrasya saddharmanāmnaḥ; this term being prosodically inadmissible, the original must have had another word.

⁶ Rather absurd; the original must have had 'my pupil.'

⁷ Praṇidhi, here synonymous with avadhāna, prayatna.

⁸ Vastutvāhetōḥ, which is nonsense; probably to read vas-

46. That king meanwhile, strenuously and without engaging in other pursuits, roamed in every direction during thousands of koṭis of complete Æons without being able to obtain the Sūtra called Dharma¹.

Now, monks, what is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the king? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was myself, who at that time, at that juncture was the king. What then, monks, is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was this Devadatta himself, the monk², who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer. Indeed, monks, Devadatta was my good friend. By the aid of Devadatta³ have I accomplished the six perfect virtues (Pāramitās). Noble kindness, noble compassion, noble sympathy, noble indifference, the thirty-two signs of a great man, the eighty lesser marks⁴, the gold-coloured tinge, the ten powers, the fourfold absence of hesitation⁵, the four articles of sociability, the eighteen uncommon

tutatvahetoḥ. A later hand has added a marginal reading sarvasatva, obviously intended to give a Buddhistic tinge to the tale.

¹ The traces of alteration are so clearly visible that it is not necessary to point them out.

² Ayam-eva sa Devadatto bhikshus tena kālena tena samayena rishir abhūt. Hence it follows that Devadatta is present at the gathering. His name not being mentioned before, he must be concealed under another name; I take him to be identical with Prabhūtaratna.

³ Devadattam āgamyā, properly, having come to or reached D.

⁴ Anuvyañjana; they have been thoroughly treated of by Burnouf in an Appendix to the Lotus, p. 583 seq.; cf. Hodgson's Essays, p. 90, and S. Hardy's Manual, p. 369.

⁵ Vaisāradya; Burnouf, Lotus, p. 396; S. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, p. 291.

properties, magical power, ability to save beings in all directions of space,—all this (have I got) after having come to Devadatta. I announce to you, monks, I declare to you : This Devadatta, the monk, shall in an age to come, after immense, innumerable Æons, become a Tathâgata named Devarâga (i. e. King of the gods), an Arhat, &c., in the world Devasopâna (i. e. Stairs of the gods). The lifetime of that Tathâgata Devarâga, monks, shall measure twenty intermediate kalpas. He shall preach the law in extension, and beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall through him forsake all evils and realise Arhatship. Several beings shall also elevate their minds to Pratyekabuddhaship, whereas beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall elevate their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become endowed with unflinching patience. Further, monks, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata Devarâga, his true law shall stay twenty intermediate kalpas. His body shall not be seen divided into different parts (and relics); it shall remain as one mass within a Stûpa of seven precious substances, which Stûpa is to be sixty hundred yoganas in height and forty yoganas in extension¹. All, gods and men, shall do worship to it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, unguents, powder, clothes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and celebrate it with stanzas and songs. Those who shall turn round that Stûpa from left to right or humbly salute it, shall some of them realise Arhatship, others attain Pratyekabuddhaship; others, gods and men, in immense number, shall raise their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, never to return.

¹ Âyâmena, which also means length.

Thereafter the Lord again addressed the assembly of monks: Whosoever in future, monks, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, shall hear this chapter of the Sûtra of the Lotus of the True Law, and by doing so be relieved from doubt, become pure-minded, and put reliance on it, to such a one the door of the three states of misfortune shall be shut: he shall not fall so low as to be born in hell, among beasts, or in Yama's kingdom. When born in the Buddha-fields in the ten points of space he shall at each repeated birth hear this very Sûtra, and when born amongst gods or men he shall attain an eminent rank. And in the Buddha-field where he is to be born he shall appear by metamorphosis on a lotus of seven precious substances, face to face with the Tathâgata.

At that moment a Bodhisattva of the name of *Pragñâkûta*, having come from beneath the Buddha-field of the Tathâgata *Prabhûtaratna*, said to the Tathâgata *Prabhûtaratna*: Lord, let us resort to our own Buddha-field. But the Lord *Sâkyamuni*, the Tathâgata, said to the Bodhisattva *Pragñâkûta*: Wait a while, young man of good family, first have a discussion with my Bodhisattva *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, to settle some point of the law. And at the same moment, lo, *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, rose seated on a centifolious lotus that was large as a carriage yoked with four horses, surrounded and attended by many Bodhisattvas, from the bosom of the sea, from the abode of the Nâga-king *Sâgara* (i. e. Ocean). Rising high into the sky he went through the air to the *Grîdhra-kûta* mountain to the presence of the Lord. There *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, alighted from his lotus, reverentially saluted

the feet of the Lord Sâkyamuni and Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, went up to the Bodhisattva Pragñâkûta and, after making the usual complimentary questions as to his health and welfare, seated himself at some distance. The Bodhisattva Pragñâkûta then addressed to Mañgusrî, the prince royal, the following question: Mañgusrî, how many beings hast thou educated¹ during thy stay in the sea? Mañgusrî answered: Many, innumerable, incalculable beings have I educated, so innumerable that words cannot express it, nor thought conceive it. Wait a while, young man of good family, thou shalt presently see a token. No sooner had Mañgusrî, the prince royal, spoken these words than instantaneously many thousands of lotuses rose from the bosom of the sea up to the sky, and on those lotuses were seated many thousands of Bodhisattvas, who flocked through the air to the Grîdhrakûta mountain, where they stayed, appearing as meteors. All of them had been educated by Mañgusrî, the prince royal, to supreme, perfect enlightenment². The Bodhisattvas amongst them who had formerly striven after the great vehicle extolled the virtues of the great vehicle and the six perfect virtues (Pâramitâs). Such as had been disciples extolled the vehicle of disciples. But all acknowledged the voidness (or vanity) of all laws (or things), as well as the virtues of the great vehicle. Mañgusrî, the prince royal, said to the Bodhisattva Pragñâkûta: Young man of good family, while I was staying in the bosom of the great ocean I have by all means

¹ Properly, lead, lead out.

² Here Mañgusrî appears in the character of Hermes ψυχοπομπός.

educated creatures, and here thou seest the result. Whereupon the Bodhisattva *Pragñākūṭa* questioned *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, in chanting the following stanzas :

47. O thou blessed one, who from thy wisdom art called the Sage¹, by whose power is it that thou to-day (or now) hast educated those innumerable beings? Tell it me upon my question, O thou god amongst men².

48. What law hast thou preached, or what *Sūtra*, in showing the path of enlightenment, so that those who are there with you have conceived the idea of enlightenment? that, once having gained a safe ford³, they have been decisively established in omniscience?

Mañgusri answered: In the bosom of the sea I have expounded the Lotus of the True Law and no other *Sūtra*. *Pragñākūṭa* said: That *Sūtra* is profound, subtle, difficult to seize; no other *Sūtra* equals it. Is there any creature able to understand this jewel of a *Sūtra* or to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment? *Mañgusri* replied: There is, young man of good family, the daughter of *Sāgara*, the *Nāga*-king, eight years old, very intelligent, of keen faculties, endowed with prudence in acts of body, speech, and mind, who has caught and kept all the teachings, in substance and form, of the *Tathāgatas*, who has acquired in one moment a thousand meditations and proofs of the essence of all laws⁴. She

¹ *Mahābhadrā pragñayā sūranāman*. I take *sūra* in the sense of *sūri*, though it is also possible that *sūra* stands for *sūra*, a hero.

² *Naradeva*.

³ *Labdhagāthāḥ*; I think we have to read *labdhagādhāḥ*, and have translated accordingly.

⁴ The reading is uncertain; *sarvadharmasatvasamādhānasamā-*

does not swerve from the idea of enlightenment, has great aspirations, applies to other beings the same measure as to herself; she is apt to display all virtues and is never deficient in them. With a bland smile on the face and in the bloom of an extremely handsome appearance she speaks words of kindness and compassion¹. She is fit to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment. The Bodhisattva *Pragñā-kūṭa* said: I have seen how the Lord *Sākyamuni*, the *Tathāgata*, when he was striving after enlightenment, in the state of a Bodhisattva, performed innumerable good works², and during many *Æons* never slackened in his arduous task. In the whole universe there is not a single spot so small as a mustard-seed where he has not surrendered his body for the sake of creatures³. Afterwards he arrived at enlightenment. Who then would believe that she should have been able to arrive at supreme, perfect knowledge in one moment?

At that very moment appeared the daughter of *Sāgara*, the *Nāga*-king, standing before their face. After reverentially saluting the feet of the Lord she stationed herself at some distance and uttered on that occasion the following stanzas:

dhisahasraikakshazapratilābhini. A marginal correction by a later hand adds *sarva* between *dharma* and *satva*.

¹ The daughter of *Sāgara*, the Ocean, is *Lakshmi*, the smiling goddess of Beauty and Fortune, but from some traits in the sequel it would seem that she is identified with *Tārā*, the wife of *Brīhaspati* and the Moon.

² As *Hercules* performed his *deeds*.

³ As the sun shoots his rays everywhere, it is quite natural that his *dhātus*, i.e. particles, relics, have been spread all over the surface of the earth, and it is no untruth that the footprints (the *pādas*, rays) of the Lord *Sākyamuni* are to be found in Laos, in Ceylon, &c.

49. Spotless, bright, and of unfathomable light is that ethereal body, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, pervading space in all directions.

50. He is possessed of the secondary marks and praised by every being, and accessible to all, like an open market-place¹.

51. I have obtained enlightenment according to my wish ; the Tathâgata can bear witness to it ; I will extensively reveal the law that releases from sufferance.

Then the venerable Śāriputra said to that daughter of Sâgara, the Nâga-king : Thou hast conceived the idea of enlightenment, young lady of good family, without sliding back, and art gifted with immense wisdom, but supreme, perfect enlightenment is not easily won. It may happen, sister, that a woman displays an unflagging energy, performs good works for many thousands of Æons, and fulfils the six perfect virtues (Pâramitâs), but as yet there is no example of her having reached Buddhahip, and that because a woman cannot occupy the five ranks, viz. 1. the rank of Brahma ; 2. the rank of Indra ; 3. the rank of a chief guardian of the four quarters ; 4. the rank of *Kakravartin* ; 5. the rank of a Bodhisattva incapable of sliding back².

Now the daughter of Sâgara, the Nâga-king, had at the time a gem which in value outweighed the whole universe. That gem the daughter of Sâgara, the Nâga-king, presented to the Lord, and the Lord graciously accepted it. Then the daughter of Sâgara,

¹ *Antarâpanavad yathâ*. I am not certain of the correctness of my translation. Burnouf has 's'il était leur concitoyen.'

² All these beings are in Sanskrit of masculine gender ; hence their rank cannot be taken by beings having feminine names.

the Nāga-king, said to the Bodhisattva Pragñākūṭa and the senior priest Śāriputra: Has the Lord readily accepted¹ the gem I presented him or has he not? The senior priest answered: As soon as it was presented by thee, so soon it was accepted by the Lord. The daughter of Sāgara, the Nāga-king, replied: If I were endowed with magic power, brother Śāriputra, I should sooner have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and there would have been none to receive this gem.

At the same instant, before the sight of the whole world and of the senior priest Śāriputra, the female sex of the daughter of Sāgara, the Nāga-king, disappeared; the male sex appeared² and she manifested herself as a Bodhisattva, who immediately went to the South to sit down at the foot of a tree made of seven precious substances, in the world Vimala (i. e. spotless), where he showed himself enlightened and preaching the law, while filling all directions of space with the radiance of the thirty-two characteristic signs and all secondary marks. All beings in the Saha-world beheld that Lord while he received the homage of all, gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and was engaged

¹ A marginal reading from a later hand adds: *anukampām upādāya*, by grace, by mercy, graciously.

² In ancient times such a change of sex is nothing strange. Sundry words for 'star,' e.g. *tārā*, *tārakā*, Latin *stella*, are feminine, whereas the names of some particular stars are masculine; so *Tārā*, the daughter of the Sea, *Stella Marina*, may have been identified with *Tishya*, or the Iranian *Tishtrya*, who equally rises from the sea; cf. *Tishter Yasht* (ed. Westergaard, p. 177). The daughter of the ocean seems to be identical with *Ardvi Sûra*, celebrated in *Abân Yasht*.

in preaching the law. And the beings who heard the preaching of that Tathâgata became incapable of sliding back in supreme, perfect enlightenment. And that world Vimala and this Saha-world shook in six different ways. Three thousand living beings from the congregational circle of the Lord Sâkyamuni gained the acquiescence in the eternal law¹, whereas three hundred thousand beings obtained the prediction of their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the Bodhisattva *Pragñâkûta* and the senior priest *Sâriputra* were silent.

¹ Anutpattikadharmakshânti.

CHAPTER XII.

EXERTION.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Bhaishagya¹ and the Bodhisattva Mahāpratibhāna, with a retinue of twenty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas, spoke before the face of the Lord the following words: Let the Lord be at ease in this respect; we will after the extinction of the Tathāgata expound this Paryāya to (all) creatures¹, though we are aware, O Lord, that at that period there shall be malign beings, having few roots of goodness, conceited, fond of gain and honour, rooted in unholiness, difficult to tame, deprived of good will, and full of unwillingness. Nevertheless, O Lord, we will at that period read, keep, preach, write, honour, respect, venerate, worship this Sūtra; with sacrifice of body and life, O Lord, we will divulge this Sūtra. Let the Lord be at ease.

Thereupon five hundred monks of the assembly, both such as were under training and such as were not, said to the Lord: We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyāya, though in other worlds. Then all the disciples of the Lord, both such as were under training and such as were

¹ One would expect that this speech immediately followed st. 41 in the foregoing chapter, but the rules of composition in Buddhistic writings are so peculiar that it is unsafe to apply criticism.

not, who had received from the Lord the prediction as to their (future) supreme enlightenment, all the eight thousand monks raised their joined hands towards the Lord and said: Let the Lord be at ease. We also will divulge this Dharmaparyāya, after the complete extinction of the Lord, in the last days, the last period, though in other worlds. For in this Saha-world, O Lord, the creatures are conceited, possessed of few roots of goodness, always vicious in their thoughts, wicked, and naturally perverse.

Then the noble matron Gautamī, the sister of the Lord's mother, along with six hundred¹ nuns, some of them being under training, some being not, rose from her seat, raised the joined hands towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him. Then the Lord addressed the noble matron Gautamī: Why dost thou stand so dejected, gazing up to the Tathāgata? (She replied): I have not been mentioned by the Tathāgata, nor have I received from him a prediction of my destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. (He said): But, Gautamī, thou hast received a prediction with the prediction regarding the whole assembly. Indeed, Gautamī, thou shalt from henceforward, before the face of thirty-eight

¹ Ciphers do not count, so that only six must be reckoned. These six with Gautamī form the number of seven. The seven Matres or Mother-goddesses are known from Indian mythology. Kumāra, the prince royal (Skanda), is sometimes said to have six mothers, sometimes seven, sometimes one. The six are said to be the six clearly visible *Kṛttikās* (Pleiads); the seventh is the less distinct star of the Pleiads. His one mother is Durgā. It is by mistake that the dictionaries fix the number of *Kṛttikās* at six; there are seven, as appears e.g. from *Mahābhārata* III, 230, 11.

hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Buddhas¹, be a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law. These six thousand² nuns also, partly perfected in discipline, partly not, shall along with others become Bodhisattvas³ and preachers of the law before the face of the Tathâgatas. Afterwards, when thou shalt have completed the course of a Bodhisattva, thou shalt become, under the name of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana (i. e. lovely to see for all beings), a Tathâgata, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c. And that Tathâgata Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, O Gautamî, shall give a prediction by regular succession to those six thousand Bodhisattvas concerning their destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the nun Yasodharâ, the mother of Râhula, thought thus: The Lord has not mentioned my name. And the Lord comprehending in his own mind what was going on in the mind of the nun Yasodharâ said to her: I announce to thee, Yasodharâ, I declare to thee: Thou also shalt before the face of ten thousand kośis⁴ of Buddhas become a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law, and after regularly completing the course of a Bodhisattva thou shalt become a Tathâgata, named Rasmisatasahasraparipûrṇadhvaga, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., in the

¹ In the margin has been added by a later hand: 'after paying honour, respect, reverence, worship, and veneration.' A little further on we find the same marginal addition.

² A few lines before the number was six hundred. Both numbers come to the same, for ciphers do not count.

³ Here it is not added that Gautamî cum suis has to change sex (i. e. gender) in order to be fit for Bodhisattvaship. In fact, the *Kṛitikās* are always feminine in Sanskrit.

⁴ Burnouf has read, ten hundred thousand myriads of kośis.

world Bhadra ; and the lifetime of that Lord Rasmisatasahasraparipûrṇadhvaga shall be unlimited.

When the noble matron Gautamī, the nun, with her suite of six thousand nuns, and Yasodharā, the nun, with her suite of four thousand nuns, heard from the Lord their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment, they uttered, in wonder and amazement, this stanza :

1. O Lord, thou art the trainer, thou art the leader ; thou art the master of the world, including the gods ; thou art the giver of comfort, thou who art worshipped by men and gods. Now, indeed, we feel satisfied.

After uttering this stanza the nuns said to the Lord : We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyāya in the last days, though in other worlds.

Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas who were gifted with magical spells and capable of moving forward the wheel that never rolls back. No sooner were those Bodhisattvas regarded by the Lord than they rose from their seats, raised their joined hands towards the Lord and reflected thus : The Lord invites us to make known the Dharmaparyāya. Agitated by that thought they asked one another : What shall we do, young men of good family, in order that this Dharmaparyāya may in future be made known as the Lord invites us to do ? Thereupon those young men of good family, in consequence of their reverence for the Lord and their own pious vow in their previous course, raised a lion's roar¹ before the Lord : We, O Lord, will in future, after the

¹ One might say, a cry of martial exultation.

complete extinction of the Lord, go in all directions in order that creatures shall write, keep, meditate, divulge this Dharmaparyâya, by no other's power but the Lord's. And the Lord, staying in another world, shall protect, defend, and guard us.

Then the Bodhisattvas unanimously in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas :

2. Be at ease, O Lord. After thy complete extinction, in the horrible last period of the world, we will proclaim this sublime Sûtra.

3. We will suffer, patiently endure, O Lord, the injuries, threats, blows and threats with sticks¹ at the hands of foolish men.

4. At that dreadful last epoch men will be malign, crooked, wicked, dull, conceited, fancying to have come to the limit when they have not.

5. 'We do not care but to live in the wilderness and wear a patched cloth ; we lead a frugal life ;' so will they speak to the ignorant².

6. And persons greedily attached to enjoyments will preach the law to laymen and be honoured as if they possessed the six transcendent qualities.

7. Cruel-minded and wicked men, only occupied with household cares, will enter our retreat in the forest and become our calumniators.

8. The Tîrthikas³, themselves bent on profit and honour, will say of us that we are so, and—shame on such monks!—they will preach their own fictions⁴.

¹ *Danda-udgirana*, for which I think we have to read *danda-udgûrana*.

² *Durmatîn*.

³ Dissenters, as the foremost of whom generally appear the *Gainas*, from the Buddhist point of view.

⁴ *Tîrthikâ vat' ime bhikshû svâni kâvyâni desayuh*. Here

9. Prompted by greed of profit and honour they will compose Sûtras of their own invention and then, in the midst of the assembly, accuse us of plagiarism¹.

10. To kings, princes, king's peers, as well as to Brahmans and commoners, and to monks of other confessions,

11. They will speak evil of us and propagate the Tirtha-doctrine². We will endure all that out of reverence for the great Seers.

12. And those fools who will not listen to us, shall (sooner or later) become enlightened³, and therefore will we forbear to the last.

13. In that dreadful, most terrible period of frightful general revolution will many fiendish monks stand up as our revilers.

14. Out of respect for the Chief of the world we will bear it, however difficult it be; girded with the girdle of forbearance will I⁴ proclaim this Sûtra.

15. I⁵ do not care for my body or life, O Lord,

we have the interjection *vata* (*bata*) in the sense of a *nindâ*, reproach, contempt. The Buddhists are fond of denouncing schismatics or heretics as impostors, and their works as forgeries; a model of such an accusation brought forward by the orthodox against the 'wicked' monks, the *Vaggiputtakas*, is to be found in *Dîpavaṃsa* V, 30 seqq.

¹ Or, perhaps, speak slander of us. The term used, *anuku//anâ*, is unknown to me from other passages, so that I have had recourse to etymology: *anu*, after, *ku//anâ*, stamping.

² These passages are not very explicit, but this much is clear that the Tîrthikas are somehow akin to the Buddhists, and distinguished from monks of other confession, who are wholly out of the pale of Buddha sects. The whole history of the church in India is one of family quarrels, at least down to the days of Hiouen Tshang.

³ Or, Buddhas, i.e. will sooner or later die.

⁴ *Prakâśaye*, a singular which I do not feel at liberty to render by a plural.

⁵ Again a singular, *anarthiko'smi*.

but as keepers of thine entrusted deposit we care for enlightenment.

16. The Lord himself knows that in the last period there are (to be) wicked monks who do not understand mysterious speech¹.

17. One will have to bear frowning looks, repeated disavowal (or concealment), expulsion from the monasteries, many and manifold abuses².

18. Yet mindful of the command of the Lord of the world we will in the last period undauntedly proclaim this Sûtra in the midst of the congregation.

19. We will visit towns and villages everywhere, and transmit to those who care for it thine entrusted deposit, O Lord.

20. O Chief of the world, we will deliver thy message; be at ease then, tranquil and quiet, great Seer.

21. Light of the world, thou knowest the disposition of all who have flocked hither from every direction, (and thou knowest that) we speak a word of truth.

¹ Sandhâbhâshya, here rather 'conciliatory speech;' this is the meaning which sandhâya sambhâshana has in Sanskrit.

² The rendering of the last words bahuku//î bahûvidhâh is conjectural. Burnouf has, 'emprisonner et frapper de diverses manières,' but hereby two meanings are assigned to ku//î.

CHAPTER XIII.

PEACEFUL LIFE.

Mañḡusṛī, the prince royal, said to the Lord: It is difficult, Lord, most difficult, what these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas will attempt out of reverence for the Lord. How are these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas to promulgate this Dharmaparyāya at the end of time, at the last period? Whereupon the Lord answered Mañḡusṛī, the prince royal: A Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, he who is to promulgate this Dharmaparyāya at the end of time, at the last period, must be firm in four things. In which things? The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, must be firm in his conduct and proper sphere if he wishes to teach this Dharmaparyāya. And how, Mañḡusṛī, is a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva firm in his conduct and proper sphere? When the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, is patient, meek, has reached the stage of meekness; when he is not rash, nor envious; when, moreover, Mañḡusṛī, he clings to no law whatever and sees the real character of the laws (or things); when he is refraining from investigating and discussing these laws, Mañḡusṛī; that is called the conduct of a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. And what is the proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī? When the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, does not serve, not court, not wait upon kings; does not serve, not court, not wait upon princes; when he does not approach them; when he does not

serve, not court, not wait upon persons of another sect, *Karakas*, *Parivrâgakas*, *Âgtvakas*¹, *Nir-granthas*², nor persons passionately fond of fine literature; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon adepts at worldly spells³, and votaries of a worldly philosophy⁴, nor keep any intercourse with them; when he does not go to see *Kândâlas*, jugglers, vendors of pork, poulterers, deer-hunters, butchers, actors and dancers, wrestlers, nor resort to places whither others flock for amusement and sport; when he keeps no intercourse with them unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and that freely⁵; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, who are adherents of the vehicle of disciples, nor keep intercourse with them; when he does not come in contact with them at the place of promenade or in the monastery, unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and even that freely. This, *Mañgusri*, is the proper sphere of a *Bodhisattva Mahâsattva*.

Again, *Mañgusri*, the *Bodhisattva Mahâsattva* does not take hold of some favourable opportunity or another to preach the law to females every now and anon, nor is he desirous of repeatedly seeing females; nor does he think it proper to visit families and then too often address a girl, virgin, or young wife, nor does he greet them too fondly in return. He does

¹ Three kinds of mendicant friars not belonging to the Buddhist, nor to the *Gaina* persuasion.

² *Gaina* monks.

³ *Lokâyatamantradhâraka*.

⁴ *Lokâyatikas*, the Sadducees or Epicureans of India.

⁵ *Anisrita*; Burnouf renders it, 'sans même s'arrêter.'

not preach the law to a hermaphrodite, keeps no intercourse with such a person, nor greets too friendly in return. He does not enter a house alone in order to receive alms, unless having the Tathâgata in his thoughts. And when he happens to preach the law to females, he does not do so by passionate attachment to the law, far less by passionate attachment to a woman. When he is preaching, he does not display his row of teeth, let alone a quick emotion on his physiognomy. He addresses no novice, male or female, no nun, no monk, no young boy, no young girl, nor enters upon a conversation with them; he shows no great readiness in answering their address¹, nor cares to give too frequent answers. This, Mañgusrt, is called the first proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva.

Further, Mañgusrt, a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva looks upon all laws (and things) as void; he sees them duly established², remaining unaltered, as they are in reality, not liable to be disturbed, not to be moved backward, unchangeable, existing in the highest sense of the word (or in an absolute sense), having the nature of space, escaping explanation and expression by means of common speech, not born, composed and simple, aggregated and isolated³, not expressible in words, independently established, manifesting them-

¹ Pratisamlâpanaguruka, literally 'making much of returning (one's) addressing.'

² Yathâvatpratishhitân, aviparîtasthâyino yathâbhûtân, &c. Burnouf adds, 'privées de toute essence,' i.e. nirâtmakân.

³ In the rendering of the last four terms I have followed Burnouf, as the reading in the Camb. MS. is evidently corrupt: *asamskrîtânasamtânâsammanâsannâbhilâpena pravayâhrîtân*. The original reading may have been *asamskrîtân nâsamskrîtân*, not composed, not simple; *nâsamân na samân*, not unlike

selves owing to a perversion of perception. In this way then, Mañgusṛī, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva constantly views all laws, and if he abides in this course, he remains in his own sphere. This, Mañgusṛī, is the second proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva.

And in order to expound this matter in greater detail, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. The Bodhisattva who, undaunted and unabashed, wishes to set forth this Sūtra in the dreadful period hereafter,

2. Must keep to his course (of duty) and proper sphere; he must be retired and pure, constantly avoid intercourse with kings and princes.

3. Nor should he keep up intercourse with king's servants, nor with *Kāṇḍālas*, jugglers, and Tīrthikas in general¹.

4. He ought not to court conceited men, but catechise such as keep to the religion². He must also avoid such monks as follow the precepts of the Arhat³, and immoral men.

5. He must be constant in avoiding a nun who is fond of banter and chatter; he must also avoid notoriously loose female lay devotees.

6. He should shun any intercourse with such female lay devotees as seek their highest happiness

(i.e. equal to all), nor like; or, *nāsamtān* (in grammatical Sansk. *nāśato*) *na samtān*, not non-existent, not existent.

¹ Burnouf adds, 'ceux qui vendent des liqueurs fermentées,' which is wanting in my MS.: *kāṇḍālair mushāikaiskāpi tīrthikaiskāpi sarvaraḥ*.

² According to the reading, *vinayed āgamasthitā(n)*. A marginal reading has *vinayenā°*, a reading followed by Burnouf.

³ Or, Arhats: *Arhantasammatā(n) bhikhshūn*. The *Gainas* are meant.

in this transient world. This is called the proper conduct of a Bodhisattva.

7. But when one comes to him to question him about the law for the sake of superior enlightenment, he should, at any time, speak freely, always firm and undaunted.

8. He should have no intercourse with women and hermaphrodites; he should also shun the young wives and girls in families.

9. He must never address them to ask after their health¹. He must also avoid intercourse with vendors of pork and mutton.

10. With any persons who slay animals of various kind for the sake of profit, and with such as sell meat he should avoid having any intercourse.

11. He must shun the society of whoremongers, players, musicians, wrestlers, and other people of that sort.

12. He should not frequent whores, nor other sensual persons; he must avoid any exchange of civility with them.

13. And when the sage has to preach for a woman, he should not enter into an apartment with her alone, nor stay to banter.

14. When he has often to enter a village in quest of food, he must have another monk with him or constantly think of the Buddha.

15. Herewith have I shown the first sphere of proper conduct². Wise are they who, keeping this Sûtra in memory, live according to it.

16. And when one observes³ no law at all, low,

¹ Kausalyam hâsa prikkhîtum. I take hâsa to stand for âsa (Sansk. âsâm), if it be no error for tâsa (Sansk. tâsâm).

² Âkâragokaro hy esha.

³ Karate.

superior or mean, composed or uncomposed, real or not real ;

17. When the wise man does not remark, ' This is a woman,' nor marks, ' This is a man ;' when in searching he finds no laws (or things), because they have never existed ;

18. This is called the observance¹ of the Bodhisattvas in general. Now listen to me when I set forth what should be their proper sphere.

19. All laws (i.e. the laws, the things) have been declared to be non-existing, not appearing, not produced, void, immovable, everlasting ; this is called the proper sphere of the wise.

20. They have been divided into existing and non-existing, real and unreal, by those who had wrong notions ; other laws also, of permanency, of being produced, of birth from something already produced², are wrongly assumed.

21. Let (the Bodhisattva) be concentrated in mind, attentive, ever firm as the peak of Mount Sumeru, and in such a state (of mind) look upon all laws (and things) as having the nature of space³,

22. Permanently equal to space, without essence, immovable, without substantiality⁴. These, indeed, are the laws, all and for ever. This is called the proper sphere of the wise.

23. The monk observing this rule of conduct given by me may, after my extinction, promulgate this Sûtra in the world, and shall feel no depression. ✓

24. Let the sage first, for some time, coerce his

¹ Âkâra.

² Gâtâda bhûti (Sansk. gâtâd bhûtih).

³ I. e. as being void.

⁴ Satyena ; in the margin âtmanâ.

thoughts, exercise meditation with complete absorption, and correctly perform all that is required for attaining spiritual insight¹, and then, after rising (from his pious meditation), preach with unquailing mind.

25. The kings of this earth and the princes who listen to the law protect him. Others also, both laymen (or burghers) and Brahmans, will be found together in his congregation.

Further, Mañgusri, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time, the last period, the last five hundred years², when the true law is in a state of decay, is going to propound this Dharmaparyāya, must be in a peaceful state (of mind) and then preach the law, whether he knows it by heart or has it in a book. In his sermon he will not be too prone to carping at others, not blame other preaching friars, not speak scandal nor propagate scandal. He does not mention by name other monks, adherents of the vehicle of disciples, to propagate scandal. He cherishes even no hostile feelings against them, because he is in a peaceful state. All who come, one after the other, to hear the sermon he receives with benevolence, and preaches the law to them without invidiousness³. He refrains from entering upon a

¹ Kālena ko kīttayamātu (Sansk. °yamāt) *pañḍitaḥ pravilayanam* tatha ghaṭṭayitvā, vipasyidharmam imu sarva yoniso utthāya, &c. I take ghaṭṭayitvā in the sense of ghaṭṭayitvā=yuktvā.

² I.e. " the latter part of the millennium. According to the declaration of the Buddha in *Kullavagga* X, 1, 6, the true law (Saddhamma) is to stand a millennium, though at the same time, owing to the institution of female monks, the number of 1000 years should be reduced to half.

³ Anupārigrāhikayā, ananyusūkanayā dharmam deśayati ; °sūkanayā is certainly wrong ; cf. stanza 30 below.

dispute; but if he is asked a question, he does not answer in the way of (those who follow) the vehicle of disciples¹; on the contrary, he answers as if he had attained Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

26. The wise man² is always at ease³, and in that state he preaches the law, seated on an elevated pulpit which has been prepared for him on a clean and pretty spot.

27. He puts on a clean, nice, red robe, dyed with good colours⁴, and a black woollen garment and a long undergarment ;

28. Having duly washed his feet and rubbed his head and face with smooth ointments⁵, he ascends the pulpit, which is provided with a footbank and covered with pieces of fine cloth of various sorts, and sits down.

29. When he is thus seated on the preacher's pulpit and all who have gathered round him are

¹ Srâvakayâna. It is instructive to see that the Buddha here espouses the party of the great vehicle.

² I.e. preacher, minister of religion. The word used, *paṇḍita*, has passed into the languages of the Indian Archipelago in the sense of a minister of religion.

³ Sukhasthita, which in the preceding passage I have rendered by 'being in a peaceful state,' because there the mental state is more prominent.

⁴ *Kauksham ka so kīvara prāvaritvā suraktaraṅgam suprasataraṅgaiḥ*.

⁵ According to the ten commandments (*Dasasīla*) the use of ointments is forbidden to the monks, but the preacher need not be a monastic man. In Nepāl it is the Vagra-Ātārya who devotes himself to the active ministry of religion; see Hodgson's Essays, p. 52.

attentive, he proceeds to deliver many discourses, pleasing by variety, before monks and nuns,

30. Before male and female lay devotees, kings and princes. The wise man always (takes care to) deliver a sermon diversified in its contents and sweet, free from invidiousness¹.

31. If occasionally he is asked some question, even after he has commenced, he will explain the matter anew in regular order, and he will explain it in such a way that his hearers gain enlightenment.

32. The wise man is indefatigable; not even the thought of fatigue will rise in him; he knows no listlessness, and so displays to the assembly the strength of charity.

33. Day and night the wise man preaches this sublime law with myriads of koṭis of illustrations; he edifies and satisfies his audience without ever requiring anything.

34. Solid food, soft food, nourishment and drink, cloth, couches, robes, medicaments for the sick, all this does not occupy his thoughts, nor does he want anything from the congregation.

35. On the contrary, the wise man is always thinking: How can I and these beings become Buddhas? I will preach this true law, upon which the happiness of all beings depends², for the benefit of the world.

36. The monk who, after my extinction, shall preach in this way, without envy, shall not meet with trouble, impediment, grief or despondency.

37. Nobody shall frighten him, beat or blame

¹ Ananyasūyantu; perhaps we must read anabhyasūyantu.

² Etat samasatvasukhopadhânam saddharmam srâvemi hitâya loke.

him; never shall he be driven away, because he is firm in the strength of forbearance.

38. The wise man who is peaceful, so disposed as I have just said, possesses hundreds of kotis of advantages, so many that one would not be able to enumerate them in hundreds of Æons.

Again, Mañgusrī, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who lives after the extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time when the true law is in decay, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who keeps this Sūtra is not envious, not false, not deceitful; he does not speak disparagingly of other adherents of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, nor defame, nor humble them. He does not bring forward the shortcomings of other monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, neither of the adherents of the vehicle of disciples nor of those of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas. He does not say: You young men of good family, you are far off from supreme, perfect enlightenment; you give proof of not having arrived at it; you are too fickle in your doings and not capable of acquiring true knowledge. He does not in this way bring forward the shortcomings of any adherent of the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. Nor does he show any delight in disputes about the law, or engage in disputes about the law, and he never abandons the strength of charity towards all beings. In respect to all Tathāgatas he feels as if they were his fathers, and in respect to all Bodhisattvas as if they were his masters. And as to the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas in all directions of space, he is assiduous in paying homage to them by good will and respect. When he preaches the law, he preaches no less and no more than the law, without partial predilection for (any part of) the law, and

he does not show greater favour to one than to another, even from love of the law.

Such, *Mañgusī*, is the third quality with which a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva is endowed who is to expound this Dharmaparyāya after the extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time when the true law is in decay; who will live at ease¹ and not be annoyed in the exposition of this Dharmaparyāya. And in the synod² he will have allies, and he will find auditors at his sermons who will listen to this Dharmaparyāya, believe, accept, keep, read, penetrate, write it and cause it to be written, and who, after it has been written and a volume made of it, will honour, respect, esteem, and worship it.

This said the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following :

39. The wise man, the preacher, who wishes to expound this Sūtra must absolutely renounce falsehood, pride, calumny, and envy.

40. He should never speak a disparaging word of anybody; never engage in a dispute on religious belief; never say to such as are guilty of shortcomings, You will not obtain superior knowledge.

41. He is always sincere, mild, forbearing; (as) a (true) son of Sugata he will repeatedly preach the law without any feeling of vexation.

42. 'The Bodhisattvas in all directions of space, who out of compassion for creatures are moving in the world, are my teachers;' (thus thinking) the wise man respects them as his masters.

¹ Sukhya[m] sparsam viharati, which answers to the Pāli phrase phāsu viharati.

² Dharmasaṅgītyām.

43. Cherishing the memory of the Buddhas, the supreme amongst men, he will always feel towards them as if they were his fathers, and by forsaking all idea of pride he will escape hindrance.

44. The wise man who has heard this law, should be constant in observing it. If he earnestly strives after a peaceful life, *koṭis* of beings will surely protect him.

Further, *Mañḡusṛī*, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, living at the time of destruction of the true law after the extinction of the Tathāgata, who is desirous of keeping this Dharmaparyāya, should live as far as possible away from laymen and friars, and lead a life of charity. He must feel affection for all beings who are striving for enlightenment and therefore make this reflection : To be sure, they are greatly perverted in mind, those beings who do not hear, nor perceive, nor understand the skilfulness and the mystery¹ of the Tathāgata, who do not inquire for it, nor believe in it, nor even are willing to believe in it. Of course, these beings do not penetrate, nor understand this Dharmaparyāya. Nevertheless will I, who have attained² this supreme, perfect knowledge, powerfully³ bend to it the mind of every one, whatever may be the position he occupies, and bring about that he accepts, understands, and arrives at full ripeness.

By possessing also this fourth quality, *Mañḡusṛī*, a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, who is to expound the law after the extinction of the Tathāgata, will be

¹ Sandhābhāshita.

² Abhisambudhya.

³ Balena; in the margin added by a later hand, *riddhi*; this is the reading followed by Burnouf, 'par la force de mes facultés surnaturelles.'

unmolested, honoured, respected, esteemed, venerated by monks, nuns, and lay devotees, male and female, by kings, princes, ministers, king's officers, by citizens and country people, by Brahmans and laymen; the gods of the sky will, full of faith, follow his track to hear the law, and the angels will follow his track to protect him; whether he is in a village or in a monastery, they will approach him day and night to put questions about the law, and they will be satisfied, charmed with his explanation. For this Dharmaparyāya, Mañgusṛī, has been blessed by all Buddhas. With the past, future, and present Tathāgata, Mañgusṛī, this Dharmaparyāya is for ever blessed. Precious¹ in all worlds, Mañgusṛī, is the sound, rumour, or mentioning of this Dharmaparyāya.

It is a case, Mañgusṛī, similar to that of a king, a ruler of armies, who by force has conquered his own kingdom, whereupon other kings, his adversaries, wage war against him. That ruler of armies has soldiers of various description to fight with various enemies. As the king sees those soldiers fighting, he is delighted with their gallantry, enraptured, and in his delight and rapture he makes to his soldiers several donations, such as villages and village grounds, towns and grounds of a town; garments and head-gear; hand-ornaments, necklaces, gold threads, earrings, strings of pearls, bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones(?), corals; he, moreover, gives elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers, male and female slaves, vehicles, and litters. But to none he makes a present

¹ Durlabha, also meaning rare, difficult to be got.

of his crown jewel, because that jewel only fits on the head of a king. Were the king to give away that crown jewel, then that whole royal army, consisting of four divisions, would be astonished and amazed. In the same manner, Mañgusrt, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., exercises the reign of righteousness (and of the law) in the triple world which he has conquered by the power of his arm and the power of his virtue. His triple world is assailed by Mâra, the Evil One. Then the Âryas, the soldiers of the Tathâgata, fight with Mâra. Then, Mañgusrt, the king of the law, the lord of the law, expounds to the Âryas, his soldiers, whom he sees fighting, hundred thousands of Sûtras in order to encourage the four classes. He gives them the city of Nirvâna, the great city of the law ; he allures them with that city of Nirvâna, but he does not preach to them such a Dharmaparyâya as this. Just as in that case, Mañgusrt, that king, ruler of armies, astonished at the great valour of his soldiers in battle gives them all his property, at last even his crown jewel, and just as that crown jewel has been kept by the king on his head to the last, so, Mañgusrt, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., who as the great king of the law in the triple world exercises his sway with justice, when he sees disciples and Bodhisattvas fighting against the Mâra of fancies or the Mâra of sinful inclinations, and when he sees that by fighting they have destroyed affection, hatred, and infatuation, overcome the triple world and conquered all Mâras, is satisfied, and in his satisfaction he expounds to those noble (ârya) soldiers this Dharmaparyâya which meets opposition in all the world, the unbelief of all the world, a Dharmaparyâya never before preached,

never before explained. And the Tathâgata bestows on all disciples the noble crown jewel, that most exalted crown jewel which brings omniscience to all. For this, *Mañgusrt*, is the supreme preaching of the Tathâgatas; this is the last Dharmaparyâya of the Tathâgatas; this is the most profound discourse on the law, a Dharmaparyâya meeting opposition in all the world. In the same manner, *Mañgusrt*, as that king of righteousness and ruler of armies took off the crown jewel which he had kept so long a time and gave it (at last) to the soldiers, so, *Mañgusrt*, the Tathâgata now reveals this long-kept mystery of the law exceeding all others, (the mystery) which must be known by the Tathâgatas.

And in order to elucidate this matter more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas :

45. Always displaying the strength of charity, always filled with compassion for all creatures, expounding this law, the Sugatas have approved this exalted Sûtra.

46. The laymen, as well as the mendicant friars, and the Bodhisattvas who shall live at the end of time, must all show the strength of charity, lest those who hear the law reject it.

47. But I, when I shall have reached enlightenment and be established in Tathâgataship, will initiate (others), and after having initiated disciples¹ preach everywhere this superior enlightenment.

48. It is (a case) like that of a king, ruler of armies, who gives to his soldiers various things, gold, elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers; he also

¹ Tato upaneshyi upâyayitvâ samstâvayishye imam agrabodhim.

gives towns and villages, in token of his contentment.

49. In his satisfaction he gives to some hand-ornaments, silver and gold thread; pearls, gems, conch-shells, stones(?), coral; he also gives slaves of various description.

50. But when he is struck with the incomparable daring of one amongst the soldiers, he says: Thou hast admirably done this; and, taking off his crown, makes him a present of the jewel.

51. Likewise do I, the Buddha, the king of the law, I who have the force of patience and a large treasure of wisdom, with justice govern the whole world, benign, compassionate, and pitiful.

52. And seeing how the creatures are in trouble, I pronounce thousands of koṭis of Sûtrântas, when I perceive the heroism of those living beings who by pure-mindedness overcome the sinful inclinations of the world.

53. And the king of the law, the great physician, who expounds hundreds of koṭis of Paryâyas, when he recognises that creatures are strong, shows them this Sûtra, comparable to a crown jewel.

54. This is the last Sûtra proclaimed in the world, the most eminent of all my Sûtras, which I have always kept and never divulged. Now I am going to make it known; listen all.

55. There are four qualities to be acquired by those who at the period after my extinction desire supreme enlightenment and perform my charge¹. The qualities are such as follows.

56. The wise man knows no vexation, trouble,

¹ Vyâparana.

sickness ; the colour of his skin is not blackish ; nor does he dwell in a miserable town.

57. The great Sage has always a pleasant look, deserves to be honoured, as if he were the Tathâgata himself, and little angels shall constantly be his attendants.

58. His body can never be hurt by weapons, poison, sticks, or clods, and the mouth of the man who utters a word of abuse against him shall be closed.

59. He is a friend to all creatures in the world. He goes all over the earth as a light, dissipating the gloom of many *koṭis* of creatures, he who keeps this Sûtra after my extinction.

60. In his sleep he sees visions in the shape of Buddha ; he sees monks and nuns appearing on thrones and proclaiming the many-sided law.

61. He sees in his dream gods and goblins, (numerous) as the sands of the Ganges, as well as demons and Nâgas of many kinds, who lift their joined hands and to whom he expounds the eminent law.

62. He sees in his dream the Tathâgata preaching the law to many *koṭis* of beings with lovely voice, the Lord with golden colour.

63. And he stands there with joined hands glorifying the Seer, the highest of men, whilst the *Gina*, the great physician, is expounding the law to the four classes.

64. And he, glad to have heard the law, joyfully pays his worship, and after having soon reached the knowledge which never slides back, he obtains, in dream, magical spells.

65. And the Lord of the world, perceiving his good

intention, announces to him his destiny of becoming a leader amongst men : Young man of good family (says he), thou shalt here reach in future supreme, holy knowledge.

66. Thou shalt have a large field and four classes (of hearers), even as myself, that respectfully and with joined hands shall hear from thee the vast and faultless law.

67. Again he sees his own person occupied with meditating on the law in mountain caverns ; and by meditating he attains the very nature of the law and, on obtaining complete absorption, sees the *Gina*.

68. And after seeing in his dream the gold-coloured one, him who displays a hundred hallowed signs, he hears the law, whereafter he preaches it in the assembly. Such is his dream.

69. And in his dream he also forsakes his whole realm, harem, and numerous kinsfolk ; renouncing all pleasures he leaves home (to become an ascetic), and betakes himself to the place of the terrace of enlightenment.

70. There, seated upon a throne at the foot of a tree to seek enlightenment, he will¹, after the lapse of seven days, arrive at the knowledge of the *Tathâgatas*. •

71. On having reached enlightenment he will rise up from that place to move forward the faultless wheel and preach the law during an inconceivable number of thousands of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

72. After having revealed perfect enlightenment and led many *koṭis* of beings to perfect rest, he

¹ *Anuprâpsyate*.

himself will be extinguished like a lamp when the oil is exhausted. So is that vision.

73. Endless, Mañgughosha, are the advantages which constantly are his who at the end of time shall expound this Sûtra of superior enlightenment that I have perfectly explained.

CHAPTER XIV.

ISSUING OF BODHISATTVAS FROM THE GAPS OF
THE EARTH.

Out of the multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who had flocked from other worlds, Bodhisattvas eight (times) equal to the sands of the river Ganges¹ then rose from the assembled circle. Their joined hands stretched out towards the Lord to pay him homage, they said to him : If the Lord will allow us, we also would, after the extinction of the Lord, reveal this Dharmaparyāya in this Saha-world ; we would read, write, worship it, and wholly devote ourselves² to that law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to grant to us also this Dharmaparyāya. And the Lord answered : Nay, young men of good family, why should you occupy yourselves with this task ? I have here in this Saha-world thousands of Bodhisattvas equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, forming the train of one Bodhisattva ; and of such Bodhisattvas there is a number equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, each of these Bodhisattvas having an equal number

¹ The text has *ash/au Gaṅgānadīvālikāsamā Bodhisattvās*. Burnouf renders the passage by 'en nombre égal à celui des sables de huit Ganges.' Perhaps we must understand eight to mean eight thousand, just as e. g. *Dīpavaṃsa* VI, 98 the word eighty-four denotes eighty-four thousand.

² *Yogam āpadyemahi*.

in their train, who at the end of time, at the last period after my extinction, shall keep, read, proclaim this Dharmaparyāya.

No sooner had the Lord uttered these words than the Saha-world burst open on every side, and from within the clefts arose many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas with gold-coloured bodies and the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, who had been staying in the element of ether underneath this great earth, close to this Saha-world. These then on hearing the word of the Lord came up from below the earth. Each of these Bodhisattvas had a train of thousands of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of sixty Ganges¹ rivers; (each had) a troop, a great troop, as teacher of a troop. Of such Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a troop, a great troop, as teachers of a troop, there were hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis equal to the sands of sixty Ganges² rivers, who emerged from the gaps of the earth in this Saha-world. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of fifty Ganges rivers; much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of forty Ganges rivers; of 30³, 20, 10, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 Ganges river; of

$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{50}$, $\frac{1}{100}$, $\frac{1}{1000}$, $\frac{1}{100,000}$, $\frac{1}{10,000,000}$, $\frac{1}{100 \times 10,000,000}$, $\frac{1}{1000 \times 10,000,000}$

¹ Or, a train of sixty thousand Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges.

² Shashṭy eva, which is ungrammatical, for shashṭir eva, or it is a corrupt reading.

³ The text goes on repeating the same words, save the difference of number; I have given the contents in a shortened form.

$\frac{1}{100 \times 1000 \times 10,000,000}$ $\frac{1}{100 \times 1000 \times 10,000 \times 10,000,000}$ part of the river Ganges. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a train of many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas; of one koṭi; of one hundred thousand; of one thousand; of 500; of 400; of 300; of 200; of 100; of 50; of 40; of 30; of 20; of 10; of 5, 4, 3, 2. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having one follower. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas standing isolated. They cannot be numbered, counted, calculated, compared, known by occult science, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who emerged from the gaps of the earth to appear in this Saha-world. And after they had successively emerged they went up to the Stūpa of precious substances which stood in the sky, where the Lord Prabhūtaratna, the extinct Tathāgata, was seated along with the Lord Śākyamuni on the throne. Whereafter they saluted the feet of both Tathāgatas, &c., as well as the images of Tathāgatas produced by the Lord Śākyamuni from his own body, who all together were seated on thrones at the foot of various jewel trees on every side in all directions, in different worlds. After these Bodhisattvas had many hundred thousand times saluted, and thereon circumambulated the Tathāgatas, &c., from left to right, and celebrated them with various Bodhisattva hymns, they went and kept themselves at a little distance, the joined hands stretched out to honour the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhūtaratna, the Tathāgata, &c.

And while those Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who had emerged from the gaps of the earth were saluting and celebrating the Tathāgatas by various Bodhi-

sattva hymns, fifty intermediate kalpas in full rolled away, during which fifty intermediate kalpas the Lord Sâkyamuni remained silent, and likewise the four classes of the audience. Then the Lord produced such an effect of magical power that the four classes fancied that it had been no more than one afternoon¹, and they saw this Saha-world assume the appearance of hundred thousands of worlds² replete with Bodhisattvas³. The four Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas who were the chiefest of that great host of Bodhisattvas, viz. the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Visishṭakâritra (i. e. of eminent conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Ananta-kâritra (i. e. of endless conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Visuddhakâritra (i. e. of correct conduct), and the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Supratishṭhita-kâritra (i. e. of very steady conduct), these four Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas standing at

¹ If we take kalpa or Æon (i. e. a day of twenty-four hours) to contain eighty intermediate kalpas, it is impossible that either fifty or five intermediate kalpas should be equal to an afternoon. A so-called Asaṅkhyeya kalpa has twenty intermediate kalpas, and is, in reality, equal to six hours, so that five intermediate kalpas will embrace a time of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour. If we might take an Asaṅkhyeya to be the equivalent of a day of twenty-four hours, the reckoning would be correct, for then five intermediate kalpas would be equal to six hours; we can, however, produce no authority for Asaṅkhyeya kalpa ever being used in the (esoteric) sense of a day and night.

² Lokadhâtusatasahasrâkârâparigrhîtam, which ought to be °kârap°, or °kâram p°. Instances of the peculiar construction of parigrhîta after the analogy of prâpta are found, Lalita-vistara, pp. 109, 112, 181, 368. A marginal would-be correction has °kâsam p°.

³ The afternoon being at an end, the innumerable spheres of the stars become visible.

the head of the great host, the great multitude of Bodhisattvas stretched out the joined hands towards the Lord and addressed him thus : Is the Lord in good health ? Does he enjoy well-being and good ease ? Are the creatures decorous, docile, obedient, correctly performing their task¹, so that they give no trouble to the Lord ?

And those four Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas addressed the Lord with the two following stanzas :

1. Does the Lord of the world, the illuminator, feel at ease ? Dost thou feel free from bodily disease, O Perfect One ?

2. The creatures, we hope, will be decorous, docile, performing the orders² of the Lord of the world, so as to give no trouble.

And the Lord answered the four Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas : So it is, young men of good family, I am in good health, well-being, and at ease. And these creatures of mine are decorous, docile, obedient, well performing what is ordered ; they give no trouble when I correct them³ ; and that, young men of good family, because these creatures, owing to their being already prepared under the ancient, perfectly enlightened Buddhas, have but to see and hear me to put trust

¹ *Suvisodhakâh*. The rendering doubtful ; see next note.

² *Susodhaka*. This, as well as *suvisodhaka*, properly means 'well cleaning,' and applies, at least originally, to servants or pupils who are charged with sweeping the house or precincts. I have tried to give the expression a spiritual look ; Burnouf renders it by '*faciles à purifier*,' which is quite plausible, because in a similar compound, *subodha*, we find *bodha* used in a passive sense, the word meaning 'easy to be understood.'

³ *Na ka khedam ganayanti visodhyamânâs*.

in me, to understand and fathom the Buddha-knowledge. And those who fulfilled their duties in the stage of disciples have now been introduced by me into Buddha-knowledge and well instructed in the highest truth.

And at that time the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas uttered the following stanzas:

3. Excellent, excellent, O great Hero! we are happy to hear that those creatures are decorous, docile, well performing their duty¹;

4. And that they listen to thy profound knowledge, O Leader, and that after listening to it they have put trust in it and understand it.

This said, the Lord declared his approval to the four Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, saying: Well done, young men of good family, well done, that you so congratulate the Tathāgata.

And at that moment the following thought arose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya and the eight hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges²: We never yet saw so great a host, so great a multitude of Bodhisattvas; we never yet heard of such a multitude, that after issuing from the gaps of the earth has stood in the presence of the Lord to honour, respect, venerate, worship him and greet him with joyful shouts³. Whence have these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas flocked hither?

¹ Susodhaka; cf. above.

² *Ashānām Gaṅgānādvālikopamānām Bodhisattvakośinayutasa-tasahasrānām*. Burnouf renders, 'à celui des sables de huit Ganges.'

³ Pratisammodante.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya, feeling within himself doubt and perplexity, and inferring from his own thoughts those of the eight hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges, stretched out his joined hands towards the Lord and questioned him about the matter by uttering the following stanzas :

5. Here are many thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, numberless, whom we never saw before ; tell us, O supreme of men !

6. Whence and how do these mighty persons come ? Whence have they come here under the form of great bodies¹ ?

7. All are great Seers, wise and strong in memory, whose outward appearance is lovely to see ; whence have they come ?

8. And each of those Bodhisattvas, O Lord of the world, has an immense train, like the sands of the Ganges.

9. The train of (each) glorious Bodhisattva is equal to the sands of sixty Ganges in full². All are striving after enlightenment.

10. Of such heroes and mighty possessors of a troop the followers are equal to the sands of sixty Ganges³.

¹ The rendering is doubtful ; the text has mahâtma-bhâva-rûpena.

² Gaṅgâvâlikasamâ shashî paripûrnâ yâsavinaḥ, parivâro Bodhisattvasya. It is in the teeth of grammar to render the passage in this way, but from the following we must infer that no other translation will suit the case.

³ The translation is uncertain ; the text has evam rūpâna vîrânâṃ varshavantâna tâyinâṃ, shashîr eva pramâṇena Gaṅgavâlikâ ime. Instead of varshavantâna I would read vargavantâna, which

11. There are others, still more numerous, with an unlimited train, like the sands of fifty, forty, and thirty Ganges ;

12, 13. Who have a train equal to the (sands of) twenty Ganges. Still more numerous are the mighty sons of Buddha, who have each a train (equal to the sands) of ten, of five Ganges. Whence, O Leader, has such an assembly flocked hither ?

14. There are others who have each a train of pupils and companions equal to the sands of four, three, or two Ganges.

15. There are others more numerous yet ; it would be impossible to calculate their number in thousands of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

16. (Equal to) a half Ganges, one third, one tenth, one twentieth, is the train of those heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas.

17. There are yet others who are incalculable ; it would be impossible to count them even in hundreds of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

18. Many more yet there are, with endless trains ; they have in their attendance *koṭis*, and *koṭis* and again *koṭis*, and also half *koṭis*.

19. Other great Seers again, beyond computation, very wise Bodhisattvas are seen in a respectful posture.

20. They have a thousand, a hundred, or fifty attendants ; in hundreds of *koṭis* of *Æons* one would not be able to count them.

21. The suite of (some of these) heroes consists of twenty, of ten, five, four, three, or two ; those are countless.

Burnouf seems to have had before him, for his translation has 'suivis chacun de leur assemblée.'

22. As to those who are walking alone and come to their rest alone, they have now flocked hither in such numbers as to be beyond computation.

23. Even if one with a magic wand in his hand would try for a number of Æons equal to the sands of the Ganges to count them, he would not reach the term.

24. Where do all those noble, energetic heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas, come from?

25. Who has taught them the law (or duty)? and by whom have they been destined to enlightenment? Whose command do they accept? Whose command do they keep?

26. Bursting forth at all points of the horizon through the whole extent of the earth they emerge, those great Sages endowed with magical faculty and wisdom.

27. This world on every side is being perforated, O Seer, by the wise Bodhisattvas, who at this time are emerging.

28. Never before have we seen anything like this. Tell us the name of this world, O Leader.

29. We have repeatedly roamed in all directions of space, but never saw these Bodhisattvas.

30. We never saw a single infant¹ of thine, and now, on a sudden, these appear to us. Tell us their history, O Seer.

31. Hundreds, thousands, ten thousands of Bodhisattvas, all equally filled with curiosity, look up to the highest of men.

32. Explain to us, O incomparable, great hero, who knowest no bounds², where do these heroes, these wise Bodhisattvas, come from?

¹ Stanapa.

² Nirâvadhe, which I identify with Sansk. niravadhe, the voc.

Meanwhile the Tathâgatas, &c., who had flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of worlds, they, the creations of the Lord Sâkyamuni, who were preaching the law to the beings in other worlds ; who all around¹ the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., were seated with crossed legs on magnificent jewel thrones² at the foot of jewel trees in every direction of space ; as well as the satellites of those Tathâgatas were struck with wonder and amazement at the sight of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas emerging from the gaps of the earth and established in the element of ether, and they (the satellites) asked each their own Tathâgata : Where, O Lord, do so many Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, so innumerable, so countless, come from ? Whereupon those Tathâgatas, &c., answered severally to their satellites : Wait awhile, young men of good family ; this Bodhisattva Mahâsattva here, called Maitreya, has just received from the Lord Sâkyamuni a revelation about his destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He has questioned the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., about the matter, and the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., is going to explain it ; then you may hear.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Maitreya : Well done, Agita, well done ; it is a sublime subject, Agita, about which thou questionest me. Then the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas : Be attentive all, young men of good

case of niravadhi. Burnouf has, 'toi qui es affranchi de l'accumulation [des éléments constitutifs de l'existence].'

¹ Samantâd ; Burnouf's 'en présence' is wanting in my MS.

² Or, thrones of magnificent jewels.

family ; be well prepared and steady on your post, you and the entire host of Bodhisattvas ; the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., is now going to exhibit the sight of the knowledge of the Tathâgata, young men of good family, the leadership of the Tathâgata, the work of the Tathâgata, the sport¹ of the Tathâgata, the might of the Tathâgata, the energy of the Tathâgata.

And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas :

33. Be attentive all, young men of good family ; I am to utter an infallible word ; refrain from disputing² about it, O sages : the science of the Tathâgata is beyond reasoning.

34. Be all steady and thoughtful ; continue attentive all. To-day you will hear a law as yet unknown, the wonder of the Tathâgatas.

35. Never have any doubt, ye sages, for I shall strengthen you, I am the Leader who speaketh infallible truth, and my knowledge is unlimited.

36. Profound are the laws known to the Sugata, above reasoning and beyond argumentation. These laws I am going to reveal ; ye, hear which and how they are.

After uttering these stanzas the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya : I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee : These Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, Agita, so innumerable, incalculable, inconceivable, incomparable, uncountable, whom you never saw before, who just now have issued from

¹ I.e. magic display of creative power, *lîlâ*, synonymous with *mâyâ*.

² *Vivâda*, the original reading, though afterwards effaced and replaced by *vishâda*, despondency.

the gaps of the earth, these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, Agita, have I roused, excited, animated, fully developed to supreme, perfect enlightenment after my having arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment in this world. I have, moreover, fully matured, established, confirmed, instructed, perfected these young men of good family in their Bodhisattvaship. And these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, Agita, occupy in this Saha-world the domain of the ether-element below. Only thinking of the lesson they have to study, and devoted to thoroughly comprehend it, these young men of good family have no liking for social gatherings, nor for bustling crowds; they do not put off their tasks, and are strenuous¹. These young men of good family, Agita, delight in seclusion², are fond of seclusion. These young men of good family do not dwell in the immediate vicinity of gods and men, they not being fond of bustling crowds. These young men of good family find their luxury in the pleasure of the law, and apply themselves to Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

37. These Bodhisattvas, immense, inconceivable and beyond measure, endowed with magic power, wisdom, and learning, have progressed in knowledge for many *koṭis* of *Æons*.

38. It is I who have brought them to maturity for enlightenment, and it is in my field that they

¹ It will be remarked that these Bodhisattvas are represented as pupils or young monks under training, *Srāmaṇeras*.

² *Vivekārāmāḥ*; *viveka* at the same time means 'discrimination.'

have their abode; by me alone have they been brought to maturity; these Bodhisattvas are my sons.

39. All have devoted themselves to a hermit life¹ and are assiduous in shunning places of bustle; they walk detached, these sons of mine, following my precepts in their lofty course.

40. They dwell in the domain of ether, in the lower portion of the field, those heroes who, unwearied, are striving day and night to attain superior knowledge.

41. All strenuous, of good memory, unshaken in the immense strength of their intelligence, those serene sages preach the law, all radiant, as being my sons.

42. Since the time when I reached this superior (or foremost) enlightenment, at the town of Gayâ, at the foot of the tree, and put in motion the all-surpassing wheel of the law, I have brought to maturity all of them for superior enlightenment.

43. These words I here speak are faultless, really true; believe me, all of you who hear me: verily, I have reached superior enlightenment, and it is by me alone that all have been brought to maturity.

The Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya and those numerous hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas were struck with wonder, amazement, and surprise, (and thought): How is it possible that within so short a moment, within the lapse of so short a time so many Bodhisattvas, so countless, have been roused and made fully ripe to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment? Then the Bodhi-

¹ *Âranyadhutâbhiyukta*; *âranya dhuta*, essentially the same as Pâli *âraññakaṅga*, is one of the thirteen *Dhutângas*.

sattva Mahāsattva Maitreya asked the Lord : How then, O Lord, has the Tathāgata, after he left, when a prince royal, Kapilavastu, the town of the Sākyas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, not far from the town of Gayā, somewhat more than forty years since, O Lord ? How then has the Lord, the Tathāgata, within so short a lapse of time, been able to perform the endless task of a Tathāgata, to exercise the leadership of a Tathāgata, the energy of a Tathāgata ? How has the Tathāgata, within so short a time, been able to rouse and bring to maturity for supreme, perfect enlightenment this host of Bodhisattvas, this multitude of Bodhisattvas; a multitude so great that it would be impossible to count the whole of it, even if one were to continue counting for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons ? These Bodhisattvas, so innumerable, O Lord, so countless, having long followed a spiritual course of life and planted roots of goodness under many hundred thousands of Buddhas, have in the course of many hundred thousands of Æons become finally ripe.

It is just as if some man, young and youthful, a young man with black hair and in the prime of youth, twenty-five years of age, would represent centenarians as his sons, and say : ‘ Here, young men of good family, you see my sons ; ’ and if those centenarians would declare : ‘ This is the father who begot us. ’ Now, Lord, the speech of that man would be incredible, hard to be believed by the public. It is the same case with the Tathāgata, who but lately has arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and with these Bodhisattvas Mahā-

sattvas, so immense in number, who for many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*, having observed a spiritual course of life, have long since come to certainty in regard to Tathâgata-knowledge; who are able to plunge in and again rise from the hundred thousand sorts of meditation¹; who are adepts at the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom, have accomplished the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom²; who are clever on the Buddha-ground, able in the (ecclesiastical) Council and in Tathâgata duties; who are the wonder³ and admiration of the world; who are possessed of great vigour, strength, and power. And the Lord says: From the very beginning have I roused, brought to maturity, fully developed them to be fit for this Bodhisattva position. It is I who have displayed this energy and vigour after arriving at supreme, perfect enlightenment. But, O Lord, how can we have faith in the words of the Tathâgata, when he says: The Tathâgata speaks infallible truth? The Tathâgata must know that the Bodhisattvas who have newly entered the vehicle are apt to fall into doubt on this head; after the extinction of the Tathâgata those who hear this Dharmaparyâya will not accept, not believe, not trust it. Hence, O Lord, they will design acts tending to the ruin of the law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to explain us this matter, that we may be free from perplexity, and that the Bodhisattvas who in future shall hear it, be they young

¹ *Samâdhimukhasatasahasrasamâpadyanavyutthânakusâlâh*. I suppose that for *mukha*, point, principal point, side, face, we have to read *sukha*, ecstasy.

² *Mahâbhigñâparikarmaniryâtâ mahâbhigñâkrîtaparikarmânâh*.

³ *Pandîtâ Buddhabhûmau saṅgitikusâlâh, Tathâgatadharmânâm*.

men of good family or young ladies, may not fall into doubt.

On that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya addressed the Lord with the following stanzas :

44. When thou wert born in Kapilavastu, the home of the Sākya, thou didst leave it and reach enlightenment at the town of Gayā¹. That is a short time ago, O Lord of the world.

45. And now thou hast so great a crowd of followers, these sages who for many koṭis of Æons have fulfilled their duties, stood firm in magic power, unshaken, well disciplined, accomplished in the might of wisdom ;

46. These, who are untainted as the lotus is by water ; who to-day have flocked hither after rending the earth, and are standing all with joined hands, respectful and strong in memory, the sons of the Master of the world².

47. How will these Bodhisattvas believe this great wonder ? Expel (all) doubt, tell the cause, and show how the matter really is.

¹ The succinct form in which the events of the legendary life of the Sākya prince are told is remarkable, especially if we bear in mind that the first going out (nishkramaṇa) of a young boy (kumâra) usually takes place four months after his birth ; the rite of 'giving rice food,' annaprâsana, takes place in the sixth month ; this rite has its counterpart in Sugâtâ's providing Gautama with milk porridge and honey. Another rite, that of shaving the hair with the exception of a tuft on the crown, the kûḍâkarman, commonly follows the annaprâsana ; in the case of Gautama, however, it is represented to be subsequent on the kumâra having left his home. In so far as he cut off his hair at the time of his entering a spiritual life, the act agrees with the kûḍâkarman at the upanayana or initiation of boys.

² Lokâdhipatisya putrâḥ.

48. It is as if there were some man, a young man with black hair, twenty years old or somewhat more, who presented as his sons some centenarians,

49. And the latter, covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, declared the (young) man to be their father. But such (a young man) never having sons of such appearance, it would be difficult to believe, O Lord of the world, that they were sons to so young a man.

50. In the same manner, O Lord, we are unable to conceive how these numerous Bodhisattvas of good memory and excelling in wisdom, who have been well instructed during thousands of kotis of Æons ;

51. Who are firm, of keen intelligence, lovely and agreeable to sight, free from hesitation in the decisions on law, praised by the Leaders of the world ;

52. Who in freedom live in the wood¹; who unattached in the element of ether constantly display their energy, who are the sons of Sugata striving after this Buddha-ground ;

53. How will this be believed when the Leader of the world shall be completely extinct? After hearing it from the Lord's own mouth we shall never more feel any doubt.

54. May Bodhisattvas never come to grief by having doubt on this head. Grant us, O Lord, a truthful account how these Bodhisattvas have been brought to maturity by thee.

¹ Vane, which, especially in the more ancient language, also means a cloud, the region of clouds.

CHAPTER XV.

DURATION OF LIFE OF THE TATHĀGATA.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas : Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathāgata speaking a veracious word. A second time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas : Trust me, young gentlemen of good family, believe in the Tathāgata speaking a veracious word. A third and last time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas : Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathāgata speaking a veracious word. Then the entire host of Bodhisattvas with Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva at their head, stretched out the joined hands and said to the Lord : Expound this matter, O Lord ; expound it, O Sugata ; we will believe in the word of the Tathāgata. A second time the entire host, &c. &c. A third time the entire host, &c. &c.

The Lord, considering that the Bodhisattvas repeated their prayer up to three times, addressed them thus : Listen then, young men of good family. The force of a strong resolve which I assumed¹ is such, young men of good family, that this world, including gods, men, and demons, acknowledges : Now has the Lord Sākyamuni, after going out from the home of the Sākyas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, on the summit of the terrace of

¹ Or, the power of supremacy which forms my attribute, m a m ā-
dhish/hānabalādhānam.

enlightenment at the town of Gayâ. But, young men of good family, the truth is that many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* ago I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. By way of example, young men of good family, let there be the atoms of earth of fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of worlds; let there exist some man who takes one of those atoms of dust and then goes in an eastern direction fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of worlds further on, there to deposit that atom of dust; let in this manner the man carry away from all those worlds the whole mass of earth, and in the same manner, and by the same act as supposed, deposit all those atoms in an eastern direction¹. Now, would you think, young men of good family, that any one should be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine (the number of) those worlds? The Lord having thus spoken, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya and the entire host of Bodhisattvas replied: They are incalculable, O Lord, those worlds, countless, beyond the range of thought. Not even all the disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, O Lord, with their *Ârya*-knowledge, will be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine them. For us also, O Lord, who are Bodhisattvas standing on the place from whence there is no turning back, this point lies beyond the sphere of our comprehension; so innumerable, O Lord, are those worlds.

This said, the Lord spoke to those Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas as follows: I announce to you, young men of good family, I declare to you: However numerous

¹ This passage is a repetition, in shorter form, of what is found in chapter VII; see p. 153.

be those worlds where that man deposits those atoms of dust and where he does not, there are not, young men of good family, in all those hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of worlds so many dust atoms as there are hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* since I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment¹. From the moment, young men of good family, when I began preaching the law to creatures in this Saha-world and in hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of other worlds, and (when) the other Tathâgatas, Arhats, &c., such as the Tathâgata Dīpaṅkara and the rest whom I have mentioned in the lapse of time (preached), (from that moment) have I, young men of good family, for the complete Nirvâṇa of those Tathâgatas, &c., created all that with the express view to skilfully preach the law². Again, young men of good family, the Tathâgata, considering the different degrees of faculty and strength of succeeding generations,

¹ *Sâkyamuni* here declares, in the most emphatic manner, not only that he has existed from eternity, but that he is the All-wise, the Buddha from the beginning. The world thinks that he has become all-wise at Gayâ, a short time before, but in reality he has been the All-wise from eternity. In other words, the meaning of his being a common man who had reached enlightenment under the Bodhi-tree near Gayâ, is declared by himself to be a delusion. Further, it will be remarked that *Sâkyamuni* and the Tathâgata Mahâbhigñâṇânâbhībhū in chapter VII are identical, though apparently diversified.

² *Teshâm ka Tathâgatânâm Arhatâm samyaksambuddhânâm parinirvânâya mayaiva tâni, kulaputrâ, upâyakausalyadharmadesanâyâ (abhi) nirhâranirmitâni*. Burnouf translates as if he read *te—°nirmitâh*, so that 'those Tathâgatas—have been created.' Both readings come essentially to the same; in either case *Sâkyamuni* is the creator, the really existing being; the other Tathâgatas are emanations from him or apparent beings.

reveals at each (generation) his own name, reveals a state in which Nirvâṇa has not yet been reached¹, and in different ways he satisfies the wants of (different) creatures through various Dharmaparyâyas². This being the case, young men of good family, the Tathâgata declares to the creatures, whose dispositions are so various and who possess so few roots of goodness, so many evil propensities : I am young of age, monks ; having left my father's home, monks, I have lately arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment³. When, however, the Tathâgata, who so long ago arrived at perfect enlightenment, declares himself to have but lately arrived at perfect enlightenment, he does so in order to lead creatures to full ripeness and make them go in. Therefore have these Dharmaparyâyas been revealed ; and it is for the education of creatures, young men of good family, that the Tathâgata has revealed all Dharmaparyâyas. And, young men of good family, the word that the Tathâgata delivers on behalf of the education of creatures, either under his own appearance or under another's, either on his own authority⁴ or under the mask⁵ of another, all that the Tathâ-

¹ Instead of the last clause we find in the margin, 'reveals (or declares) at each his own Nirvâṇa.' The material difference is slight, for the temporal appearances of the everlasting being are final and multifarious, but the being itself is one and everlasting. Sâkyamuni is, in reality, the one and everlasting brahma.

² The Tathâgata, in his proper being well understood, is not only the Devâtideva, the supreme god of gods, of Buddhism, but of all religions in the world ; from him are all scriptures.

³ In various periods mankind wants renewed revelation ; hence Vishṇu, for Dharma's sake, descends on earth.

⁴ Âtmârambanena (sic), properly, on his own base.

⁵ Aparâvaranena. One may also render it by 'under the cloak of another.'

gata declares, all those Dharmaparyāyas spoken by the Tathāgata are true. There can be no question of untruth from the part of the Tathāgata in this respect. For the Tathāgata sees the triple world as it really is: it is not born, it dies not; it is not conceived, it springs not into existence; it moves not in a whirl, it becomes not extinct; it is not real, nor unreal; it is not existing, nor non-existing; it is not such, nor otherwise¹, nor false. The Tathāgata sees the triple world, not as the ignorant, common people, he seeing things always present to him; indeed, to the Tathāgata, in his position, no laws are concealed. In that respect any word that the Tathāgata speaks is true, not false. But in order to produce the roots of goodness in the creatures, who follow different pursuits and behave according to different notions, he reveals various Dharmaparyāyas with various fundamental principles. The Tathāgata then, young men of good family, does what he has to do. The Tathāgata who so long ago was perfectly enlightened is unlimited in the duration of his life, he is everlasting. Without being extinct, the Tathāgata makes a show of extinction, on behalf of those who have to be educated. And even now, young gentlemen of good family, I have not accomplished my ancient Bodhisattva-course, and the measure of my lifetime is not full. Nay, young men of good family, I shall yet have twice as many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* before the measure of my lifetime be full².

¹ Or, it is not as it ought to be, nor wrong.

² Virtually he has existed from the very beginning, from an infinite period; infinity multiplied by two remains infinity.

I announce final extinction, young men of good family, though myself I do not become finally extinct¹. For in this way, young men of good family, I bring (all) creatures to maturity, lest creatures in whom goodness is not firmly rooted, who are unholy, miserable, eager of sensual pleasures, blind and obscured by the film of wrong views, should, by too often seeing me, take to thinking: 'The Tathâgata is staying²,' and fancy that all is a child's play³; (lest they) by thinking 'we are near that Tathâgata' should fail to exert themselves in order to escape the triple world and not conceive how precious⁴ the Tathâgata is. Hence, young men of good family, the Tathâgata skilfully utters these words: The apparition of the Tathâgatas, monks, is precious (and rare). For in the course of many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* creatures may happen to see a Tathâgata or not to see him⁵. Therefore and upon that ground, young men of good family, I say: The apparition of the Tathâgatas, monks, is precious (and rare).

¹ All this is perfectly true in the mouth of a personification of the sun, of time, of eternity, or of *λόγος*, but quite unintelligible in the mouth of some individual of the human race. Moments of time expire, time never ceases. The termination of every day, month, year, &c. must remind us of our being mortal, and is a call from the Buddha to us, an inducement to lead a virtuous and holy life.

² I. e. time stands still; we shall never die.

³ In the margin added, not realise the idea of his (i. e. time's) preciousness.

⁴ Durlabha.

⁵ Nobody is certain whether the present day is his last or not; in other words, whether he has seen the Tathâgata for the last time, or shall see him again to-morrow, &c. Therefore the Tathâgata is so precious.

By being more and more convinced of the apparition of the Tathâgatas being precious (or rare) they will feel surprised and sorry, and whilst not seeing the Tathâgata they will get a longing to see him. The good roots developing from their earnest thought relating to the Tathâgata¹ will lastingly tend to their weal, benefit, and happiness; in consideration of which the Tathâgata announces final extinction, though he himself does not become finally extinct, on behalf of the creatures who have to be educated. Such, young men of good family, is the Tathâgata's manner of teaching²; when the Tathâgata speaks in this way, there is from his part no falsehood.

Let us suppose an analogous case, young men of good family. There is some physician, learned, intelligent, prudent, clever in allaying all sorts of diseases. That man has many sons, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or a hundred³. The physician once being abroad, all his children incur a disease from poison or venom. Overcome with the grievous pains⁴ caused by that poison or venom which burns them they lie rolling on the ground. Their father, the physician, comes home from his journey at the time when his sons are suffering from that poison or venom. Some of them have perverted notions, others have right notions, but all suffer the same pain. On seeing their father they cheerfully greet

¹ I.e. the good designs germinating in man when he is thinking of the shortness of life, the transitoriness of time.

² *Desanâpar'yâya*.

³ A marginal reading improves upon the more ancient text by adding, or a thousand.

⁴ *Duḥkhâbhir vedanâbhiḥ*.

him and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare! Now deliver us from our evil, be it poison or venom; let us live, dear father. And the physician, seeing his sons befallen with disease, overcome with pain and rolling on the ground, prepares a great remedy, having the required colour, smell, and taste, pounds it on a stone and gives it as a potion to his sons, with these words: Take this great remedy, my sons, which has the required colour, smell, and taste. For by taking this great remedy, my sons, you shall soon be rid of this poison or venom; you shall recover and be healthy. Those amongst the children of the physician that have right notions, after seeing the colour of the remedy, after smelling the smell and tasting the flavour, quickly take it, and in consequence of it are soon totally delivered from their disease. But the sons who have perverted notions cheerfully greet their father and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare; do heal us. So they speak, but they do not take the remedy offered, and that because, owing to the perverseness of their notions, that remedy does not please them, in colour, smell, nor taste. Then the physician reflects thus: These sons of mine must have become perverted in their notions owing to this poison or venom, as they do not take the remedy nor hail me¹. Therefore will I by some able device induce these sons to take this remedy. Prompted by this desire he speaks to those sons as follows: I am old, young men of good family, decrepit, advanced in years, and my term of life is near at hand; but be not sorry, young men

¹ One would rather have expected, joyfully accept my injunction.

of good family, do not feel dejected; here have I prepared a great remedy for you; if you want it you may take it. Having thus admonished them, he skilfully betakes himself to another part of the country and lets his sick sons know that he has departed life. They are extremely sorry and bewail him extremely: So then he is dead, our father and protector; he who begat us; he, so full of bounty! now are we left without a protector. Fully aware of their being orphans and of having no refuge, they are continually plunged in sorrow, by which their perverted notions make room for right notions. They acknowledge that remedy possessed of the required colour, smell, and taste to have the required colour, smell, and taste, so that they instantly take it, and by taking it are delivered from their evil. Then, on knowing that these sons are delivered from evil, the physician shows himself again. Now, young men of good family, what is your opinion? Would any one charge¹ that physician with falsehood on account of his using that device? No, certainly not, Lord; certainly not, Sugata. He proceeded: In the same manner, young men of good family, I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment since an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons, but from time to time I display such able devices to the creatures, with the view of educating them, without there being in that respect any falsehood on my part.

In order to set forth this subject more extensively the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

¹ Kodayet; a would-be correction by a later hand has samvadet.

1. An inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of Æons, never to be measured, is it since I reached superior (or first) enlightenment and never ceased to teach the law.

2. I roused many Bodhisattvas and established them in Buddha-knowledge. I brought myriads of kotis of beings, endless, to full ripeness in many kotis of Æons.

3. I show the place of extinction, I reveal to (all) beings a device¹ to educate them, albeit I do not become extinct at the time, and in this very place continue preaching the law.

4. There I rule myself as well as all beings, I². But men of perverted minds, in their delusion, do not see me standing there³.

5. In the opinion that my body is completely extinct, they pay worship, in many ways, to the relics, but me they see not. They feel (however) a certain aspiration by which their mind becomes right⁴.

6. When such upright (or pious), mild, and gentle creatures leave off their bodies, then I assemble the crowd of disciples and show myself here⁵ on the *Gṛidhrakūṭa*.

7. And then I speak thus to them, in this very

¹ Upāyam. It has been remarked above that upāya likewise denotes the world, the energy of nature (*pragñā*).

² Tatrāham ātmānam adhish/hīhāmi, sarvāna satvāna tathaiiva kāmam. Adhish/hā is constructed both with the accusative case and the genitive.

³ Tatraiva.

⁴ I. e. comes into the right disposition, or becomes pious.

⁵ This important word has been omitted by Burnouf. The Tathāgata represents himself to be Dharmarāga, the judge of the departed, the god rewarding the pious and brave after their death.

place: I was not completely extinct at that time; it was but a device of mine, monks; repeatedly am I born in the world of the living.

8. Honoured by other beings, I show them my superior enlightenment, but you would not obey my word, unless the Lord of the world enter Nirvâṇa.

9. I see how the creatures are afflicted, but I do not show them my proper being. Let them first have an aspiration to see me; then I will reveal to them the true law.

10. Such has always been my firm resolve during an inconceivable number of thousands of koṭis of Æons, and I have not left this *Grīdhra-kūṭa* for other abodes¹.

11. And when creatures behold this world and imagine that it is burning, even then my Buddha-field is teeming with gods and men.

12. They dispose of manifold amusements, koṭis of pleasure gardens, palaces, and aerial cars; (this field) is embellished by hills of gems and by trees abounding with blossoms and fruits.

13. And aloft gods are striking musical instruments and pouring a rain of Mandâras² by which they are covering me, the disciples and other sages who are striving after enlightenment.

14. So is my field here, everlastingly; but others fancy that it is burning; in their view this world is most terrific, wretched, replete with number of woes³.

¹ Sayyâsana.

² The form constantly used in Buddhist writings, both in Pāli and Sanskrit, is Mandârava. The whole description of Heaven, or Paradise, bears the stamp of being taken, with more or less modification, from a non-Buddhistic source.

³ There are different beliefs about the realm of the dead; the

15. Ay, many kotis of years they may pass without ever having mentioned my name, the law, or my congregation¹. That is the fruit of sinful deeds.

16. But when mild and gentle beings are born in this world of men, they immediately see me revealing the law, owing to their good works.

17. I never speak to them of the infinitude of my action. Therefore, I am, properly, existing since long², and yet declare: The *Ginas* are rare (or precious).

18. Such is the glorious power of my wisdom that knows no limit, and the duration of my life is as long as an endless period; I have acquired it after previously following a due course.

19. Feel no doubt concerning it, O sages, and leave off all uncertainty: the word I here pronounce is really true; my word is never false.

20. For even as that physician skilled in devices, for the sake of his sons whose notions were perverted, said that he had died although he was still alive, and even as no sensible man would charge that physician with falsehood;

21. So am I the father of the world, the Self-

Brahma-world and Paradise are usually depicted as places of bliss, but Yama's kingdom is often represented as a kind of hell, though at other times the same King of righteousness is said to have gathered round him the blessed company of the pious departed.

¹ Elsewhere we find *Visvanâtha*, the Universal Lord, called *Saṅgamaśvara*, the Lord of the gathering. Yama is *Vaivasvata Saṅgamana ganânam*, he of solar race, the gatherer of men, *Rig-veda* X, 14, 1.

² *Tenâha sush/û ha kîrasya bhomi*. The phrase admits of being translated, 'therefore, truly, I am (repeatedly) born after a long time.'

born¹, the Healer², the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated, and ignorant I teach final rest, myself not being at rest.

22. What reason should I have to continually manifest myself? When men become unbelieving, unwise, ignorant, careless, fond of sensual pleasures, and from thoughtlessness run into misfortune,

23. Then I, who know the course of the world, declare: I am so and so³, (and consider): How can I incline them to enlightenment? how can they become partakers of the Buddha-laws⁴?

¹ Lokapitâ Svayambhûh. The juxtaposition of these two words shows to an evidence that Sâkyamuni is represented as Brahma, the uncreated Being, existing from eternity, the Father of the world, All-father.

² In a moral sense the Saviour, mythologically Apollo.

³ I.e. I am so in reality, tathâtathâham. Burnouf's rendering, 'I am the Tathâgata,' points to a reading tathâgato 'ham, which comes to the same.

⁴ Katham nu bodhâya sanâmayeya (Sansk. sannâmayeya) katha buddhadharmâna bhavye lâbhinah.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF PIETY.

While this exposition of the duration of the Tathâgata's lifetime was being given, innumerable, countless creatures profited by it. Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya : While this exposition of the duration of the Tathâgata's lifetime was being given, Agita, sixty-eight hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, comparable to the sands of the Ganges¹, have acquired the faculty to acquiesce in the law that has no origin. A thousand times more Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas have obtained Dhâraṇî²; and other Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one third of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyâya obtained the faculty of unhampered view. Other Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas again, equal to the dust atoms of two-third parts of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyâya obtained the Dhâraṇî that makes hundred thousand koṭis of revolutions.

¹ Ash/ashash/śnām Gaṅgâ° Bodhisattvakośnayutaratasahasrâṇām. Burnouf connects ash/ashash/śnām with Gaṅgâ, and translates, 'soixante huit Ganges.' His version is justified by the analogy of other passages.

² Dhâraṇî usually denotes a magic spell, a talisman. Here and there it interchanges with dhâraṇâ, support, the bearing in mind, attention. The synonymous rakshâ embraces the meanings of talisman and protection, support. It is not easy to decide what is intended in the text.

Again, other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a whole macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya moved forward the wheel that never rolls back. Some Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a mean universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya moved forward the wheel of spotless radiance. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a small universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya come so far that they will reach supreme, perfect enlightenment after eight births. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of four worlds of four continents¹, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require four births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of three four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require three births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of two four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require two births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one four-continental world, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require but one birth before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of eight macrocosms consisting of three parts, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya conceived the idea of supreme, perfect enlightenment².

¹ Or, perhaps, of one whole world of four continents.

² The number 8 being the half of 16, the number of kalās of a

No sooner had the Lord given this exposition determining the duration and periods of the law, than there fell from the upper sky a great rain of Mandârava and great Mandârava flowers that covered and overwhelmed all the hundred thousand myriads of koṣis of Buddhas who were seated on their thrones at the foot of the jewel trees in hundred thousands of myriads of koṣis of worlds. It also covered and overwhelmed the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., the latter sitting fully extinct on his throne, as well as that entire host of Bodhisattvas and the four classes of the audience. A rain of celestial powder of sandal and agallochum trickled down from the sky, whilst higher up in the firmament the great drums resounded, without being struck, with a pleasant, sweet, and deep sound. Double pieces of fine heavenly cloth fell down by hundreds and thousands from the upper sky; necklaces, half-necklaces, pearl necklaces, gems, jewels, noble gems, and noble jewels were seen high in the firmament, hanging down from every side in all directions of space, while all around thousands of jewel censers, containing priceless, exquisite incense, were moving of their own accord. Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas were seen holding above each Tathâgata, high aloft, a row of jewel umbrellas stretching as high as the Brahma-world. So acted the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas in respect to all the innumerable hundred

whole circle, it may be inferred that the description in the text alludes to the stars of that half of the sphere which is at the time below the horizon. Those stars then have reached Nirvâṇa, though not the immortal one.

thousands of myriads of koṭis of Buddhas¹. Severally they celebrated these Buddhas in appropriate stanzas, sacred hymns in praise of the Buddhas.

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya uttered the following stanzas :

1. Wonderful is the law which the Sugata has expounded, the law we never heard before ; how great the majesty of the Leaders is, and how infinite the duration of their life !

2. And on hearing such a law imparted by the Sugata from face to face, thousands of koṭis of creatures, the genuine sons of the Leader of the world, have been pervaded with gladness.

3. Some have reached the point of supreme enlightenment from whence there is no return, others are standing on the lower stage² ; some have reached the standpoint of having an unhampered view, and others have obtained thousands of koṭis of Dhāraṇīs³.

4. There are others, (as) atoms⁴, who have reached supreme Buddha-knowledge. Some, again, will after eight births become *Ginas* seeing the infinite⁵.

5. Among those who hear this law from the Master, some will obtain enlightenment and see the truth⁶ after four births, others after three, others after two.

¹ The version followed by Burnouf is somewhat longer.

² Dhāraṇīye dharāyām, which is ambiguous, because the latter may stand for adharāyām. That dhāraṇī can denote bhūmi I infer from the phrase (bhūmi) lokadhārinī, Taitt. Āraṇyaka X, 1.

³ The translation doubtful.

⁴ Paramāṇu ; the literal rendering is, others, extremely faint (or small).

⁵ Cf. the phrase 'to see Nirvāṇa.'

⁶ Evidently the same as 'seeing Nirvāṇa,' as appears from what is added and the analogy with the preceding stanza.

6. Some among them will become all-knowing¹ after one birth, in the next following existence². Such will be the perfect result of learning the duration of life of the Chief.

7. Innumerable, countless as the atoms of the eight fields, are the *koṭis* of beings who by hearing this law have conceived the idea of superior enlightenment.

8. Such is the effect produced by the great Seer, when he reveals this Buddha-state that is endless and has no limit, which is as immense as the element of ether.

9. Many thousand *koṭis* of angels, Indras, and Brahma-angels, like the sands of the Ganges, have flocked hither from thousands of *koṭis* of distant fields and have poured a rain of Mandâravas.

10. They move in the sky like birds, and strew fragrant powder of sandal and agallochum, to cover ceremoniously the Chief of *Ginas* withal.

11. High aloft tymbals without being struck emit sweet sounds; thousands of *koṭis* of white cloth whirl down upon the Chiefs.

12. Thousands of *koṭis* of jewel censers of costly incense move of their own accord on every side to honour the mighty³ Lord of the world.

13. Innumerable wise Bodhisattvas hold myriads of *koṭis* of umbrellas, elevated and made of noble jewels, like chaplets⁴, up to the Brahma-world.

14. The sons of Sugata, in their great joy, have

¹ Another term for seeing Nirvâna.

² These four descriptions of Bodhisattvas agree in the main with the four degrees of holiness, of *Srotaâpanna*, *Sakridâgâmin*, *Anâgâmin*, and *Arhat*.

³ *Tâyin*.

⁴ *Utansakân* (sic).

attached beautiful triumphal streamers at the top of the banner staffs¹ in honour of the Leaders whom they celebrate in thousands of stanzas.

15. Such a marvellous, extraordinary, prodigious, splendid² phenomenon, O Leader, is being displayed by all those beings who are gladdened by the exposition of the duration of life (of the Tathâgata).

16. Grand is the matter now (occurring) in the ten points of space, and (great) the sound raised by the Leaders; thousands of kotis of living beings are refreshed and gifted with virtue for enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya: Those beings, Agita, who during the exposition of this Dharmaparyâya in which the duration of the Tathâgata's life is revealed have entertained, were it but a single thought of trust, or have put belief in it, how great a merit are they to produce, be they young men and young ladies of good family? Listen then, and mind it well, how great the merit is they shall produce. Let us suppose the case, Agita, that some young man or young lady of good family, desirous of supreme, perfect enlightenment, for eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons practises the five perfections of virtue (Pâramitâs), to wit, perfect charity in alms, perfect morality, perfect forbearance, perfect energy, perfect meditation—perfect wisdom being excepted³;

¹ Dhvagâgre; a marginal reading has dhvagâm ka (sic).

² Etâdrisâskarya visisham adbhutâh (r. adbhutam), vikitra darśent' ima(m) adya Nâyaka.

³ Virahitâh pragñâpâramitâyâ(h). The five specified virtues are identical with those enumerated in Lalita-vistara, p. 38, and slightly different from those as found in the Pâli scriptures. Out of the five virtues, four, viz. śīla, kshânti, virya, dhyâna, answer to

let us, on the other hand, suppose the case, *Agita*, that a young man or young lady of good family, on hearing this *Dharmaparyâya* containing the exposition of the duration of the *Tathâgata*'s life, conceives were it but a single thought of trust or puts belief in it; then that former accumulation of merit¹, that accumulation of good connected with the five perfections of virtue, (that accumulation) which has come to full accomplishment in eight hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*, does not equal one hundredth part of the accumulation of merit in the second case; it does not equal one thousandth part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching². One who is possessed of such an accumulation of merit, *Agita*, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, will not miss supreme, perfect enlightenment; no, that is not possible.

dama, *kshamâ*, *dhr̥iti*, *dh̥i* in *Manu* VI, 92, where *vidyâ* is the equivalent to the *Pâramitâ* of *pragñâ*.

¹ *Puṇyâbhisamskâra*, which may be said to be the common Buddhistic equivalent of *karmâsaya*, explained by Hindu scholastics to be the accumulation of moral merit and demerit. The term properly means 'one's moral disposition (at a given time as a necessary result of one's previous acts).' In a certain sense it may be contended that the sum of one's previous actions determines one's moral state at a given moment. As *âsaya* means disposition, character, and accumulation, we can understand how the Indian scholastics came to misunderstand the real purport of the word in *karmâsaya*. As to *abhisamskâra*, it properly means '(mental or moral) disposition, character, impression, conception.'

² *Upanisâm api*, *upanishadam api na kshamate*. *Upanisâ* is nothing else but the *Prâkrit* form of Sansk. *upanishad*. In *Pâli* it is explained by *raho*, mystery, secret lore, and *kâraṇa*; the latter may mean 'mathematical operation.' See, however, the Editor's note on *Sukhâvatî-vyûha*, p. 31.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

17. Let a man who is seeking after this knowledge, superior Buddha-knowledge, undertake to practise in this world the five perfect virtues ;

18. Let him, during eight thousand *koṭis* of complete *Æons*, continue giving repeated alms to Buddhas and disciples ;

19. Regaling Pratyekabuddhas and *koṭis* of Bodhisattvas by giving meat, food and drink, clothing and lodging¹ ;

20. Let him build on earth refuges and monasteries of sandal-wood, and pleasant convent gardens provided with walks ;

21. Let him after so bestowing gifts, various and diversified, during thousands of *koṭis* of *Æons*, direct his mind to enlightenment² ;

22. Let him then, for the sake of Buddha-knowledge, keep unbroken the pure moral precepts which have been recommended by the perfect Buddhas and acknowledged by the wise ;

23. Let him further develop the virtue of forbearance, be steady in the stage of meekness³, be constant, of good memory, and patiently endure many censures ;

24. Let him, moreover, for the sake of Buddha-

¹ These Pratyekabuddhas can hardly be other persons than hermits, and the Bodhisattvas must be the ministers of religion, who otherwise are called *Panditas*, and *Vandiyas*, whence our Bonzes.

² I. e., if I rightly understand it, let him, after having lived in the world, retire from a busy life to take orders.

³ I. e. of a monk under training.

knowledge, bear the contemptuous words of unbelievers who are rooted in pride ;

25. Let him, always zealous, strenuous, studious, of good memory, without any other pre-occupation in his mind, practise meditation, during *koṭis* of *Æons* ;

26. Let him, whether living in the forest or entering upon a vagrant life¹, go about, avoiding sloth and torpor², for *koṭis* of *Æons* ;

27. Let him as a philosopher, a great philosopher³ who finds his delight in meditation, in concentration of mind, pass eight thousand *koṭis* of *Æons* ;

28. Let him energetically pursue enlightenment with the thought of his reaching all-knowingness, and so arrive at the highest degree of meditation ;

29. Then the merit accruing to those who practise the virtues oft described, during thousands of *koṭis* of *Æons*,

30. (Is less than that of) a man or a woman who, on hearing the duration of my life, for a single moment believes in it ; this merit is endless.

31. He who renouncing doubt, vacillation, and misgiving shall believe even for a short moment, shall obtain such a reward.

32. The Bodhisattvas also, who have practised those virtues during *koṭis* of *Æons*, will not be startled at hearing of this inconceivably long life of mine.

33. They will bow their heads (and think) : ' May I also in future become such a one and release *koṭis* of living beings !

¹ *Kaṅkramam abhiruhya*.

² *Styānamiddhaṇṇa vargitvā*. *Middha*, well known from Buddhist writings, is a would-be Sanskrit form ; it ought to be *mṛiddha*, from Vedic *mṛidhyati*.

³ I. e. a Yogin, a contemplative mystic.

34. 'As the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Lion of the Sâkya race, after he had occupied his seat on the terrace of enlightenment, raised his lion's roar ;

35. 'So may I in future be sitting on the terrace of enlightenment, honoured by all mortals, to teach so long a life¹ !'

36. Those who are possessed of firmness of intention² and have learnt the principles, will understand the mystery³ and feel no uncertainty⁴.

Again, Agita, he who after hearing this Dharmaparyâya, which contains an exposition of the duration of the Tathâgata's life, apprehends it, penetrates and understands it, will produce a yet more immeasurable accumulation of merit conducive to Buddha-knowledge ; unnecessary to add that he who hears such a Dharmaparyâya as this or makes others hear it ; who keeps it in memory, reads, comprehends or makes others comprehend it ; who writes or has it written, collects or has it collected into a volume, honours, respects, worships it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, streamers, (lighted) oil lamps, ghee lamps or lamps filled with scented oil, will produce a far greater accumulation of merit conducive to Buddha-knowledge.

And, Agita, as a test whether that young man or young lady of good family who hears this exposition

¹ It is difficult to say what difference there is between becoming Buddha or becoming Brahma, except in sound.

² Or strong application, the word used in the text being *adhyosâya* (Sansk. *adhyavasâya*).

³ *Sandhâbhâshya*.

⁴ The tenor of this stanza, and even the words, remind one of the *Sândilyavidyâ* in *Khândogya-upanishad* III, 14, 4.

of the duration of the Tathâgata's life most decidedly believes in it may be deemed the following. They will behold me teaching the law¹ here on the *Gridhrakûta*², surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, attended by a host of Bodhisattvas, in the centre of the congregation of disciples. They will behold here my Buddha-field in the Saha-world, consisting of lapis lazuli and forming a level plain; forming a chequered board of eight compartments with gold threads; set off with jewel trees. They will behold the towers that the Bodhisattvas use as their abodes³. By this test, Agita, one may know if a young man or young lady of good family has a most decided belief. Moreover, Agita, I declare that a young man of good family who, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, shall not reject, but joyfully accept this Dharmaparyâya when hearing it, that such a young man of good family also is earnest in his belief; far more one who keeps it in memory or reads it. He who after collecting this Dharmaparyâya into a volume carries it on his shoulder⁴ carries the Tathâgata on his shoulder. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, need make no Stûpas for me, nor monasteries; need not give to the congregation of monks medicaments for the

¹ And, pronouncing judgment.

² We have seen above that this is the true abode of the Dharmarâga.

³ *Kû/âgâraparibhogeshu Bodhisatvavâsam vâ drakshyanti*, properly, they will behold the dwelling of the Bodhisattvas in the towers which those Bodhisattvas have received for their use. About the technical meaning of *kû/âgâra* in Nepâl, see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 49.

⁴ I. e. holds it in high esteem and treats it with care.

sick or (other) requisites¹. For, Agita, such a young man or young lady of good family has (spiritually) built for the worship of my relics Stûpas of seven precious substances reaching up to the Brahma-world in height, and with a circumference in proportion, with the umbrellas thereto belonging, with triumphal streamers, with tinkling bells and baskets; has shown manifold marks of respect to those Stûpas of relics with diverse celestial and earthly flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers, by various sweet, pleasant, clear-sounding tymbals and drums, by the tune, noise, sounds of musical instruments and castanets, by songs, nautch and dancing of different kinds, of many, innumerable kinds; has done those acts of worship during many, innumerable thousands of koṭis of Æons. One who keeps in memory this Dharmaparyâya after my complete extinction, who reads, writes, promulgates it, Agita, shall also have built monasteries, large, spacious, extensive, made of red sandal-wood, with thirty-two pinnacles, eight stories, fit for a thousand monks, adorned with gardens and flowers, having walks furnished with lodgings, completely provided with meat, food and drink and medicaments for the sick, well equipped with all comforts. And those numerous, innumerable beings, say a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand or a koṭi or hundred koṭis or thousand koṭis or hundred thousand koṭis or ten thousand times hundred thousand koṭis, they

¹ This agrees with the teaching of the Vedânta that Brahma-knowledge is independent of good works; see e. g. Brahma-sûtra III, 4, 25.

must be considered to form the congregation of disciples seeing me from face to face, and must be considered as those whom I have fully blessed¹. He who, after my complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyâya, read, promulgate, or write it, he, I repeat, Agita, need not build Stûpas of relics, nor worship the congregation; not necessary to tell, Agita, that the young man or young lady of good family who, keeping this Dharmaparyâya, shall crown it by charity in alms, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, or wisdom, will produce a much greater accumulation of merit; it is, in fact, immense, incalculable, infinite². Just as the element of ether, Agita, is boundless, to the east, south, west, north, beneath, above, and in the intermediate quarters, so immense and incalculable an accumulation of merit, conducive to Buddha-knowledge, will be produced by a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, read, write, or cause to be written, this Dharmaparyâya. He will be zealous in worshipping the Tathâgata shrines; he will laud the disciples of the Tathâgata, praise the hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of virtues of the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, and expound them to others; he will be accomplished in forbearance, be moral, of good character³, agreeable to live with, and tolerant, modest, not jealous of others, not wrathful, not vicious in mind, of good memory, strenuous and always busy, devoted to meditation in striving after the state of a Buddha, attaching great value to

¹ Paribhukta.

² The Vedântin does not deny the relative value of good works; see e. g. Brahma-sûtra III, 4, 26-27.

³ Kalyânadharman.

abstract meditation, frequently engaging in abstract meditation, able in solving questions and in avoiding hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of questions. Any Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Agita, who, after the Tathāgata's complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyāya, will have the good qualities I have described. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, must be considered to make for the terrace of enlightenment; that young man or young lady of good family steps towards the foot of the tree of enlightenment in order to reach enlightenment. And where that young man or young lady of good family, Agita, stands, sits, or walks, there one should make a shrine¹, dedicated to the Tathāgata, and the world, including the gods, should say: This is a Stûpa of relics of the Tathāgata.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

37. An immense mass of merit, as I have repeatedly mentioned, shall be his who, after the complete extinction of the Leader of men, shall keep this Sûtra.

38. He will have paid worship to me, and built Stûpas of relics, made of precious substances, variegated, beautiful, and splendid;

39. In height coming up to the Brahma-world, with rows of umbrellas, great in circumference², gorgeous, and decorated with triumphal streamers;

40. Resounding with the clear ring of bells, and decorated with silk bands, while jingles moved by

¹ One would rather expect, that place one should consider to be a shrine.

² *Parinâhavantaḥ*. There is no word for Burnouf's 'proportionné' (*anupûrva*) in the text.

the wind form another ornament at (the shrines of) *Gina* relics¹.

41. He will have shown great honour to them by flowers, perfumes, and ointments; by music, clothes, and the repeated (sound of) tymbals.

42. He will have sweet musical instruments struck at those relics, and lamps with scented oil kept burning all around.

43. He who at the period of depravation shall keep and teach this *Sûtra*, he will have paid me such an infinitely varied worship.

44. He has built many *koṭis* of excellent monasteries of sandal-wood, with thirty-two pinnacles, and eight terraces high;

45. Provided with couches, with food hard and soft; furnished with excellent curtains, and having cells by thousands.

46. He has given hermitages and walks embellished by flower-gardens; many elegant objects² of various forms and variegated.

47. He has shown manifold worship to the host of disciples in my presence, he who, after my extinction, shall keep this *Sûtra*.

48. Let one be ever so good in disposition, much greater merit will he obtain who shall keep or write this *Sûtra*.

49. Let a man cause this to be written and

¹ *Sobhante Ginadhâtushu*. Burnouf gives a different translation of this passage: 'ces Stûpas, enfin, reçoivent leur éclat des reliques du Djina.'

² I am quite uncertain about the word in the text, *ukkhadaka*. It seems to be connected with the Pâli *ussada*, about which Childers, s. v., remarks that it probably means 'a protuberance.' Burnouf renders the word in our text by 'coussin.'

have it well put together in a volume; let him always worship the volume with flowers, garlands, ointments.

50. Let him constantly place near it a lamp filled with scented oil, along with full-blown lotuses and suitable¹ oblations of *Michelia Champaka*.

51. The man who pays such worship to the books will produce a mass of merit which is not to be measured.

52. Even as there is no measure of the element of ether, in none of the ten directions, so there is no measure of this mass of merit.

53. How much more will this be the case with one who is patient, meek, devoted, moral, studious, and addicted to meditation;

54. Who is not irascible, not treacherous, reverential towards the sanctuary, always humble towards monks, not conceited, nor neglectful;

55. Sensible and wise, not angry when he is asked a question; who, full of compassion for living beings, gives such instruction as suits them.

56. If there be such a man who (at the same time) keeps this *Sûtra*, he will possess a mass of merit that cannot be measured.

57. If one meets such a man as here described, a keeper of this *Sûtra*, one should do homage to him.

58. One should present him with divine flowers, cover him with divine clothes, and bow the head to salute his feet, in the conviction of his being a *Tathâgata*.

59. And at the sight of such a man one may

¹ *Yuktaiḥ*. Burnouf must have read *muktaiḥ*, for his translation has 'pearls.'

directly make the reflection that he is going towards the foot of the tree to arrive at superior, blessed enlightenment for the weal of all the world, including the gods.

60. And wherever such a sage is walking, standing, sitting, or lying down ; wherever the hero pronounces were it but a single stanza from this Sûtra ;

61. There one should build a Stûpa for the most high of men, a splendid, beautiful (Stûpa), dedicated to the Lord Buddha, the Chief, and then worship it in manifold ways.

62. That spot of the earth has been enjoyed by myself ; there have I walked myself, and there have I been sitting ; where that son of Buddha has stayed, there I am.

CHAPTER XVII.

INDICATION OF THE MERITORIOUSNESS OF JOYFUL
ACCEPTANCE.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya said to the Lord : O Lord, one who, after hearing this Dharmaparyāya being preached, joyfully¹ accepts it, be that person a young man of good family or a young lady, how much merit, O Lord, will be produced by such a young man or young lady of good family ?

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya uttered this stanza :

1. How great will be the merit of him who, after the extinction of the great Hero, shall hear this exalted Sūtra and joyfully accept it ?

And the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya : If any one, Agita, either a young man of good family or a young lady, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata, hears the preaching of this Dharmaparyāya, let it be a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, a man of ripe understanding or a boy or girl ; if the hearer joyfully accepts it, and then after the sermon rises up to go elsewhere, to a monastery, house, forest, street, village, town, or province, with the motive and express aim to expound the law such as he has understood, such as he has heard it, and according to the measure of his power,

¹ Or, gratefully.

to another person, his mother, father, kinsman, friend, acquaintance, or any other person ; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and, in consequence, communicates it to another ; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and communicates it to another ; if this other, again, after hearing, joyfully accepts it, and so on in succession until a number of fifty is reached ; then, Agita, the fiftieth person to hear and joyfully accept the law so heard, let it be a young man of good family or a young lady, will have acquired an accumulation of merit connected with the joyful acceptance, Agita, which I am going to indicate to thee. Listen, and take it well to heart ; I will tell thee.

It is, Agita, as if the creatures existing in the four hundred thousand Asaṅkhyeyas¹ of worlds, in any of the six states of existence, born from an egg, from a womb, from warm humidity, or from metamorphosis, whether they have a shape or have not, be they conscious or unconscious, neither conscious nor unconscious, footless, two-footed, four-footed, or many-footed, as many beings as are contained in the world of creatures,—(as if) all those had flocked together to one place. Further, suppose some man appears, a lover of virtue, a lover of good, who gives to that whole body the pleasures, sports, amusements, and enjoyments they desire, like, and relish. He gives to each of them all Gambudvīpa for his pleasures, sports, amusements, and enjoyments ; gives bullion, gold, silver, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conches, stones (?), coral, carriages yoked with horses, with bullocks, with elephants ; gives palaces and

¹ An incalculable great number.

towers. In this way, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence continues spending his gifts for fully eighty years. Then, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence reflects thus: All these beings have I allowed to sport and enjoy themselves, but now they are covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, old, decrepit, eighty years of age, and near the term of their life. Let me therefore initiate them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathâgata, and instruct them. Thereupon, Agita, the man exhorts all those beings, thereafter initiates them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathâgata, and makes them adopt it. Those beings learn the law from him, and in one moment, one instant, one bit of time, all become Srotaâpannas, obtain the fruit of the rank of Sakrîdâgâmin and of Anâgâmin, until they become Arhats, free from all imperfections, adepts in meditation, adepts in great meditation and in the meditation with eight emancipations. Now, what is thine opinion, Agita, will that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, on account of his doings, produce great merit, immense, incalculable merit? Whereupon the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya said in reply to the Lord: Certainly, Lord; certainly, Sugata; that person, Lord, will already produce much merit on that account, because he gives to the beings all that is necessary for happiness; how much more then if he establishes them in Arhatship!

This said, the Lord spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya as follows: I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee; (take) on one side the master of munificence, the great master of munificence,

who produces merit by supplying all beings in the four hundred thousand Asaṅkhyeyas of worlds with all the necessities for happiness and by establishing them in Arhatship; (take) on the other side the person who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, hears, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyāya and joyfully accepts it; if (we compare) the mass of merit connected with the joyful acceptance and the mass of merit connected with the charity of the master of munificence, the great master of munificence, then the greater merit will be his who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, after hearing were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyāya, joyfully accepts it. Against this accumulation of merit, Agita, this accumulation of roots of goodness connected with that joyful acceptance, the former accumulation of merit connected with the charity of that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, and connected with the confirmation in Arhatship, does not fetch the $\frac{1}{100}$ part, not the $\frac{1}{100,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{10,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{1,000,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{1000 \times 10,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{100,000 \times 10,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{100,000 \times 10,000 \times 10,000,000}$ part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching. So immense, incalculable, Agita, is the merit which a person, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the tradition of the law, produces by joyfully accepting, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyāya; how much more then (will) he (produce), Agita, who hears this Dharmaparyāya in my presence and then joyfully accepts it? I declare, Agita, that his

accumulation of merit shall be even more immense, more incalculable.

And further, Agita, if a young man of good family or a young lady, with the design to hear this discourse on the law, goes from home to a monastery, and there hears this Dharmaparyâya for a single moment, either standing or sitting, then that person, merely by the mass of merit resulting from that action, will after the termination of his (present) life, and at the time of his second existence when he receives (another) body, become a possessor of carriages yoked with bullocks, horses, or elephants, of litters, vehicles yoked with bulls¹, and of celestial aerial cars. If further that same person at that preaching sits down, were it but a single moment, to hear this Dharmaparyâya, or persuades another to sit down or shares with him his seat, he will by the store of merit resulting from that action gain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, thrones of a *Kakravartin*. And, Agita, if some one, a young man of good family or a young lady, says to another person: Come, friend, and hear the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, and if that other person owing to that exhortation is persuaded to listen, were it but a single moment, then the former will by virtue of that root of goodness, consisting in that exhortation, obtain the advantage of a connection with Bodhisattvas who have acquired *Dhâraṇī*. He will become the reverse of dull, will get keen faculties, and have wisdom; in the course of a hundred thousand existences he will never have a fetid mouth, nor an offensive one; he will have no

¹ *Rishabhayânânâm*.

diseases of the tongue, nor of the mouth; he will have no black teeth, no unequal, no yellow, no ill-ranged, no broken teeth, no teeth fallen out; his lips will not be pendulous, not turned inward, not gaping, not mutilated, not loathsome¹; his nose will not be flat, nor wry; his face will not be long, nor wry, nor unpleasant. On the contrary, Agita, his tongue, teeth, and lips will be delicate and well-shaped; his nose long; his face perfectly round²; the eyebrows well-shaped; the forehead well-formed. He will receive a very complete organ of manhood. He will have the advantage that the Tathâgata renders sermons intelligible³ to him and soon come in connection with Lords, Buddhas. Mark, Agita, how much good is produced by one's inciting were it but a single creature; how much more then by him who reverentially hears, reverentially reads, reverentially preaches, reverentially promulgates the law!

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

2. Listen how great the merit is of one who, the fiftieth in the series (of tradition), hears a single stanza from this Sûtra and with placid mind joyfully adopts it.

3. Suppose there is a man in the habit of giving

¹ Burnouf has some terms wanting in my text; they have been added by a later hand in the margin, but the characters are indistinct.

² *Pranîtamukhamandala*; a marginal reading has *prînamukha*°.

³ *Tathâgatañ kâvavâdânubhâsakam pratilabhate*. I am not sure of the real meaning of *anubhâsaka*; it may as well be 'suggesting.' Burnouf has, 'c'est de la bouche du Tathâgata qu'il recevra les avis et l'enseignement.'

alms to myriads of *koṭis* of beings, whom I have heretofore indicated by way of comparison¹; all of them he satisfies during eighty years.

4. Then seeing that old age has approached for them, that their brow is wrinkled and their head grey (he thinks): Alas, how all beings come to decay! Let me therefore admonish them by (speaking of) the law.

5. He teaches them the law here on earth and points to the state of *Nirvâṇa* hereafter. 'All existences' (he says) 'are like a mirage; hasten to become disgusted with all existence.'

6. All creatures, by hearing the law from that charitable person, become at once *Arhats*, free from imperfections, and living their last life.

7. Much more merit than by that person will be acquired by him who through unbroken tradition shall hear were it but a single stanza and joyfully receive it. The mass of merit of the former is not even so much as a small particle of the latter's.

8. So great will be one's merit, endless, immeasurable, owing to one's hearing merely a single stanza, in regular tradition; how much more then if one hears from face to face!

9. And if somebody exhorts were it but a single creature and says: Go, hear the law, for this *Sûtra* is rare in many myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*;

10. And if the creature so exhorted should hear the *Sûtra* even for a moment, hark what fruit is to result from that action. He shall never have a mouth disease;

¹ From this reference to the preceding prose we must gather that these stanzas are posterior to or coeval with the prose version.

11. His tongue is never sore ; his teeth shall never fall out, never be black, yellow, unequal ; his lips never become loathsome ;

12. His face is not wry, nor lean, nor long ; his nose not flat ; it is well-shaped, as well as his forehead, teeth, lips, and round face.

13. His aspect is ever pleasant to men ; his mouth is never fetid, it constantly emits a smell sweet as the lotus.

14. If some wise man, to hear this Sûtra, goes from his home to a monastery and there listen, were it but for a single moment, with a placid mind, hear what results from it.

15. His body is very fair ; he drives with horse-carriages, that wise man, and is mounted on elevated carriages drawn by elephants and variegated with gems.

16. He possesses litters covered with ornaments and carried by numerous men. Such is the blessed fruit of his going to hear preaching.

17. Owing to the performance of that pious work he shall, when sitting in the assembly there, obtain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, seats of kings¹.

¹ The purport of this passage seems to be that lay devotees who are regular in attending the sermon, besides receiving terrestrial blessings, will rank high as churchwardens and be entitled to conspicuous places apart in the chapel. The gist of the whole chapter, at any rate, is that it is highly meritorious to come to church.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A RELIGIOUS PREACHER¹.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Satatasamitābhiyukta (i.e. ever and constantly strenuous). Any one, young man of good family, who shall keep, read, teach, write this Dharmaparyāya or have it written, let that person be a young man of good family or a young lady², shall obtain eight hundred good qualities of the eye, twelve hundred of the ear, eight hundred of the nose, twelve hundred of the tongue, eight hundred of the body, twelve hundred of the mind³. By these many hundred good qualities the whole of the six organs shall be perfect, thoroughly perfect. By means of the natural, carnal eye derived from his parents being perfect, he shall see the whole triple universe,

¹ Dharmabhāṇakānṛisamsāh. The use of *ānṛisamsa*, as a synonym to *guṇa*, is not limited to Buddhist writings, as we see from the inscription at Bassac in Camboja, st. 18. It is, of course, the Pāli *ānisamsa*.

² The words 'or a young lady' are wanting in my MS., but Burnouf's text had them, and from the sequel it would seem that they have to be added. It is certainly remarkable that we find mention being made of female preachers, who may be compared with the brahmavādinīs of ancient times, and, further up, with the wise women of the Teutons, the Velledas and Völvas, the Pythonissas of the Greeks, and the Valians of the Indian Archipelago.

³ We may also render, of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and thought.

outwardly and inwardly, with its mountains and woody thickets, down to the great hell *Aviṭi* and up to the extremity of existence. All that he shall see with his natural eye, as well as the creatures to be found in it, and he shall know the fruit of their works.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1. Hear from me what good qualities shall belong to him who unhesitatingly and undismayed shall preach this *Sûtra* to the congregated assembly.

2. First, then, his eye (or, organ of vision) shall possess eight hundred good qualities by which it shall be correct, clear, and untroubled.

3. With the carnal eye derived from his parents he shall see the whole world from within and without.

4. He shall see the *Meru* and *Sumeru*, all the horizon and other mountains, as well as the seas.

5. He, the hero, sees all, downward to the *Aviṭi* and upward to the extremity of existence. Such is his carnal eye.

6. But he has not yet got the divine eye, it having not yet been produced¹ in him; such as here described is the range of his carnal eye.

Further, *Satatasamitâbhiyukta*, the young man of good family or the young lady² who proclaims this *Dharmaparyâya* and preaches it to others, is possessed of the twelve hundred good qualities of the ear. The various sounds that are uttered in the triple universe, downward to the great hell *Aviṭi*

¹ No *kâpi gâyate*. Burnouf's translation, 'il n'aura pas encore la science,' points to a reading, *gñâyate*.

² This time the word is also found in my MS.

and upward to the extremity of existence, within and without, such as the sounds of horses¹, elephants, cows, peasants², goats, cars; the sounds of weeping and wailing; of horror, of conch-trumpets, bells, tymbals; of playing and singing; of camels, of tigers³; of women, men, boys, girls; of righteousness (piety) and unrighteousness (impiety); of pleasure and pain; of ignorant men and âryas; pleasant and unpleasant sounds; sounds of gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human; of monks, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathâgatas; as many sounds as are uttered in the triple world, within and without, all those he hears with his natural organ of hearing when perfect. Still he does not enjoy the divine ear, although he apprehends the sounds of those different creatures, understands, discerns the sounds of those different creatures, and when with his natural organ of hearing he hears the sounds of those creatures, his ear is not overpowered by any of those sounds. Such, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, is the organ of hearing that the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva⁴ acquires; yet he does not possess the divine ear.

¹ Burnouf's version shows a few unimportant various readings.

² Ganapadasabdâḥ, rather strange between the others. I suppose that ganapada is corrupted from some word meaning a sheep, but I find no nearer approach to it than gâlakini, a ewe; cf. st. 8 below.

³ I follow Burnouf, who must have read vyâghra; my MS. has vâdya.

⁴ This term, as it is here used, refers, so far as I can see, to the ministers of religion, the preachers. It is, however, just possible that we have to take it in the more general and original sense of any 'rational being,' for all the advantages enumerated belong to everybody who is not blind, not deaf, &c.

Thus spoke the Lord ; thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added :

7. The organ of hearing of such a person becomes (or, is) cleared and perfect, though as yet it be natural ; by it he perceives the various sounds, without any exception, in this world.

8. He perceives the sounds of elephants, horses, cars, cows, goats, and sheep ; of noisy kettle-drums, tabours, lutes, flutes, Vallakt-lutes.

9. He can hear singing, lovely and sweet, and, at the same time, is constant enough not to allow himself to be beguiled by it ; he perceives the sounds of *koṭis* of men, whatever and wherever they are speaking.

10. He, moreover, always hears the voice of gods and Nāgas ; he hears the tunes, sweet and affecting, of song, as well as the voices of men and women, boys and girls.

11. He hears the cries of the denizens of mountains and glens ; the tender notes¹ of Kalaviṅkas, cuckoos², peafowls³, pheasants, and other birds.

12. He also (hears) the heart-rending cries of those who are suffering pains in the hells, and the yells uttered by the Spirits, vexed as they are by the difficulty to get food ;

13. Likewise the different cries produced by the demons and the inhabitants of the ocean. All these

¹ Valgusabda.

² Here we see that kalaviṅkas are distinguished from kokilas, cuckoos.

³ The voice of the peafowl is proverbially unharmonious, but that is no reason why the poet should have omitted this item from his enumeration ; such peculiarities give a relish to this kind of spiritual poetry.

sounds the preacher is able to hear from his place on earth, without being overpowered by them.

14. From where he is stationed here on the earth he also hears the different and multifarious sounds through which the inhabitants of the realm of brutes are conversing with each other.

15. He apprehends all the sounds, without any exception, whereby the numerous angels living in the Brahma-world, the Akanishṭhas and Ābhāsvaras¹, call one another.

16. He likewise always hears the sound which the monks on earth are raising when engaged in reading, and when preaching the law to congregations, after having taken orders under the command of the Sugatas.

17. And when the Bodhisattvas here on earth have a reading together and raise their voices in the general synods, he hears them severally.

18. The Bodhisattva who preaches this Sūtra shall, at one time, also hear the perfect law² that the Lord Buddha, the tamer of men³, announces to the assemblies.

19. The numerous sounds produced by all beings in the triple world, in this field, within and without, (downward) to the Avīṭi and upward to the extremity of existence, are heard by him.

20. (In short), he perceives the voices of all beings, his ear being open. Being in the possession of his six senses⁴, he will discern the different sources (of sound), and that while his organ of hearing is the natural one ;

¹ Two classes of angels of the Brahma-heaven.

² I. e. judgment.

³ I. e. in his quality of Dharmarāga.

⁴ I. e. not being out of his wits.

21. The divine ear is not yet operating in him; his ear continues in its natural state. Such as here told are the good qualities belonging to the wise man who shall be a keeper of this Sûtra.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva who keeps, proclaims, studies, writes this Dharmaparyâya becomes possessed of a perfect organ of smell with eight hundred good qualities. By means of that organ he smells the different smells that are found in the triple world, within and without, such as fetid smells, pleasant and unpleasant smells, the fragrance of diverse flowers, as the great-flowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Michelia Champaka, trumpet-flower; likewise the different scents of aquatic flowers, as the blue lotus, red lotus, white esculent water-lily and white lotus. He smells the odour of fruits and blossoms of various trees bearing fruits and blossoms, such as sandal, Xanthochymus, Tabernæmontana, agallochum¹. The manifold hundred-thousand mixtures of perfumes he smells and discerns, without moving from his standing-place. He smells the diverse smells of creatures, as elephants, horses, cows, goats, beasts, as well as the smell issuing from the body of various living beings in the condition of brutes. He perceives the smells exhaled by the body of women and men, of boys and girls. He smells, even from a distance, the odour of grass, bushes, herbs, trees. He perceives those smells such as they really are, and is not surprised nor stunned by them. Staying on this very earth he smells the odour of gods and the

¹ There is something strange in enumerating these plants, after speaking of fruits.

fragrance of celestial flowers, such as Erythrina, Bauhinia, Mandârava and great Mandârava, Mañgûsha and great Mañgûsha. He smells the perfume of the divine powders of sandal and agallochum, as well as that of the hundred-thousands of mixtures of different divine flowers. He smells the odour exhaled by the body of the gods, such as Indra, the chief of the gods, and thereby knows whether (the god) is sporting, playing, and enjoying himself in his palace Vaigayanta or is speaking the law to the gods of paradise in the assembly-hall of the gods, Sudharmâ, or is resorting to the pleasure-park for sport¹. He smells the odour proceeding from the body of the sundry other gods, as well as that proceeding from the girls and wives of the gods, from the youths and maidens amongst the gods, without being surprised or stunned by those smells. He likewise smells the odour exhaled by the bodies of all Devanikâyas, Brahmakâyikas, and Mahâbrahmas². In the same manner he perceives the smells coming from disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathâgatas. He smells the odour arising from the seats of the Tathâgatas and so discovers where those Tathâgatas, Arhats, &c. abide. And by none of all those different smells is his organ of smell hindered, impaired, or vexed; and, if required, he may give an account of those smells to others without his memory being impaired by it.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

22. His organ of smell is quite correct, and he

¹ The parallel passage in the poetical version, st. 41, is much less confused, and for that reason probably more original.

² Three classes of aerial beings, archangels.

perceives the manifold and various smells, good or bad, which exist in this world ;

23. The fragrance of the great-flowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Xanthochymus, sandal, agallochum, of several blossoms and fruits.

24. He likewise perceives the smells exhaled by men, women, boys, and girls, at a considerable distance, and by the smell he knows where they are.

25. He recognises emperors, rulers of armies, governors of provinces, as well as royal princes and ministers, and all the ladies of the harem by their (peculiar) scent.

26. It is by the odour that the Bodhisattva discovers sundry jewels of things, such as are found on the earth and such as serve as jewels for women.

27. That Bodhisattva likewise knows by the odour the various kinds of ornament that women use for their body, robes, wreaths, and ointments.

28. The wise man who keeps this exalted Sûtra recognises, by the power of a good-smelling organ, a woman¹ standing, sitting, or lying ; he discovers wanton sport and magic power².

29. He perceives at once where he stands, the fragrance of scented oils, and the different odours of flowers and fruits, and thereby knows from what source the odour proceeds.

30. The discriminating man recognises by the odour the numerous sandal-trees in full blossom in the glens of the mountains, as well as all creatures dwelling there.

31. All the beings living within the compass of

¹ *Sthitâm nishannâm sayitâm tathaiva.*

² *Krîdâratim riddhibalam ka.*

the horizon or dwelling in the depth of the sea or in the bosom of the earth the discriminating man knows how to distinguish from the (peculiar) smell.

32. He discerns the gods and demons, and the daughters of demons; he discovers the sports of demons and their luxury. Such, indeed, is the power of his organ of smell.

33. By the smell he tracks the abodes of the quadrupeds in the woods, lions, tigers, elephants, snakes, buffaloes, cows, gayals.

34. He infers from the odour, whether the child that women, languid from pregnancy, bear in the womb be a boy or a girl.

35. He can discern if a woman is big with a dead child¹; he discerns if she is subject to throes², and, further, if a woman, the pains being removed, shall be delivered of a healthy boy.

36. He guesses the various designs of men, he smells (so to say) an air of design³; he finds out the odour of passionate, wicked, hypocritical, or quiet persons.

37. That Bodhisattva by the scent smells treasures hidden in the ground, money, gold, bullion, silver, chests, and metal pots⁴.

38. Necklaces of two sorts, gems, pearls, nice priceless jewels he knows by the scent⁵, as well as things priceless and brilliant in general.

39. That great man from his very place on earth

¹ Âpannasatvâ.

² Vinâmadharmâ.

³ Abhiprâyagandha.

⁴ It need hardly be remarked that 'to smell' is here used in the same sense as in the English saying 'to smell a rat.'

⁵ The word gandha also means 'some resemblance, faint likeness, an air.'

smells the flowers here above (in the sky) with the gods, such as Mandâravas, Mañgûshakas, and those growing on the coral tree.

40. By the power of his organ of smell he, without leaving his stand on earth, perceives how and whose are the aerial cars, of lofty, low, and middling size, and other brilliant forms shooting¹ (through the firmament).

41. He likewise finds out the paradise, the gods (in the hall) of Sudharmâ and in the most glorious palace of Vaigayanta², and the angels who there are diverting themselves.

42. He perceives, here on earth, an air of them; by the scent he knows the angels, and where each of them is acting, standing, listening, or walking.

43. That Bodhisattva tracks by the scent the houris who are decorated with many flowers, decked with wreaths and ornaments and in full attire; he knows wherever they are dallying or staying at the time.

44. By smell he apprehends the gods, Brahmas, and Brahmakâyas moving on aerial cars aloft, upwards to the extremity of existence; he knows whether they are absorbed in meditation³ or have risen from it.

¹ *Kavanti*, Sansk. *kyavanti*, altered by a later hand into *bhavanti*.

² A sculptured representation of Indra's palace of Vaigayanta and the hall Sudharmâ is found on the bas reliefs of the Stûpa of Bharhut; see plate xvi in General Cunningham's splendid work on that Stûpa.

³ The real meaning is, perhaps, to say that he knows whether those inhabitants of the empyreum are plunged in glimmer or disengaged from mist, &c.

45. He perceives the Âbhâsvara angels falling (and shooting) and appearing, even those that he never saw before. Such is the organ of smell of the Bodhisattva who keeps this Sûtra.

46. The Bodhisattva also recognises all monks under the rule of the Sugata, who are strenuously engaged in their walks and find their delight in their lessons and reading.

47. Intelligent as he is, he discerns those among the sons of Gina who are disciples and those who used to live at the foot of trees, and he knows that the monk so and so is staying in such and such a place.

48. The Bodhisattva knows by the odour whether other Bodhisattvas are of good memory, meditative, delighting in their lessons and reading, and assiduous in preaching to congregations¹.

49. In whatever point of space the Sugata, the great Seer, so benign and bounteous, reveals the law in the midst of the crowd of attending disciples, the Bodhisattva by the odour recognises him as the Lord of the universe.

50. Staying on earth, the Bodhisattva also perceives those beings who hear the law and rejoice at it, and the whole assembly of the Gina.

51. Such is the power of his organ of smell. Yet it is not the divine organ he possesses, but (the natural one) prior to the perfect, divine faculty of smell.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the young man of good family or the young lady who keeps, teaches,

¹ Such Bodhisattvas may be said to stand in the odour of sanctity.

proclaims, writes this Dharmaparyâya shall have an organ of taste possessed of twelve hundred good faculties of the tongue. All flavours he takes on his tongue will yield a divine, exquisite relish. And he tastes in such a way that he is not to relish anything unpleasant; and even the unpleasant flavours that are taken on his tongue will yield¹ a divine relish. And whatever he shall preach in the assembly, the creatures will be satisfied by it; they will be content, thoroughly content, filled with delight. A sweet, tender, agreeable, deep voice goes out from him, an amiable voice which goes to the heart, at which those creatures will be ravished and charmed; and those to whom he preaches, after having heard his sweet voice, so tender and melodious, will, even (if they are) gods, be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, and serve him². And the angels and houris will be of opinion, &c. The Indras, Brahmas, and Brahmakâyikas will be of opinion, &c. The Nâgas and Nâga girls will be of opinion, &c. The demons and their girls will be of opinion, &c. The Garudâs and their girls will be of opinion, &c. The Kinnaras and their girls, the great serpents and their girls, the goblins and their girls, the imps and their girls will be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, serve him, and hear his sermon, and all will show him honour, respect, esteem, worship, reverence, and veneration. Monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees will likewise be desirous of seeing him. Kings, royal princes, and grandees (or ministers) will also be

¹ Mokshyante, properly, 'will emit.'

² In the margin added *śravanâya*, 'to hear.'

desirous of seeing him. Kings ruling armies and emperors possessed of the seven treasures¹, along with the princes royal, ministers, ladies of the harem, and their retinue will be desirous of seeing him and paying him their homage. So sweet will be the speech delivered by that preacher, so truthful and according to the teaching of the Tathâgata will be his words. Others also, Brahmans and laymen, citizens and peasants, will always and ever follow that preacher till the end of life. Even the disciples of the Tathâgata will be desirous of seeing him ; likewise the Pratyekabuddhas and the Lords Buddhas. And wherever that young man of good family or young lady shall stay, there he (or she) will preach, the face turned to the Tathâgata, and he (or she) will be a worthy vessel of the Buddha-qualities. Such, so pleasant, so deep will be the voice of the law going out from him.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

52. His organ of taste is most excellent, and he will never relish anything of inferior flavour ; the flavours are no sooner put on his tongue than they become divine and possessed of a divine taste².

53. He has a tender voice and delivers sweet words, pleasant to hear, agreeable, charming ; in the

¹ The seven treasures or jewels of an emperor are the wheel, the elephant, the horse, the gem, the empress, the major domo (according to others, the retinue of householders), and the viceroy or marshal. See Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 127 ; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 580 ; Senart, *Légende du Buddha*, pp. 22-60 ; Lalita-vistara, pp. 15-19.

² Nikshiptamâtrâs ka bhavanti divyâ rasena divyena samarpitâs ka.

midst of the assembly he is used to speak with a melodious and deep voice.

54. And whosoever hears him when he is delivering a sermon with myriads of *koṭis* of examples, feels a great joy and shows him an immense veneration.

55. The gods, Nâgas, demons, and goblins always long to see him, and respectfully listen to his preaching. All those good qualities are his.

56. If he would, he might make his voice heard by the whole of this world; his voice is (so) fine, sweet, deep, tender, and winning.

57. The emperors on earth, along with their children and wives, go to him with the purpose of honouring him, and listen all the time to his sermon with joined hands.

58. He is constantly followed by goblins, crowds of Nâgas, Gandharvas, imps, male and female, who honour, respect, and worship him.

59. Brahma himself becomes his obedient servant; the gods Îsvara and Mahesvara, as well as Indra and the numerous heavenly nymphs, approach him.

60. And the Buddhas, benign and merciful for the world, along with their disciples, hearing his voice, protect him by showing their face, and feel satisfaction in hearing him preaching.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva who keeps, reads, promulgates, teaches, writes this Dharmaparyâya shall have the eight hundred good qualities of the body. It will be pure, and show a hue clear as the lapis lazuli; it will be pleasant to see for the creatures. On that perfect body he will see the whole triple universe; the beings who in the triple world disappear and appear, who are low or lofty, of good or of bad colour, in

fortunate or in unfortunate condition, as well as the beings dwelling within the circular plane of the horizon and of the great horizon, on the chief mountains Meru and Sumeru, and the beings dwelling below in the Avīṭi and upwards to the extremity of existence; all of them he will see on his own body. The disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathāgatas dwelling in the triple universe, and the law taught by those Tathāgatas and the beings serving the Tathāgatas, he will see all of them on his own body, because he receives the proper body of all those beings, and that on account of the perfectness of his body.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

61. His body becomes thoroughly pure, clear as if consisting of lapis lazuli; he who keeps this sublime Sūtra is always a pleasant sight for (all) creatures.

62. As on the surface of a mirror an image is seen, so on his body this world. Being self-born, he sees no other beings¹. Such is the perfectness of his body.

63. Indeed, all beings who are in this world, men, gods, demons, goblins, the inhabitants of hell, the spirits, and the brute creation are seen reflected on that body.

64. The aerial cars of the gods up to the extremity of existence, the rocks, the ridge of the

¹ This seems to mean that the thinking subject or thinking power only (svayambhū or brahma) has real existence, the objects being products from one's own mind. In so far it may be said that the thinking subject sees no other real beings.

horizon, the Himâlaya, Sumeru, and great Meru, all are seen on that body.

65. He also sees the Buddhas on his body, along with the disciples and other sons of Buddha; likewise the Bodhisattvas who lead a solitary life, and those who preach the law to congregations.

66. Such is the perfectness of his body, though he has not yet obtained a divine body; the natural property of his body is such.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva who after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata keeps, teaches, writes, reads this Dharmaparyâya shall have a mental organ possessed of twelve hundred good qualities of intellect. By this perfect mental organ he will, even if he hears a single stanza, recognise its various meanings. By fully comprehending the stanza he will find in it the text to preach upon for a month, for four months, nay, for a whole year. And the sermon he preaches will not fade from his memory. The popular maxims of common life, whether sayings or counsels, he will know how to reconcile with the rules of the law. Whatever creatures of this triple universe are subject to the mundane whirl, in any of the six conditions of existence, he will know their thoughts, doings, and movements. He will know and discern their motions, purposes, and aims. Though he has not yet attained the state of an Ârya, his intellectual organ will be thoroughly perfect. And all he shall preach after having pondered on the interpretation of the law will be really true; he speaks what all Tathâgatas have spoken, all that has been declared in the Sûtras of former Ginâs.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

67. His mental organ is perfect, lucid, right, and untroubled. By it he finds out the various laws, low, high, and mean.

68. On hearing the contents of a single stanza, the wise man catches the manifold significatons (hidden) in it, and he is able for a month, four months, or even a year to go on expounding both its conventional and its true sense.

69. And the beings living in this world, within or without, gods, men, demons, goblins, Nâgas, brutes,

70. The beings stationed in any of the six conditions of existence, all their thoughts the sage knows instantaneously. These are the advantages of keeping this Sûtra.

71. He also hears the holy sound of the law which the Buddha, marked with a hundred blessed signs, preaches all over the world, and he catches what the Buddha speaks.

72. He reflects much on the supreme law, and is in the wont of constantly dilating upon it; he is never hesitating. These are the advantages of keeping this Sûtra.

73. He knows the connections and knots¹; he discerns in all laws contrarities²; he knows the meaning and the interpretations, and expounds them according to his knowledge.

74. The Sûtra which since so long a time has been

¹ Sandhivisandhi, I am not sure of the real purport of these terms; Burnouf renders 'concordances et combinaisons.'

² Sarveshu dharmeshu vilakshazâni; the rendering is uncertain; Burnouf has, 'ne voit entre toutes les lois aucune différence.'

expounded by the ancient Masters of the world is the law which he, never flinching, is always preaching in the assembly.

75. Such is the mental organ of him who keeps or reads this Sûtra ; he has not yet the knowledge of emancipation, but one that precedes it.

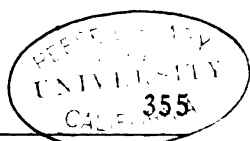
76. He who keeps this Sûtra of the Sugata stands on the stage of a master ; he may preach to all creatures and is skilful in koṭis of interpretations.

CHAPTER XIX.

SADĀPARIBHŪTA.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâsthâmaprâpta. In a similar way, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, one may infer from what has been said that he who rejects such a Dharmaparyâya as this, who abuses monks, nuns, lay devotees male or female, keeping this Sûtra, insults them, treats them with false and harsh words, shall experience dire results, to such an extent as is impossible to express in words. But those that keep, read, comprehend, teach, amply expound it to others, shall experience happy results, such as I have already mentioned: they shall attain such a perfection of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind as just described.

In the days of yore, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, at a past period, before incalculable Æons, nay, more than incalculable, immense, inconceivable, and even long before, there appeared in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c. &c., in the Æon Vinirbhoga, in the world Mahâsambhava. Now, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., in that world Vinirbhoga, showed the law in the presence of the world, including gods, men, and demons; the law containing the four noble truths and starting from the chain of causes and effects, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation,



woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvâna, he showed to the disciples; the law connected with the six Perfections of virtue and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment, he showed to the Bodhisattvas. The lifetime of that Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., lasted forty hundred thousand myriads of koîis of Æons equal to the sands of the river Ganges¹. After his complete extinction his true law remained hundred thousands of myriads of koîis of Æons equal to the atoms (contained) in Gambudvîpa, and the counterfeit of the true law continued hundred thousands of myriads of koîis of Æons equal to the dust-atoms in the four continents. When the counterfeit of the true law of the Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., after his complete extinction, had disappeared in the world Mahâsambhava, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, another Tathâgata Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, Arhat, &c., appeared, endowed with science and conduct. So in succession, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, there arose in that world Mahâsambhava twenty hundred thousand myriads of koîis of Tathâgatas, &c., called Bhîshmagargitasvararâga. At the time, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, after the complete extinction of the first Tathâgata amongst all those of the name of Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, Tathâgata, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., when his true law had disappeared and the counterfeit of the true law was

¹ According to Burnouf : 'autant de centaines de mille de myriades de koîis de Kalpas qu'il y a de grains de sable dans quarante Ganges.'

fading ; when the reign (of the law) was being oppressed by proud monks, there was a monk, a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, called Sadâparibhûta. For what reason, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, was that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Sadâparibhûta? It was, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, because that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva was in the habit of exclaiming to every monk or nun, male or female lay devotee, while approaching them : I do not condemn you, worthies. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas and are to become Tathâgatas, &c. In this way, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, when a monk, did not teach nor study ; the only thing he did was, whenever he descried from afar a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, to approach them and exclaim : I do not condemn you, sisters¹. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas and are to become Tathâgatas, &c. So, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva at that time used to address every monk or nun, male or female devotee. But all were extremely irritated and angry at it, showed him their displeasure, abused and insulted him : Why does he, unasked, declare that he feels no contempt for us ? Just by so doing he shows a contempt for us. He renders himself contemptible² by predicting our future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment ; we do not care for what is not true. Many years, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, went on during which that

¹ It may seem strange that we find no other word than this, but the reading of the text cannot be challenged.

² Paribhûtam âtmânâṃ karoti, yad, &c. Burnouf must have followed a different reading.

Bodhisattva Mahâsattva was being abused, but he was not angry at anybody, nor felt malignity, and to those who, when he addressed them in the said manner, cast a clod or stick at him, he loudly exclaimed from afar: I do not contemn you. Those monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees, being always and ever addressed by him in that phrase gave him the (nick)name of Sadâparibhûta¹.

Under those circumstances, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sadâparibhûta happened to hear this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law when the end of his life was impending, and the moment of dying drawing near. It was the Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., who expounded this Dharmaparyâya in twenty times twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of stanzas, which the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sadâparibhûta heard from a voice in the sky, when the time of his death was near at hand. On hearing that voice from the sky, without there appearing a person speaking, he grasped this Dharmaparyâya and obtained the perfections already mentioned: the perfection of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind. With the attainment of these perfections he at the same time made a vow to prolong his life for twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of years, and promulgated this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. And all those proud beings, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees to whom he had said: I do not contemn you, and who had given him the name of Sadâparibhûta, became all his fol-

¹ I.e. both 'always contemned' (sadâ and paribhûta) and 'always not-contemned, never contemned' (sadâ and aparibhûta).

lowers to hear the law, after they had seen the power and strength of his sublime magic faculties, of his vow, of his readiness of wit, of his wisdom. All those and many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of other beings were by him roused to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Afterwards, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva disappeared from that place and propitiated twenty hundred kośis¹ of Tathâgatas, &c., all bearing the same name of Kândraprabhâsvararâga, under all of whom he promulgated this Dharmaparyâya. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Tathâgatas, &c., all bearing the name of Dundubhisvararâga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he again, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Tathâgatas, &c., all bearing the name of Meghasvararâga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. And under all of them he was possessed of the afore-mentioned perfectness of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind.

Now, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sadâparibhûta, after having honoured, respected, esteemed, worshipped, venerated, revered so many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Tathâgatas, and after having acted in the same way towards

¹ From the sequel it appears that the text ought to have 'twenty hundred thousand myriads of kośis.'

many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of other Buddhas, obtained under all of them this very Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law, and owing to his former root of goodness having come to full development, gained supreme, perfect enlightenment. Perhaps, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving, and think that he who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva called Sadāparibhūta was one, and he who under the rule of that Lord Bhīṣmagargitasvararāga, the Tathāgata, &c., was generally called Sadāparibhūta by the four classes, by whom so many Tathāgatas were propitiated, was another. But thou shouldst not think so. For it is myself who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta. Had I not formerly grasped and kept this Dharmaparyāya, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, I should not so soon have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. It is because I have kept, read, preached this Dharmaparyāya (derived) from the teaching of the ancient Tathāgatas, &c., Mahāsthāmaprāpta, that I have so soon arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. As to the hundreds of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, to whom under that Lord the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta promulgated this Dharmaparyāya by saying: I do not condemn you; you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas; you are to become Tathāgatas, &c., and in whom awoke a feeling of malignity towards that Bodhisattva, they in twenty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Æons never saw a Tathāgata, nor heard the call of the law, nor the call of the assembly, and for ten thousand Æons they suffered terrible pain in the

great hell *Avīṭi*. Thereafter released from the ban, they by the instrumentality of that Bodhisattva Mahāsattva were all brought to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Perhaps, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving as to who at that time, at that juncture were the persons hooting and laughing at the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. They are, in this very assembly, the five hundred Bodhisattvas headed by Bhādrapāla, the five hundred nuns following *Simhāṇḍrā*, the five hundred lay devotees¹ following *Sugataketanā*, who all of them have been rendered inflexible in supreme, perfect enlightenment. So greatly useful it is to keep and preach this Dharma-paryāya, as it tends to result for Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas in supreme, perfect enlightenment. Hence, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas should, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata, constantly keep, read, and promulgate this Dharmaparyāya.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. I remember a past period, when king Bhīṣmasvara², the *Gina*, lived, very mighty, and revered by gods and men, the leader of men, gods, goblins, and giants.

2. At the time succeeding the complete extinction of that *Gina*, when the decay of the true law

¹ Upāsaka, the masculine ; this does not suit, but on the other hand it must be admitted that the omission of male devotees is not to be accounted for. Not unlikely some words have been left out by inadvertence, not only in the Cambridge MS., but also in the MSS. known to Burnouf. Cf., however, st. 9.

² Bhīṣmasvaro *rāga gino yadāsi*.

was far advanced, there was a monk, a Bodhisattva, called by the name of Sadâparibhûta.

3. Other monks and nuns who did not believe but in what they saw¹, he would approach (and say): I never am to condemn you, for you observe the course leading to supreme enlightenment.

4. It was his wont always to utter those words, which brought him but abuse and taunts from their part. At the time when his death was impending he heard this Sûtra.

5. The sage, then, did not expire ; he resolved upon² a very long life, and promulgated this Sûtra under the rule of that leader.

6. And those many (persons) who only acknowledged the evidence of sensual perception³ were by him brought to full ripeness for enlightenment. Then, disappearing from that place, he propitiated thousands of koṭis of Buddhas.

7. Owing to the successive good actions performed by him, and to his constantly promulgating this Sûtra, that son of Gina reached enlightenment. That Bodhisattva then is myself, Sâkyamuni.

8. And those persons who only believed in perception by the senses⁴, those monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees who by the sage were admonished of enlightenment,

9. And who have seen many koṭis of Buddhas,

¹ Upalambhad^rish/îna; I am not sure of the correctness of this translation; Burnouf renders it by 'qui ne voyaient que les objets extérieurs,' which comes pretty much to the same.

² Pratish/îhitvâ (Sansk. pratish/hâya) *ka* sudîrgham âyuh, properly 'having stood still for a very long time of life.'

³ Upalambhika.

⁴ Aupalambhika.

are the monks here before me,—no less than five hundred,—nuns, and female lay devotees¹.

10. All of them have been by me brought to complete ripeness, and after my extinction they will all, full of wisdom, keep this Sûtra.

11. Not once in many, inconceivably many koṭis of Æons has such a Sûtra as this been heard. There are, indeed, hundreds of koṭis of Buddhas, but they do not elucidate this Sûtra.

12. Therefore let one who has heard this law exposed by the Self-born himself, and who has repeatedly propitiated him, promulgate this Sûtra after my extinction in this world.

¹ The text has upâsikâḥ.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCEPTION OF THE TRANSCENDENT POWER OF THE
TATHÂGATAS.

Thereupon those hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas equal to the dust-atoms of a macrocosm, who had issued from the gaps of the earth, all stretched their joined hands towards the Lord, and said unto him : We, O Lord, will, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, promulgate this Dharmaparyâya everywhere (or on every occasion) in all Buddha-fields of the Lord, wherever (or whenever) the Lord shall be completely extinct¹. We are anxious to obtain this sublime Dharmaparyâya, O Lord, in order to keep, read, publish, and write it.

Thereupon the hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, headed by Mañjuśrî ; the monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees living in this world ; the gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and the many Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas equal to the sands of the river Ganges, said unto the Lord : We also, O Lord, will promulgate this Dharmaparyâya after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata. While standing with an invisible body in the sky, O Lord, we will send

¹ Hence follows that Nirvâṇa is repeatedly entered into by the Lord.

forth a voice¹, and plant the roots of goodness of such creatures as have not (yet) planted roots of goodness.

Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Visishṭakāritra, followed by a troop, a great troop, the master of a troop, who was the very first of those afore-mentioned Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas followed by a troop, a great troop, masters of a troop: Very well, Visishṭakāritra, very well; so you should do; it is for the sake of this Dharmaparyāya that the Tathāgata has brought you to ripeness.

Thereupon the Lord Sākyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., and the wholly extinct Lord Prabhūtaratna, the Tathāgata, &c., both seated on the throne in the centre of the Stūpa², commenced smiling to one another, and from their opened mouths stretched out their tongues, so that with their tongues they reached the Brahma-world, and from those two tongues issued many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of rays³. From each of those rays issued many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, with gold-coloured bodies and possessed of the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, and seated on thrones consisting of the interior of lotuses. Those

¹ From this it appears that the abode of the monks &c. in the assembly of the Lord Sākyamuni is in the sky, at least occasionally. Their attribute of 'an invisible body' shows them to be identical with the videhas, the incorporeal ones, i. e. the spirits of the blessed departed, Arhats, Muktas, Pitaras. The Pitaras form the assembly of Dharmarāga.

² Cf. Chapter XI.

³ It is quite true that the moon as well as the sun is sahasra-rasmi, possessed of thousand rays, but it is difficult to understand how the Bhagavat Prabhūtaratna can show his magic power in his state of extinction.

Bodhisattvas spread in all directions in hundred thousands of worlds, and while on every side stationed in the sky preached the law. Just as the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., produced a miracle of magic by his tongue, so, too, Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., and the other Tathâgatas, &c., who, having flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of other worlds, were seated on thrones at the foot of jewel trees, by their tongues produced a miracle of magic.

The Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and all those Tathâgatas, &c., produced that magical effect during fully a thousand¹ years. After the lapse of that millennium those Tathâgatas, &c., pulled back their tongue, and all simultaneously, at the same moment, the same instant, made a great noise as of expectoration² and of snapping the fingers, by which sounds all the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Buddha-fields in every direction of space were moved, removed, stirred, wholly stirred, tossed, tossed forward, tossed along, and all beings in all those Buddha-fields, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human beheld, by the power of the Buddha, from the place where they stood, this Saha-world. They beheld the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Tathâgatas seated severally on their throne at the foot of a jewel tree, and the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., wholly extinct, sitting on the throne in the centre of the

¹ Burnouf has 'a hundred thousand.'

² Utkâsana, better °sana.

Stûpa of magnificent precious substances, along with the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c.; they beheld, finally, those four classes of the audience. At this sight they felt struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. And they heard a voice from the sky calling: Worthies, beyond a distance of an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of worlds there is the world named Saha; there the Tathâgata called Sâkyamuni, the Arhat, &c., is just now revealing to the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, a Sûtrânta of great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas, and belonging in proper to all Buddhas. Ye accept it joyfully with all your heart, and do homage to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c.

On hearing such a voice from the sky all those beings exclaimed from the place where they stood, with joined hands: Homage to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata. Then they threw towards the Saha-world various flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, gold, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners, and triumphal streamers, as well as ornaments, parures, necklaces, gems and jewels of all sorts, in order to worship the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata¹, and this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. Those flowers, incense, &c., and those necklaces, &c., came down upon this Saha-world, where they formed a great canopy of flowers hanging in the sky above the Tathâgatas there sitting, as well as those in the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of other worlds.

¹ In Burnouf's translation we find added: and the Tathâgata Prabhûtaratna.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas headed by Visiṣṭakāritra: Inconceivable, young men of good family, is the power of the Tathāgatas, &c. In order to transmit this Dharmaparyāya, young men of good family, I might go on for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons explaining the manifold virtues of this Dharmaparyāya through the different principles of the law, without reaching the end of those virtues. In this Dharmaparyāya I have succinctly taught all Buddha-laws (or Buddha-qualities), all the superiority, all the mystery, all the profound conditions of the Buddhas. Therefore, young men of good family, you should, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata, with reverence keep, read, promulgate, cherish¹, worship it. And wherever on earth, young men of good family, this Dharmaparyāya shall be made known, read, written, meditated, expounded, studied or collected into a volume, be it in a monastery or at home, in the wilderness or in a town, at the foot of a tree or in a palace, in a building or in a cavern, on that spot one should erect a shrine in dedication to the Tathāgata. For such a spot must be regarded as a terrace of enlightenment; such a spot must be regarded as one where all Tathāgatas &c. have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment; on that spot have all Tathāgatas moved forward the wheel of the law; on that spot one may hold that all Tathāgatas have reached complete extinction.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

¹ Or develop; or meditate, bhāvayitavya. Burnouf seems to have read bhāṣhayitavya, for he translates it by 'expliquer.'

1. Inconceivable is the power to promote the weal of the world¹ possessed by those who, firmly established in transcendent knowledge, by means of their unlimited sight display their magic faculty in order to gladden all living beings on earth.

2. They extend their tongue over the whole world², darting thousands of beams to the astonishment of those to whom this effect of magic is displayed and who are making for supreme enlightenment.

3. The Buddhas made a noise of expectoration and of snapping the fingers, (and by it) called the attention of the whole world, of all parts of the world in the ten directions of space.

4. Those and other miraculous qualities they display in their benevolence and compassion (with the view) that the creatures, gladly excited at the time, may (also) keep the Sûtra after the complete extinction of the Sugata.

5. Even if I continued for thousands of koṭis of Æons speaking the praise of those sons of Sugata who shall keep this eminent Sûtra after the extinction of the Leader of the world,

6. I should not have terminated the enumeration of their qualities; inconceivable as the qualities of infinite space are the merits of those who constantly keep this holy Sûtra.

7. They behold me as well as these chiefs, and the Leader of the world now extinct; (they behold) all these numerous Bodhisattvas and the four classes.

8. Such a one now here³ propitiates me and all

¹ Lokahitânudharmatâ.

² Sarvalokam.

³ Ten' ihâdya. The connection between this stanza and the next would have been clearer if the two stanzas had been transposed.

these leaders, as well as the extinct chief of *Ginas* and the others in every quarter.

9. The future and past Buddhas stationed in the ten points of space will all be seen and worshipped by him who keeps this *Sûtra*.

10. He who keeps this *Sûtra*, the veritable law, will fathom the mystery of the highest man ; will soon comprehend what truth it was that was arrived at on the terrace of enlightenment.

11. The quickness of his apprehension will be unlimited ; like the wind he will nowhere meet impediments ; he knows the purport and interpretation of the law, he who keeps this exalted *Sûtra*.

12. He will, after some reflection, always find out the connection of the *Sûtras* spoken by the leaders ; even after the complete extinction of the leader he will grasp the real meaning of the *Sûtras*.

13. He resembles the moon and the sun ; he illuminates all around him, and while roaming the earth in different directions he rouses many *Bodhisattvas*.

14. The wise *Bodhisattvas* who, after hearing the enumeration of such advantages, shall keep this *Sûtra* after my complete extinction will doubtless reach enlightenment.

CHAPTER XXI.

SPELLS.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-râga rose from his seat, and having put his upper robe upon one shoulder and fixed the right knee upon the ground lifted his joined hands up to the Lord and said: How great, O Lord, is the pious merit which will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who keeps this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, either in memory or in a book? Whereupon the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-râga: Suppose, Bhaishagya-râga, that some man of good family or a young lady honours, respects, reveres, worships hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Tathâgatas equal to the sands of eighty Ganges rivers; dost thou think, Bhaishagya-râga, that such a young man or young lady of good family will on that account produce much pious merit? The Bodhisattva Bhaishagya-râga replied: Yes, Lord; yes, Sugata. The Lord said: I announce to thee, Bhaishagya-râga, I declare to thee: any young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagya-râga, who shall keep, read, comprehend, and in practice follow, were it but a single stanza from this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, that young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagya-râga, will on that account produce far more pious merit.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-rāga immediately said to the Lord : To those young men or young ladies of good family, O Lord, who keep this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law in their memory or in a book, we will give talismanic words ¹ for guard, defence, and protection ; such as, anye ² manye mane mamane *kitte karite* same, samitāvi, sante, mukte, muktatame, same avishame, samasame, gaye, kshaye, akshīne, sante sant, dhārāni ālokabhāshe, pratyavekshāni, nidhini, abhyantaravisishṭe, utkule mutkule, asade, parade, sukāṅkshṭ, asamasame, buddhavigilokite, dharmaparikshite, saṅghanirghoshāni, nirghoshāni bhayābhaya-sodhanṭ, mantrē mantrākshayate, rutakausalāye, akshaye, akshavanatāya, vakule valodā, amanyatāya ³. These words of charms and spells, O Lord, have been pronounced by reverend Buddhas (in number)

¹ Dhārānīpadāni.

² In giving these words I have followed the Camb. MS., even where the readings would seem to be incorrect.

³ The list in Burnouf's translation seems in many respects more correct ; it is as follows : anye manye, arau parau amane mamane *kitte karite* ; same samitā visante, mukte muktatame same avisamasame, gaye kshaye akshaye akshīne sante samite dhārāni ālokabhāse pratyavekshāni dhīru vivīru abhyantarāniviṣṭe abhyantarapārisuddhi, utkule mukule arade parade sukāṅkshi asamasame buddhavigilokite dharmaparikshite pratyavekshāni saṅghanirghoshāni nirghoshāni bhayavīsodhani mantrē mantrakshayate rutakausalāya akshayavanatā vakkulavaloka amanyatāye. All these words are, or ought to be, feminine words in the vocative. I take them to be epithets of the Great Mother, Nature or Earth, differently called Aditi, Pragñā, Māyā, Bhavānī, Durgā. Anyā may be identified with the Vedic anyā, inexhaustible, and synonymous with aditi. Most of the other terms may be explained as synonymous with pragñā (e.g. pratyavekshāni), with nature (kshaye akshaye), with the earth (dhārāni).

equal to the sands of sixty-two Ganges rivers. All these Buddhas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers, such keepers of the Sûtrânta.

The Lord expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-râga by saying : Very well, Bhaishagya-râga, by those talismanic words being pronounced out of compassion for creatures, the common weal of creatures is promoted ; their guard, defence, and protection is secured.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Pradâna-sûra said unto the Lord : I also, O Lord, will, for the benefit of such preachers, give them talismanic words, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise such preachers may find the occasion, be it a demon, giant, goblin, sorcerer, imp or ghost ; that none of these when seeking and spying for an occasion to surprise may find the occasion. And then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Pradâna-sûra instantly pronounced the following words of a spell : *gvale mahâgvale, ukke mukke, ade adâvati, tritye trityâvati, itîni viîîni kîîîni, trittî trityâvati svâhâ*¹. These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced and approved by Tathâgatas, &c. (in number) equal to the sands of the river Ganges. All those Tathâgatas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers.

¹ With Burnouf: *gvale mahâgvale ukke mukke ate atâvati nrîtye nrîtyâvati ; itîni viîîni kîîîni nrîtyâvati svâhâ*. These terms are obviously names of the flame, mythologically called Agni's wife, the daughter of Daksha. As Siva may be identified with Agni, the feminine words again are epithets of Durgâ. *Gvalâ* and *Mahâgvalâ* are perfectly clear ; *ukkâ* is the Prâkrit form of Sanskrit *ulkâ*.

Thereupon Vaisravana, one of the four rulers of the cardinal points, said unto the Lord: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit and weal of those preachers, out of compassion to them, for their guard, defence, and protection: *atte natte vanatte anade, nâdi kunadi svâhâ*¹. With these spells, O Lord, I shall guard those preachers over an extent of a hundred *yoganas*. Thus will those young men or young ladies of good family, who keep this *Sûtrânta*, be guarded, be safe.

At that meeting was present *Virûdhaka*, another of the four rulers of the cardinal points, sitting surrounded and attended by hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of *Kumbhândas*. He rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, lifted his joined hands up to the Lord, and spoke to him as follows: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit of people at large, and to guard, defend, protect such preachers as are qualified, who keep the *Sûtrânta* as mentioned; viz. *agane gane gauri gandhâri kândâli mâtaṅgi pukkasi saṅkule vrûsali svâhâ*². These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced by forty-two hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Buddhas*. All those *Buddhas* would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers as are qualified.

Thereupon the giantesses called *Lambâ*, *Vilambâ*³,

¹ Burnouf has *atte hatte natte*, &c.

² The list in Burnouf differs but slightly; a. g. g. *gandhâri kândâli m. pukkasi s. vrûlasisi s. Vrûsalî* or rather *vrusalî* must be the Sanskrit *vrîshalî*. *Gaurî*, *Kândâlikâ*, *Mâtaṅgî* are known from elsewhere as epithets of *Durgâ*; *Pukkasi* and *Vrîshalî* denote nearly the same as *Kândâli* and *Mâtaṅgî*.

³ With Burnouf, *Pralambâ*.

Kûṭadantī, Pushpadantī, Makuṭadantī¹, Kesinī, Akalā, Mālādhārī, Kuntī, Sarvasattvogahārī², and Hārītī, all with their children and suite went up to the place where the Lord was, and with one voice said unto him: We also, O Lord, will afford guard, defence, and protection to such preachers as keep this Sûtrānta; we will afford them safety, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise those preachers may find the occasion. And the giantesses all simultaneously and in a chorus gave to the Lord the following words of spells: iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me; nime nime nime nime nime; ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe; stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe, svāhā. No one shall overpower and hurt such preachers; no goblin, giant, ghost, devil, imp, sorcerer, spectre, gnome; no spirit causing epilepsy, no sorcerer of goblin race, no sorcerer of not-human race, no sorcerer of human race; no sorcerer producing tertian ague, quartian ague, quotidian ague. Even if in his dreams he has visions of women, men, boys or girls, it shall be impossible that they hurt him.

And the giantesses simultaneously and in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

1. His head shall be split into seven pieces, like a sprout of *Symplocos Racemosa*, who after hearing this spell would attack a preacher.
2. He shall go the way of parricides and matricides, who would attack a preacher.
3. He shall go the way of oil-millers and sesamum-pounders, who would attack a preacher.

¹ Burnouf has *Maṭuṭāntī*.

² Burnouf better, *Sarvasattvaugohārī*.

4. He shall go the way of those who use false weights and measures, who would attack a preacher.

Thereafter the giantesses headed by Kuntī said unto the Lord: We also, O Lord, will afford protection to such preachers; we will procure them safety; we will protect them against assault and poison. Whereupon the Lord said to those giantesses: Very well, sisters, very well; you do well in affording guard, defence, and protection to those preachers, even to such who shall keep no more than the name of this Dharmaparyāya; how much more then to those who shall keep this Dharmaparyāya wholly and entirely, or who, possessing the text of it in a volume, honour it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, cloth, flags, banners, lamps with sesamum oil, lamps with scented oil, lamps with *Kāmpaka*-scented oil, with *Vārshika*-scented oil, with lotus-scented oil, with jasmine-scented oil; who by such-like manifold hundred thousand manners of worshipping shall honour, respect, revere, venerate (this *Sūtra*), deserve to be guarded by thee and thy suite, Kuntī!

And while this chapter on spells was being expounded¹, sixty-eight thousand living beings received the faculty of acquiescence in the law that has no origin.

¹ The chapter was, properly speaking, not expounded at all; it simply contains a narrative with the speeches of different interlocutors. It may be observed that a poetical version is wanting.

CHAPTER XXII.

ANCIENT DEVOTION¹ OF BHAISHAGYARĀGA.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Nakshatrārāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā spoke to the Lord as follows: Wherefore, O Lord, does the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyarāga pursue his course² in this Saha-world, while he is fully aware of the many hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of difficulties he has to meet? Let the Lord, the Tathāgata, &c., deign to tell us any part of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagyarāga, that by hearing it the gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas from other worlds here present, and these great disciples here may be content, delighted, overjoyed.

And the Lord, out of regard to that request of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Nakshatrārāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, told him the following: Of yore, young man of good family, at a past epoch, at a time (as many) Æons ago as there are grains of sand in the river Ganges, there appeared in the world a Tathāgata, &c., by the name of *Kandravimalasūrya-prabhāsaśrī*³, •endowed with science and conduct, a

¹ Pūrvayoga; cf. foot-note, p. 153.

² Praviṣṭarati.

³ I.e. moon-bright and illustrious by (or like) the radiance of the sun.

Sugata, &c. &c. Now that Tathāgata, &c., *Kandra-vimalasūryaprabhāsaṛī* had a great assembly of eighty koṭis¹ of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas and an assembly of disciples equal to the sands of seventy-two Ganges rivers. His spiritual rule was exempt from the female sex, and his Buddha-field had no hell, no brute creation, no ghosts, no demons; it was level, neat, smooth as the palm of the hand. Its floor consisted of heavenly lapis lazuli, and it was adorned with trees of jewel and sandal-wood; inlaid with a multitude of jewels, and hung with long bands of silk, and scented by censers made of jewels. Under each jewel tree, at a distance not farther than a bow-shot, was made a small jewel-house², and on the top of those small jewel-houses stood a hundred koṭis of angels performing a concert of musical instruments and castanets, in order to honour the Lord *Kandra-vimalasūryaprabhāsaṛī*, the Tathāgata, &c., while that Lord was extensively expounding this Dharma-paryāya of the Lotus of the True Law to the great disciples and Bodhisattvas, directing himself³ to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana. Now, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the lifetime of that Lord *Kandravimalasūryaprabhāsaṛī*, the Tathāgata, &c., lasted forty-two thousand Æons, and likewise that of the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas and great disciples. It was under the spiritual rule of that Lord that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarva-

¹ Thus Camb. MS.; Burnouf has eighty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis.

² *Ratnadhāmaka*. I am not certain of the correctness of my translation; Burnouf renders it by 'char fait de pierreries.'

³ *Sarvasattvapriyadarsanam*—*adhishṭhānam* *kr̥tvā*; Burnouf has 'en commençant par le B. M. S.'

sattvapriyadarsana applied himself to his difficult course. He wandered twelve thousand years strenuously engaged in contemplation. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years he acquired the Samādhi termed Sarvarûpasandarsana (i. e. the sight or display of all forms). No sooner had he acquired that Samādhi than satisfied, glad, joyful, rejoicing, and delighted he made the following reflection : It is owing to this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law that I have acquired the Samādhi of Sarvarûpasandarsana. Then he made another reflection : Let me do homage to the Lord *Kāndravimala-sûryaprabhâsart* and this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. No sooner had he entered upon such a meditation than a great rain of Mandârava and great Mandârava flowers fell from the upper sky. A cloud of *Kālānusârin* sandal was formed, and a rain of *Uragasâra* sandal poured down. And the nature of those essences was so noble that one karsha of it was worth the whole Saha-world.

After a while, *Nakshatrarâgasankusumitābhigñā*, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana rose from that meditation with memory and full consciousness, and reflected thus : This display of magic power is not likely to honour the Lord and Tathāgata so much as the sacrifice of my own body will do¹. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana instantly began to eat *Agallochum*, *Olibanum*, and the resin of *Boswellia Thurifera*, and to drink oil of *Kampaka*². So, *Nakshatrarâgasankusumitābhigñā*,

¹ In the story of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana it is easy to recognise a Buddhist version of the myth of the Phoenix.

² In the Old English poem of the Phoenix, verse 192, we read that

the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana passed twelve years in always and constantly eating those fragrant substances and drinking oil of *Kam-paka*. After the expiration of those twelve years the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana wrapped his body in divine garments, bathed¹ it in oil, made his (last) vow, and thereafter burnt his own body with the object to pay worship to the Tathāgata and this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, eighty worlds² equal to the sands of the river Ganges were brightened by the glare of the flames from the blazing body of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, and the eighty³ Lords Buddhas⁴ equal to the sands of the Ganges in those worlds all shouted their applause, (and exclaimed): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that is the real heroism which the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas should develop; that is the real worship of the Tathāgata, the real worship of the law. No worshipping with flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners; no worshipping with material gifts or with *Uragasāra* sandal equals it. This, young man of good family,

the noble bird collects the sweetest herbs, blossoms, and perfumes; similarly verse 652. He feeds upon mildew, verse 260.

¹ The Phoenix bathes twelve times in the well before the sun's arrival, and as many times sips the cool water.

² According to the reading of the Camb. MS., *aśītir Gaṅgā°*; Burnouf has 'sables de 80 Ganges,' which seems preferable.

³ Here the same remark as in the preceding note.

⁴ In the Old English poem, verse 355 seq., we read that hosts of birds flock together from all points of space 'to celebrate in song the hero and saint.' Further on, verse 590, the birds are identified with the released souls accompanying Christ.

is the sublimest gift, higher than the abandoning of royalty, the abandoning of beloved children and wife. Sacrificing one's own body, young man of good family, is the most distinguished, the chiefest, the best, the very best, the most sublime worship of the law. After pronouncing this speech, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, those Lords Buddhas were silent.

The body of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana continued blazing for twelve thousand years without ceasing to burn. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years the fire was extinguished. Then, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, having paid such worship to the Tathāgata, disappeared from that place, and (re)appeared under the (spiritual) reign of that very Lord Kandravimalasūryaprabhāsarī, the Tathāgata, &c., in the house of king Vimaladatta, by apparitional birth, and sitting cross-legged. Immediately after his appearance the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana addressed his father and mother in the following stanza :

1. This, O exalted king, is the walk in which I have acquired meditation ; I have achieved a heroical feat, fulfilled a great vote by sacrificing my own dear body.

After uttering this stanza, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana said to his father and mother : Even now, father and mother, the Lord Kandravimalasūryaprabhāsarī, the Tathāgata, &c., is still living, existing, staying in the world, the Lord by worshipping whom I have obtained the spell of

knowing all sounds¹ and this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, consisting of eighty hundred thousand myriads of *lotis* of stanzas, of a hundred Niyutas², of Vivaras³, of a hundred Vivaras, which I have heard from that Lord. Therefore, father and mother, I should like to go to that Lord and worship him again. Instantaneously, Nakshatrârâgasâṅkusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana rose seven *tâlas*⁴ high into the sky and sat cross-legged on the top of a tower of seven precious substances. So he went up to the presence of that Lord, and having approached him humbly saluted him, circumambulated him seven times from left to right, stretched the joined hands towards the Lord, and after thus paying his homage addressed him with the following stanza :

2. O thou whose face is so spotless and bright ; thou, king and sage ! How thy lustre sparkles in all quarters ! After having anciently paid thee homage, O Sugata, I now come again to behold thee, O Lord.

Having pronounced this stanza, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana said to the

¹ This comes rather unexpected ; of the Phœnix in the Old English poem, verse 131, we read that 'the sound of the bird's song is sweeter and more beautiful than all other singer-craft, and more delicious than any other tune.'

² Equal to a thousand billions. The cyphers being noughts, the whole number = 1. Eighty is the number of intermediate kalpas in one Mahâkalpa or Great Æon, i. e. one day and night. The turn (*paryâya*) of the True Law is the regular revolution of the sun.

³ Equal to a hundred thousand billions. As cyphers must be left out of account, all the numbers specified come to one.

⁴ The height of a palm-tree, or a span.

Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsa*ṛi, the Tathāgata, &c. : Thou art then still alive, Lord ? Whereon the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsa*ṛi, the Tathāgata, &c., replied : The time of my final extinction, young man of good family, has arrived ; the time of my death has arrived. Therefore, young man of good family, prepare my couch ; I am going to enter complete extinction. Then, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsa*ṛi said to the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana* : I entrust to thee, young man of good family, my commandment (or mastership, rule) ; I entrust to thee these *Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas*, these great disciples, this Buddha-enlightenment, this world, these jewel cars, these jewel trees, and these angels, my servitors. I entrust to thee also, young man of good family, my relics after my complete extinction. Thou shouldst pay a great worship to my relics, young man of good family, and also distribute them and build many thousands of *Stūpas*. And, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, after the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsa*ṛi, the Tathāgata, &c., had given these instructions to the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana* he in the last watch of the night entered absolute final extinction¹.

Thereupon, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana*, perceiving that the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsa*ṛi, the Tathāgata, &c., had expired, made a pyre of *Uragasāra* sandal-wood and burnt the

¹ It is sufficiently clear that the *Nirvāṇa* of this Tathāgata is the end of a day of twenty-four hours, and that *Sarvasattvapriyadarsana* is the new day.

body of the Tathâgata. When he saw that the body was burnt to ashes and the fire extinct, he took the bones¹ and wept, cried and lamented. After having wept, cried and lamented, Nakshatra-râgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana caused to be made eighty-four thousand urns of seven precious substances, deposited in them the bones of the Tathâgata, founded eighty-four thousand Stûpas², reaching in height to the Brahma-world, adorned with a row of umbrellas, and equipped with silk bands and bells. After founding those Stûpas he made the following reflection: I have paid honour to the Tathâgata-relics of the Lord *Kandravimalasûryaprabhâsari*, but I will pay to those relics a yet loftier and most distinguished honour. Then, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana addressed that entire assembly of Bodhisattvas, those great disciples, those gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, *Garudās*, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human: Ye all, young men of good family, unani-

¹ In the Phoenix myth it is the bird himself that, after his resurrection, collects the relics; verses 269-272. Both versions come to the same, for the sun of to-day is essentially the same as yesterday's.

² Exactly the same number of monasteries was erected by Asoka, according to the *Dîpavamsa* VI, 96. The king was induced to build so many monasteries because there were eighty-four or, optionally, eighty-four thousand towns in India, a number precisely coinciding with that of the sections of the Law. Notwithstanding the difference in details, it may be assumed that there is some connection between the two tales, especially because Asoka was a namesake of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, one of his epithets being Priyadarsana.

mously vow to pay worship to the relics of the Lord. Immediately after, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, in presence of those eighty-four thousand Stūpas, burnt his own arm which was marked by the one hundred auspicious signs, and so paid worship to those Stūpas containing the relics of the Tathāgata, during seventy-two thousand years. And while paying worship, he educated countless hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of disciples from that assembly, in consequence whereof all those Bodhisattvas acquired the Samādhi termed Sarvarūpasandarsana.

Then, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, the entire assembly of Bodhisattvas and all great disciples, seeing the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana deprived of a limb, said, with tears in their eyes, weeping, crying, lamenting: The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, our master and instructor, is now deprived of a limb, deprived of one arm. But the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana addressed those Bodhisattvas, great disciples, and angels in the following terms: Do not, young men of good family, weep, cry, lament at the sight of my being deprived of one arm. All the Lords Buddhas who be, exist, live in the endless, limitless worlds in every direction of space, have I taken to witness. Before their face have I pronounced a vow of truth, and by that truth, by that word of truth shall I, after the sacrifice of my own arm in honour of the Tathāgata, have a body of gold colour. By this truth, by this word of truth let this arm of mine become such as it was before, and let the great earth shake in six

different ways, and let the angels in the sky pour down a rain of flowers. No sooner, Nakshatrarâga-saṅkusumitâbhigñā, had the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana made that vow of truth, than the whole triple macrocosm was shaken in six different ways, and from the sky aloft fell a great rain of flowers. The arm of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana became again as it was before, and that by the power of knowledge and by the power of pious merit belonging to that Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. Perhaps, Nakshatrarâga-saṅkusumitâbhigñā, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and think) that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana at that time, and that epoch, was another. But do not think so; for the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagyarâga here was at that time, and that epoch, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana. So many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of difficult things, Nakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā, and sacrifices¹ of his body does this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana accomplish. Now, Nakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā, the young man or young lady of good family striving in the Bodhisattva vehicle towards the goal and longing for supreme, perfect enlightenment, who at the Tathâgata-shrines shall burn a great toe, a finger, a toe, or a whole limb, such a young man or young lady of good family, I assure thee, shall produce far more² pious merit, far more than results from giving up a king-

¹ Âtmabhâvaparitâgâms ka. The Phoenix in the poem, verse 364 seq., repeatedly, every thousand years, dies in the flames to arise anew from his ashes, and to be reborn.

² Bahutaram khalv api.

dom, sons, daughters, and wives, the whole triple world with its woods, oceans, mountains, springs, streams, tanks, wells, and gardens. And, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the young man or young lady of good family, striving in the Bodhisattva-vehicle for the goal, who after filling with the seven precious substances this whole triple world should give it in alms to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, that young man or young lady of good family, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, does not produce so much pious merit as a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, were it but a single verse from this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law. I positively declare that the accumulation of merit of the latter is greater than if a person, after filling the whole triple world with the seven precious substances, bestows it in alms on all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, or Pratyekabuddhas.

Just as the great ocean, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, surpasses all springs, streams, and tanks, so, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses all Sûtras spoken by the Tathâgata¹. Just as the Sumeru, the king of mountains, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, all elevations at the cardinal points², horizon circles and great horizons³, so,

¹ Or, the Tathâgatas. The same alternative in the sequel. All Sûtras in the world have their source in the Tathâgata, of course ; just as all Vedas, Itihâsas, &c. are the breathing out, the uttering of the sentient principle, the âtman ; Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa XIV, 5, 4, 10.

² Kâlaparvata, literally, 'time mountain,' because the points of rising and setting are called parvata, giri, &c., mountain in Sanskrit.

³ The whole horizon is also an apparent elevation and therefore likewise called parvata, &c.

Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses as a king all the Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata. As the moon, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, as a luminary, takes the first rank amongst the whole of the asterisms, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law ranks first amongst all Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata, though it surpasses hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of moons. As the orb of the sun, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, dispels gloomy darkness, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law dispels all the gloomy darkness of unholy works. As Indra, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, is the chief of the gods of paradise, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law is the chief of Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata. As Brahma Sahāmpati, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, is the king of all Brahmakāyika gods and exercises the function of a father in the Brahma world, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law exercises the function of a father to all beings, whether under training or past it, to all disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, and those who in the Bodhisattva-vehicle are striving for the goal. As the Srotaāpanna, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, as well as the Sakrīdāgāmin, Anāgāmin, Arhat¹, and Pratyekabuddha, excels the ignorant people and the profanum vulgus, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitā-

¹ Terms denoting the four degrees of sanctification, answering to the Prathamakalpika, Madhubhūmika, Pragñāgyotis, and Atikrāntabhāvanīya in the Yoga system ; Yogasāstra III, 50, commentary.

bhigñā, the Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law must be held to excel and surpass all Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata; and such as shall keep this king of Sūtras, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, must be held to surpass others (who do not). As a Bodhisattva is accounted superior to all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law is accounted superior to all Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata. Even as the Tathāgata is the crowned king of the law¹ of all disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya is a Tathāgata in respect to those who in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas are striving to reach the goal. This Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, saves all beings from all fear, delivers them from all pains. It is like a tank for the thirsty, like a fire for those who suffer from cold, like a garment for the naked, like the caravan leader for the merchants, like a mother for her children, like a boat for those who ferry over, like a leech for the sick, like a lamp for those who are wrapt in darkness, like a jewel for those who want wealth, like the ocean for the rivers, like a torch for the dispelling of darkness. So, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law delivers from all evils, extirpates all diseases, releases from the narrow bonds of the mundane whirl². And he who shall hear this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True

¹ Dharmarāgaḥ paṭṭabaddhaḥ, i. e. properly the legitimate crowned king.

² In other words, this Dharmaparyāya is Death or Nirvāṇa.

Law, who shall write it and cause it to be written, will produce an accumulation of pious merit the term of which is not to be arrived at even by Buddha-knowledge; so great is the accumulation of pious merit that will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who after teaching or learning it, writing it or having it collected into a volume, shall honour, respect, venerate, worship it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal streamers, with music, with joining of hands, with lamps burning with ghee, scented oil, *Kampaka* oil, jasmine oil, trumpet-flower oil, *Vârshikâ* oil or double jasmine oil.

Great will be the pious merit, *Nakshatrarâga-saṅkusumitâbhigñā*, to be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady striving to reach the goal in the *Bodhisattva*-vehicle, who shall keep this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of *Bhaishagyarâga*, who shall read and learn it. And, *Nakshatrarâga*, should a female, after hearing this *Dharmaparyâya*, grasp and keep it, then this existence will be her last existence as a woman. Any female, *Nakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā*, who in the last five hundred years of the millennium shall hear and penetrate this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of *Bhaishagyarâga*, will after disappearing from earth be (re)born in the world *Sukhâvatī*, where the Lord *Amitâyus*¹, the *Tathâgata*, &c., dwells, exists, lives surrounded by a host of *Bodhisattvas*. There will he (who formerly was a female) appear seated on a throne consisting of the interior of a lotus; no affection, no hatred, no infatuation, no pride, no

¹ Another name of *Amitâbha*.

envy, no wrath, no malignity will vex him. With his birth he will also receive the five transcendent faculties, as well as the acquiescence in the eternal law, and, once in possession thereof, Nakshatrarāga-saṅkusumitābhigñā, he as a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva will see Tathāgatas equal to the sands of seventy-two rivers Ganges¹. So perfect will be his organ of sight that by means thereof he shall see those Lords Buddhas, which Lords Buddhas will applaud him (and say): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that after hearing this Dharma-paryāya of the Lotus of the True Law which has been promulgated by the spiritual proclamation of the Lord Sākyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., thou hast studied, meditated, examined, minded it, and expounded it to other beings, other persons. This accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family, cannot be burnt by fire, nor swept away by water. Even a thousand Buddhas would not be able to determine this accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family. Thou hast subdued the opposition of the Evil One, young man of good family. Thou, young man of good family, hast victoriously emerged² from the battle of mundane existence, hast crushed the enemies annoying thee³. Thou, young man of good family, hast been superintended by thousands of Buddhas; thine equal, young man of good family, is not to be found in the world, including the gods⁴, with the only exception of the

¹ Or, to seventy-two times the sands of the river Ganges.

² Uttirṇabhavaśaṅgrāma.

³ Marditasatrukaṇṭhaka (sic; cf. Pāli *kaṇṭhaka*).

⁴ In the margin are added the words, also found in Burnouf's translation, 'including Māras, Brahmans, and ascetics.'

Tathâgata; there is no other, be he disciple, Pratyekabuddha, or Bodhisattva, able to surpass thee in pious merit, knowledge, wisdom or meditation. Such a power of knowledge, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, will be acquired by that Bodhisattva.

Any one, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, who on hearing this chapter of the ancient devotion of Bhaishagyarâga approves it, will emit from his mouth a breath sweet as of the lotus, and from his limbs a fragrance as of sandal-wood. Such temporal advantages as I have just now indicated will belong to him who approves this Dharmaparyâya. On that account then, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, I transmit to thee this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, that at the end of time, the last period, in the latter half of the millennium it may have course here in Gambudvīpa and not be lost; that neither Māra the Fiend, nor the celestial beings called Māra-kāyikas, Nāgas, goblins, imps may find the opportunity of hurting it. Therefore, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, I bequeath this Dharmaparyâya; it is to be like a medicament for sick and suffering creatures in Gambudvīpa. No sickness shall overpower him who has heard this Dharmaparyâya, no decrepitude, no untimely death. Whenever a person striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas happens to see such a monk as keeps this Sûtrānta, then he should strew him with sandal-powder and blue lotuses, and reflect thus: This young man of good family is going to reach the terrace of enlightenment; he will spread the bundle

of grass¹ on the terrace of enlightenment; he will put to flight the party of Mâra, blow the conch trumpet of the law, beat the drum of the law, cross the ocean of existence. Thus, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, should a young man of good family, striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattva, reflect when seeing a monk who keeps this Sûtra, and he will acquire such advantages as have been indicated by the Tathâgata.

While this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagya-râga was being expounded, eighty-four thousand Bodhisattvas attained the spell connected with skill in all sounds. And the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., intimated his approval (by saying): Well done, well done, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā; thou hast done well in thus questioning the Tathâgata, who is endowed with such inconceivable qualities and properties.

¹ This is an allusion to the bundles of grass the Bodhisattva received from Svastika, the grass-cutter, when he was on his way to occupy his seat at the foot of the Bo tree; see *Lalita-vistara*, p. 357; *Gâtaka* I, p. 70 (English translation by Professor Rhys Davids, p. 95).

CHAPTER XXIII.

GADGADASVARA.

At that moment the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., darted a flash of light from the circle of hair between his eyebrows, one of the characteristic signs of a great man, by which flash of light hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields, equal to the sands of eighteen rivers Ganges, became illuminated. Beyond those Buddha-fields, equal, &c., is the world called Vairokanarasmipratimandita (i.e. embellished by the rays of the sun). There dwells, lives, exists the Tathâgata named Kamaladala-vimalanakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, who, surrounded and attended by a large and immense assembly of Bodhisattvas, preached the law. Immediately the ray of light flashing from the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., filled the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita with a great lustre. In that world Vairokanarasmipratimandita there was a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Gadgadasvara, who had planted roots of goodness, who had before seen similar luminous flashes emitted by many Tathâgatas, &c., and who had acquired many Samâdhis, such as the Samâdhi Dhvagâgrakeyûra (i.e. bracelet at the upper end of the banner staff), Saddharma-pundarîka (i.e. the Lotus of the True Law), Vimaladatta (i.e. given by Vimala), Nakshatrarâgavikrîdita (i.e. sport of the

king of asterisms, the moon god), Anilambha¹, *Gñānamudrā* (i.e. the seal of science), *Kandrapradīpa* (i.e. moon-light²), *Sarvarutakausalya* (i.e. skill in all sounds), *Sarvapūnyasamukhaya* (i.e. compendium or collection of all piety), *Prasādavati* (i.e. the favourably-disposed lady), *Riddhivikrīḍita* (i.e. sport of magic), *Gñānolkā* (i.e. torch of knowledge), *Vyūharāga* (i.e. king of expansions or speculations), *Vimalaprabhā* (i.e. spotless lustre), *Vimalagarbha* (i.e. of spotless interior part), *Apkrītsna*³, *Sūryāvarta* (i.e. sun-turn); in short, he had acquired many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Samādhis* equal to the sands of the river Ganges. Now, the flash of light came down upon that *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara*. Then the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara* rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee on the ground, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord Buddha, and said to the *Tathāgata Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*: O Lord, I would resort to the Saha-world to see, salute, wait upon the Lord *Sākyamuni*, the *Tathāgata*, &c.; to see and salute *Mañgusri*, the prince royal; to see the *Bodhisattvas Bhaishagyarāga*, *Pradānasūtra*, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, *Viśiṣṭakāritra*, *Vyūharāga*, *Bhaishagyarāgasamudgata*.

Then the Lord *Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the *Tathāgata*, &c., said to the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara*: On coming to the Saha-world, young man of good family, thou

¹ Of uncertain meaning.

² Burnouf has read *Kandraprabha*, moon-bright.

³ I.e. belonging to the mystic rite, called *Āpokasīna* in Pāli; for which I refer to Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 252 seq.

must not conceive a low opinion of it. That world, young man of good family, has ups and downs, consists of earth, is replete with mountains of Kâla, filled with gutters¹. The Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., is short of stature², and so are the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, whereas thou, young man of good family, hast got a body forty-two hundred thousand yoganâs³ high, and myself have got a body sixty-eight hundred thousand yoganâs high. And, young man of good family, thou art lovely, handsome, of pleasant appearance, endowed with a full bloom of extremely fine colour, and abundantly blest with hundred thousands of holy signs. Therefore then, young man of good family, when you have come to the Saha-world, do not conceive a low opinion of the Tathâgata, nor of the Bodhisattvas, nor of that Buddha-field.

Thus addressed, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara said to the Lord Kamaladalâvimalanâkshatrarâgasâṅkusumitâbhigñâ, the Tathâgata, &c. : I shall do, Lord, as the Lord commands ; I shall go to that Saha-world by virtue of the Lord's resolution, of the Lord's power, of the Lord's might, of the Lord's disposal, of the Lord's foresight. Whereon the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, without leaving that Buddha-field and without leaving his

¹ Gûthodîlla or gûthodîgalla ; according to Burnouf the word means 'ordures ;' cf. above, p. 142, and Pâli oligalla.

² Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 364 : 'Buddha is sometimes said to be twelve cubits in height, and sometimes eighteen cubits.'

³ That is considerably more than Râhu, the eclipse, was possessed of, his body being no more than forty-eight hundred yoganâs high ; Spence Hardy, l.c.

seat, plunged into so deep a meditation that immediately after, on a sudden, there appeared before the Tathâgata on the *Grîdhrakûta*-mountains in the Saha-world eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and *Butea Frondosa*.

On seeing the appearance of this mass of lotuses the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mañgusrî, the prince royal, asked the Lord Sâkyamunî, the Tathâgata, &c.: By what cause and by whom, O Lord, have been produced these eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and *Butea Frondosa*? Whereon the Lord replied to Mañgusrî, the prince royal: It is, Mañgusrî, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, who accompanied and attended by eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of Bodhisattvas arrives from the east, from the world *Vairokanarasmipratimandîta*, the Buddha-field of the Lord Kamaladalavimalanakshatrârâ-gasaṅkusumitâbhigñâ, the Tathâgata, &c., at this Saha-world to see, salute, wait upon me, and to hear this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then Mañgusrî, the prince royal, said to the Lord: What mass of roots of goodness, O Lord, has that young man of good family collected, that he has deserved to obtain such a distinction? And what meditation is it, O Lord, that the Bodhisattva practises? Let us also learn that meditation, O Lord, and practise that meditation. And let us see that Bodhisattva, Lord; see how the colour, outward shape, character, figure, and behaviour of that Bodhisattva is. May the Lord deign to produce such a

token that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world.

Then the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., said to the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who was completely extinct: Produce such a token, Lord, that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world. And the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who was completely extinct, instantly produced a token in order to admonish the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara (and said): Come, young man of good family, to this Saha-world; Mañjusrî, the prince royal, will hail thy coming. And the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara, after humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgata, &c., and after three times circumambulating him from left to right, vanished from the world Vairokanarasmipratimandîta, along with eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas who surrounded and followed him, and arrived at this Saha-world, among a stir of Buddha-fields, a rain of lotuses, a noise of hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of musical instruments. His face showed eyes resembling blue lotuses, his body was gold-coloured, his person marked by a hundred thousand of holy signs; he sparkled with lustre, glowed with radiance, had limbs marked by the characteristic signs, and a body compact as Nârâyana's. Mounted on a tower made of seven precious substances, he moved through the sky to a height of seven Tâlas¹, surrounded by a host of Bodhi-

¹ Or spans. There are seven regions of winds. Vâyu, the god of wind or air, is nearly akin to Indra and Vishṇu.

sattvas, in the direction of this Saha-world, and approached the *Grīdhrakûṭa*, the king of mountains. At his arrival, he alighted from the tower, and went, with a necklace of pearls worth a hundred thousands, to the place where the Lord was sitting. After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord, and circum-ambulating him seven times from left to right, he offered him the necklace of pearls in token of homage, whereafter he said to the Lord: The Lord *Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasañkusumitâbhigñā*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., inquires after the Lord's health, welfare, and sprightliness; whether he feels free from affliction and at ease. That Lord has also charged me to ask: Is there something thou hast to suffer or allow¹? the humours of the body are not in an unfavourable state? thy creatures are decent in manners, tractable, and easy to be healed? their bodies are clean? They are not too passionate, I hope, not too irascible, not too unwise in their doings? They are not jealous, Lord, not envious, not ungrateful to their father and mother, not impious, not heterodox, not unsubdued in mind, not unrestrained in sexual desires? Are the creatures able to resist the Evil One? Has the Lord *Prabhûtaratna*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., who is completely extinct, come to the Saha-world in order to hear the law, sitting in the centre of a *Stûpa* made of seven precious substances? And as to that, Lord *Prabhûtaratna*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., the Lord *Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasañkusumitâbhigñā*, inquires: Is there some-

¹ *Yâpanîya*; it is a usual medical term applied to diseases which can be alleviated to a certain extent by means of palliatives, but can no longer be cured. It is manifest from the sequel that here also the term is derived from medical practice.

thing that the Lord Prabhûtaratna, &c., has to suffer or allow? Is the Lord Prabhûtaratna, &c., to stay long? We also, O Lord, are desirous of seeing the rudimentary frame¹ of that Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c. May the Lord therefore please to show us the rudimentary frame of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c.

Then the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., said to the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who was completely extinct: Lord, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara here wishes to see the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who is completely extinct. Whereon the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara in this strain: Well done, well done, young gentleman, that thou hast come hither in the desire to see the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c.; to hear this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, and see Mañgusri, the prince royal.

Subsequently the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasri said to the Lord: What root of goodness has the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara formerly planted? And in presence of which Tathâgata? And the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., said to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasri: In the days of yore, young man of good family, at a past period² there appeared in the world a Tathâgata called Meghadundubhisvararâga (i.e. the king of the drum-sound of the clouds), perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c., in

¹ Dhâtuvigraha, the frame of the elementary parts, of the bone relics.

² In the margin is added the common phrase, 'at a time more incalculable than incalculable Æons.'

the world Sarvabuddhasandarsana (i. e. sight or display of all Buddhas), in the Æon Priyadarsana. To that Lord Meghadundubhisvararâga the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara paid homage by making resound hundred thousands of musical instruments during twelve thousand years. He presented to him also eighty-four thousand vessels of seven precious substances. Under the preaching¹ of the Tathâgata Meghadundubhisvararâga, young man of good family, has the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara obtained such a beauty as he now displays. Perhaps, young man of good family, thou hast some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and thinkest) that at that time, that epoch, there was another Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Gadgadasvara, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararâga, the Tathâgata, and presented him the eighty-four thousand vessels. But, young man of good family, do not think so. For it was the very same Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, young man of good family, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararâga, the Tathâgata, and presented to him the eighty-four thousand vessels. So, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara has waited upon many Buddhas, has planted good roots under many Buddhas, and prepared the soil under each of them. And this Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara had previously seen Lords Buddhas similar to the sands of the river Ganges. Dost thou see, Padmasrî, how the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara now looks? Padmasrî replied : I do, Lord ; I do, Sugata. The Lord said : Now, Padmasrî, this Bodhisattva

¹ Pravaṇane.

Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law under many shapes he assumes ; sometimes¹ under the shape of Brahma, sometimes under that of Indra, sometimes under that of Siva, sometimes under that of Kubera, sometimes under that of a sovereign, sometimes under that of a duke, sometimes under that of a chief merchant, sometimes under that of a citizen, sometimes under that of a villager, sometimes under that of a Brāhman². Sometimes again the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law under a monk's shape, sometimes under a nun's, sometimes under a male lay devotee's, sometimes under a female lay devotee's, sometimes under that of a chief merchant's wife, sometimes under that of a citizen's wife, sometimes under a boy's, sometimes under a girl's shape. With so many variations in the manner to show himself³, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. He has even assumed the shape of a goblin to preach this Dharmaparyāya to such as were to be converted by a goblin. To some he has preached this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law under the shape of a demon, to some under a Garuḍa's, to some under a Kinnara's, to some under a great serpent's shape. Even to the beings in any of the wretched

¹ Or somewhere.

² From this one may infer that Gadgadasvara, i.e. he who has an interrupted sound, is Vāyu, πνεῦμα, inspiration personified. Materially, though not mythologically, Wind is identical with Rudra, Storm.

³ Iyadbhī rūpasandarsaneryāpathaiḥ.

states, in the hells, the brute creation, Yama's realm, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara is a supporter. Even to the creatures in the gynæceums of this Saha-world has the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara, after metamorphosing himself into a woman, preached this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law. Verily, Padmasrī, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara is the supporter of the creatures living in this Saha-world¹. Under so many shapes, assumed at will, has the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preached this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. Yet, there is no diminution of wisdom, nor diminution of magic power in that good man². So many, young man of good family, are the manifestations of knowledge by which this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara has made himself known in this Saha-world. In other worlds also, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, he preaches the law, under the shape of a Bodhisattva to such as must be converted by a Bodhisattva; under the shape of a disciple to such as must be converted by a disciple; under the shape of a Pratyekabuddha to such as must be con-

¹ Vāyu, prāṇa, breath of life, is the supporter of creatures.

² Satpurusha; the real meaning is 'the existing spirit;' air, breath, life, which shows itself in a diversity of forms. That living breath is not only the supporter of creatures, but also a constant admonisher of the transitoriness of life, who addresses his call to young and old, sages and fools, &c. The important mystic rite of inspiration and expiration is described by Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 267; no less value is attached to prāṇāyāma in the Yoga system and in Indian mysticism in general; see e.g. *Yoga-sāstra* II, 49-51; *Sarvadarsana-Saṅgraha*, p. 175; the term prāṇāyāma not only denotes stopping of the breath, as the Dictionaries explain it, but also the regulation and measuring of the breath.

verted by a Pratyekabuddha ; under the shape of a Tathâgata to such as must be converted by a Tathâgata. Nay, he will show to those who must be converted by a relic of the Tathâgata himself such a relic, and to those who must be converted by complete extinction he will show himself completely extinct¹. Such is the powerful knowledge, Padmasrî, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva is possessed of.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasrî said to the Lord : The Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara then has planted good roots, Lord. What meditation is it, Lord, whereby the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, with unshaken firmness, has converted (or educated) so many creatures ? Whereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., replied to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasrî : It is, young man of good family, the meditation termed Sarvarûpasandarsana. By steadiness in it has the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara so immensely promoted the weal of creatures.

While this chapter of Gadgadasvara was being expounded², all the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of koûis of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas who, along with the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, had come to the Saha-world, obtained the

¹ Gadgadasvara, being both inspiration and expiration, appears under the form of a dead corpse, and thereby converts fickle and thoughtless men.

² It need not be observed that the chapter was not expounded, the Buddha being one of the dramatis personæ, one of the interlocutors, but not the narrator. This confusion between epical and dramatical exposition is one of the most striking features of the Lotus. The Saddharma, the law of nature, may be said to have been expounded by the Tathâgata, not, however, the composition which bears that title.

meditation Sarvarûpasandarsana, and as to the number of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas of this Saha-world obtaining the meditation Sarvarûpasandarsana, it was beyond calculation.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, after having paid great and ample worship to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and at the Stûpa of relics of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., again mounted the tower made of seven precious substances, among the stir of the fields, the rain of lotuses, the noise of hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of musical instruments¹, and with the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Bodhisattvas surrounding and following him, returned to his own Buddha-field. At his arrival there he said to the Lord Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasaṅku-sumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c.: O Lord, I have in the Saha-world promoted the weal of creatures; I have seen and saluted the Stûpa of relics of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c.; I have seen and saluted the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c.; I have seen Mañgusrî, the prince royal, as well as the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyarâga, who is possessed of mighty knowledge and impetuosity², and the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Pradânasûtra; and these eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Bodhi-

¹ After a last effort the storm subsides.

² This quality stamps Bhaishagyarâga as Rudra; cf. Rig-veda II, 33, 7. He is essentially the same with Dhanvantari the physician, Arcitenens Apollo. He is, moreover, the same with Gadgadasvara, who is represented as breath of life. About the system of splitting up one natural phenomenon or abstraction into more beings, see p. 4, note.

sattvas Mahāsattvas have all obtained the meditation termed Sarvarūpasandarsana.

And while this relation of the going and coming of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara was being delivered, forty-two thousand Bodhisattvas acquired the faculty of acquiescence in future things, and the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Padmasrī acquired the meditation called the Lotus of the True Law.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHAPTER CALLED THAT OF THE ALL-SIDED ONE, CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF AVALOKITEŚVARA¹.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and said: For what reason, O Lord, is the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara called Avalokiteśvara? So he asked, and the Lord answered to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati: All the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of creatures, young man of good family, who in this world are suffering troubles will, if they hear the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, be released from that mass of troubles. Those who shall keep the name of this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, young man of good family, will, if they fall into a great mass of fire, be delivered therefrom by virtue of the lustre of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. In case, young man of good family, creatures, carried off by the current of rivers, should implore the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, all rivers will afford them a ford. In case, young man of good family, many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of creatures, sailing in a ship on the ocean,

¹ A translation of this chapter from the Chinese has been published by Rev. S. Beal in his *Catena*, pp. 389-396.

should see their bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, stones (?), corals, emeralds, Musâragalvas, read pearls (?), and other goods lost, and the ship by a vehement, untimely gale cast on the island of Giantesses¹, and if in that ship a single being implores Avalokitesvara, all will be saved from that island of Giantesses. For that reason, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara is named Avalokitesvara².

If a man given up to capital punishment³ implores Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder⁴. Further, young man of good family, if the whole triple chiliocosm were teeming with goblins and giants, they would by virtue of the name of the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara being pronounced lose the faculty of sight in their wicked designs⁵. If some creature, young man of good

¹ In the *Kâranda-vyûha*, a work entirely devoted to the glorification of Avalokitesvara and his sublime achievements, the isle of the Giantesses is identified with Ceylon; see pp. 45 and 53 of that work (Calcutta edition), and the extract given by Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 221-227.

² Avalokita means 'beheld;' it is as such synonymous with *drishya*, seen, visible, and *pratyaksha*, visible, manifest, present. The Bodhisattva is everywhere present, and therefore implored in need and danger. If we take *avalokita* as a substantive in the neuter gender, the compound will mean 'the Lord of view, of regard,' with which one may compare Siva's epithet *Drishyaguru*, the Master of view.

³ *Vadhyotsishya*; I do not feel certain of the rendering of *ukâkîshya*; perhaps we should translate it by 'a reprobate condemned to capital punishment.'

⁴ *Vadhyaghâtakânâm tâni sastrâni* (sic) *visiryeyuh*.

⁵ It is well known that those children of darkness are unable to stand the sun's light.

family, shall be bound in wooden or iron manacles, chains or fetters, be he guilty or innocent, then those manacles, chains or fetters shall give way as soon as the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara is pronounced. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara. If this whole triple chilocosm, young man of good family, were teeming with knaves, enemies, and robbers armed with swords, and if a merchant leader of a caravan marched with a caravan rich in jewels; if then they perceived those robbers, knaves, and enemies armed with swords, and in their anxiety and fright thought themselves helpless; if, further, that leading merchant spoke to the caravan in this strain: Be not afraid, young gentlemen, be not frightened; invoke, all of you, with one voice the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, the giver of safety; then you shall be delivered from this danger by which you are threatened at the hands of robbers and enemies; if then the whole caravan with one voice invoked Avalokitesvara with the words: Adoration, adoration be to the giver of safety, to Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva Mahāsattva! then, by the mere act of pronouncing that name, the caravan would be released from all danger. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara. In case creatures act under the impulse of impure passion, young man of good family, they will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from passion. Those who act under the impulse of hatred will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from hatred. Those who act under the impulse of

infatuation will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from infatuation. So mighty, young man of good family, is the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara. If a woman, desirous of male offspring, young man of good family, adores the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, she shall get a son, nice, handsome, and beautiful; one possessed of the characteristics of a male child, generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots¹. If a woman is desirous of getting a daughter, a nice, handsome, beautiful girl shall be born to her; one possessed of the (good) characteristics of a girl², generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara.

Those who adore the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara will derive from it an unfailing profit. Suppose, young man of good family, (on one hand) some one adoring the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara and cherishing his name; (on the other hand) another adoring a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges³, cherishing their names and worshipping so many Lords Buddhas during their stay, existence, and life, by giving robes, alms-bowls, couches, medicaments for the sick; how great is then in thine opinion, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it? So asked,

¹ We should rather say: in whom a good natural disposition is implanted.

² In the margin added *paramayâ subhavarṇapushkalatayâ*, (and) of an egregiously blooming complexion.

³ *Dvâshash/înâm Gaṅgâ°*.

the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Lord : Great, O Lord, great, O Sugata, is the pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it. The Lord proceeded : Now, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit produced by that young gentleman paying homage to so many Lords Buddhas, and the accumulation of pious merit produced by him who performs were it but a single act of adoration to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, are equal. He who adores a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges and cherishes their names, and he who adores the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, have an equal accumulation of pious merit¹; both masses of pious merit are not easy to be destroyed even in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons. So immense, young man of good family, is the pious merit resulting from cherishing the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara.

Again the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Lord : How, O Lord, is it that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara frequents this Saha-world? And how does he preach the law? And which is the range of the skilfulness of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara? So asked, the Lord replied to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati : In some worlds, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara preaches the law to creatures in the shape of a Buddha ;

¹ Burnouf has followed a text of greater length.

in others he does so in the shape of a Bodhi-sattva. To some beings he shows the law in the shape of a Pratyekabuddha; to others he does so in the shape of a disciple; to others again under that of Brahma, Indra, or a Gandharva. To those who are to be converted by a goblin, he preaches the law assuming the shape of a goblin; to those who are to be converted by Īsvara, he preaches the law in the shape of Īsvara; to those who are to be converted by Mahesvara, he preaches assuming the shape of Mahesvara. To those who are to be converted by a *Kakravartin*¹, he shows the law after assuming the shape of a *Kakravartin*; to those who are to be converted by an imp, he shows the law under the shape of an imp; to those who are to be converted by Kubera, he shows the law by appearing in the shape of Kubera; to those who are to be converted by Senâpati², he preaches in the shape of Senâpati; to those who are to be converted by assuming a Brâhman³, he preaches in the shape of a Brâhman; to those who are to be converted by Vagrapâni⁴, he preaches in the shape of Vagrapâni⁵. With such inconceivable qualities, young man of good family, is the Bodhi-

¹ This term is ambiguous; it means both 'the mover of the wheel,' i.e. Vishṇu, and 'an emperor.'

² Ambiguous; the word denotes both 'the commander-in-chief of the army of the gods, Skanda,' and 'a commander-in-chief in general.'

³ The Brâhman may be Brâhaspati.

⁴ Vagrapâni is the name of one of the Dhyânibuddhas, and of certain geniuses, and an epithet of Indra.

⁵ The functions of Avalokitesvara, as it appears from these passages, agree with those of Gadgadasvara mentioned in the foregoing chapter. Both beings have many qualities in common, just as Siva and Vishṇu have.

sattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara endowed¹. Therefore then, young man of good family, honour the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara. The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, affords safety to those who are in anxiety. On that account one calls him in this Saha-world Abhayandada (i. e. Giver of Safety).

Further, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Lord : Shall we give a gift of piety, a decoration of piety, O Lord, to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara ? The Lord replied : Do so, if thou thinkest it opportune. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati took from his neck a pearl necklace, worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces), and presented it to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara as a decoration of piety, with the words : Receive from me this decoration of piety, good man. But he would not accept it. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara : Out of compassion to us, young man of good family, accept this pearl necklace. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara accepted the pearl necklace from the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati, out of compassion to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati and the four classes, and out of compassion to the gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human. Thereafter he divided (the necklace) into two parts, and offered one part to the Lord Śākyamuni, and the other to the jewel Stūpa of the Lord Prabhūtaratna, the Tathāgata, &c., who had become completely extinct.

¹ Burnouf has followed another reading.

With such a faculty of transformation, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara is moving in this Saha-world.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. *Kītrādhvaga* asked *Akshayamati* the following question : For what reason, son of *Gina*, is *Avalokitesvara* (so) called ¹ ?

2. And *Akshayamati*, that ocean of profound insight, after considering how the matter stood ², spoke to *Kītrādhvaga* : Listen to the conduct of *Avalokitesvara*.

3. Hear from my indication how for numerous, inconceivable *Æons* he has accomplished his vote under many thousand *koṭis* of *Buddhas*.

4. Hearing, seeing, regularly and constantly thinking ³ will infallibly destroy all suffering, (mundane) existence, and grief of living beings here on earth.

5. If one be thrown into a pit of fire, by a wicked enemy with the object of killing him, he has but to think of *Avalokitesvara*, and the fire shall be quenched as if sprinkled with water.

6. If one happens to fall into the dreadful ocean, the abode of *Nāgas*, marine monsters, and demons, he has but to think of *Avalokitesvara*, and he shall never sink down in the king of waters ⁴.

¹ It will be observed that this poetical version here entirely differs from the preceding prose introduction. As to the name of *Kītrādhvaga*, I have not met with it elsewhere.

² *Tādṛśatā vilokiyā*.

³ Of whom or what? is not expressed. From the sequel one might be tempted to infer that *Avalokitesvara*, or the exposition of his power, is the object of hearing, &c.

⁴ *Smarato* (for *smaratu*), *Avalokitesvaram galarāge na kadāki sīdati*.

7. If a man happens to be hurled down from the brink of the Meru, by some wicked person with the object of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and he shall, sunlike, stand firm in the sky¹.

8. If rocks of thunderstone and thunderbolts are thrown at a man's head to kill him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of the body.

9. If a man be surrounded by a host of enemies armed with swords, who have the intention of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall instantaneously become kind-hearted.

10. If a man, delivered to the power of the executioners, is already standing at the place of execution, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and their swords shall go to pieces.

11. If a person happens to be fettered in shackles of wood or iron, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the bonds shall be speedily loosened.

12. Mighty spells, witchcraft, herbs, ghosts, and spectres, pernicious to life, revert thither whence they come, when one thinks of Avalokitesvara.

13. If a man is surrounded by goblins, Nāgas, demons, ghosts, or giants, who are in the habit of taking away bodily vigour, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of his body².

¹ Smarato Avalokitesvaro (r. °ram) sūryabhūtam (r. °to) va nabhe pratish/hati. I have taken the liberty of translating pratish/hati as if the text had pratitish/hati. The version of Beal has 'stand in space, fixed as the sun.'

² Here I have followed the marginal reading, which agrees with Burnouf's. The older text has instead of thirteen and fourteen but one stanza, the translation of which runs thus: 'If, &c., sur-

14. If a man is surrounded by fearful beasts with sharp teeth and claws, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly fly in all directions.

15. If a man is surrounded by snakes malicious and frightful on account of the flames and fires (they emit), he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly lose their poison.

16. If a heavy thunderbolt shoots from a cloud pregnant with lightning and thunder, one has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the fire of heaven shall quickly, instantaneously be quenched.

17. He (Avalokitesvara) with his powerful knowledge beholds all creatures who are beset with many hundreds of troubles and afflicted by many sorrows, and thereby is a saviour in the world, including the gods.

18. As he is thoroughly practised in the power of magic, and possessed of vast knowledge and skillfulness, he shows himself¹ in all directions and in all regions of the world.

19. Birth, decrepitude, and disease will come to an end for those who are in the wretched states of existence, in hell, in brute creation, in the kingdom of Yama, for all beings (in general²).

[Then Akshayamati in the joy of his heart uttered the following stanzas³:]

20. O thou whose eyes are clear, whose eyes are

rounded by Nâgas, marine monsters, demons, ghosts, or giants he has, &c., and they shall quickly fly in all directions.'

¹ *Drisyate*.

² We have to understand: in consequence of the conduct of the great Avalokitesvara.

³ The words in brackets have been added in the margin by a later hand.

kind, distinguished by wisdom and knowledge, whose eyes are full of pity and benevolence ; thou so lovely by thy beautiful face and beautiful eyes !

21. Pure one, whose shine is spotless bright, whose knowledge is free from darkness, thou shining as the sun, not to be beaten away, radiant as the blaze of fire, thou spreadest in thy flying course thy lustre in the world¹.

22. O thou who rejoicest in kindness having its source in compassion, thou great cloud of good qualities and of benevolent mind², thou quenchest the fire that vexes living beings, thou pourest out nectar, the rain of the law.

23. In quarrel³, dispute, war, battle, in any great danger one has to think of Avalokitesvara, who shall quell the wicked troop of foes.

24. One should think of Avalokitesvara, whose sound is as the cloud's and the drum's, who thunders like a rain-cloud, possesses a good voice like Brahma, (a voice) going through the whole gamut of tones.

25. Think, O think with tranquil mood of Avalokitesvara, that pure being ; he is a protector, a refuge, a recourse in death, disaster, and calamity.

26. He who possesses the perfection of all virtues, and beholds all beings with compassion and benevolence, he, an ocean of virtues, Virtue itself, he, Avalokitesvara, is worthy of adoration.

¹ Aparāhata anilagalaprabhā (voc. case) prapatento gagatī viroḥasi. For anilagala I read analagala (Sansk. analagvala). Cf. Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, p. 43: Athāryāvalokitesvaro gvalad ivāgnipindam ākāse 'ntarhitaḥ.

² Kṛīpasambhūtamaitragargitā (voc.) subhaguṇa maitramanā mahāghaṇā (voc.)

³ Kalahe.

27. He, so compassionate for the world, shall once become a Buddha, destroying all dangers and sorrows¹; I humbly bow to Avalokitesvara.

28. This universal Lord, chief of kings, who is a (rich) mine of monastic virtues, he, universally worshipped, has reached pure, supreme enlightenment, after plying his course (of duty) during many hundreds of Æons.

29. At one time standing to the right, at another to the left of the Chief Amitâbha, whom he is fanning, he, by dint of meditation, like a phantom, in all regions honours the *Gina*.

30. In the west, where the pure world Sukhâkara² is situated, there the Chief Amitâbha, the tamer of men³, has his fixed abode.

31. There no women are to be found; there sexual intercourse is absolutely unknown; there the sons of *Gina*, on springing into existence by apparitional birth, are sitting in the undefiled cups of lotuses.

32. And the Chief Amitâbha himself is seated on a throne in the pure and nice cup of a lotus, and shines as the *Sâla*-king⁴.

¹ The present will make room for the future, life will end in death; the living Avalokitesvara will pass into the state of Buddha, al. Dharmarâga, i.e. Death, the great physician.

² I.e. procuring bliss or tranquillity; the more common name is Sukhâvatî. In Greek and Roman mythology we find the *Insulae Fortunatae* and the gardens of the *Hesperidae* lying in the same quarter.

³ From this it appears that Amitâbha or Amitâyus is but another name of Yama, and just as Yama also governs the planet Saturn, it may be held that Amitâbha, as one of the five Dhyâni-Buddhas, among his other offices, is invested with the dignity of being the ruler of Saturn.

⁴ I do not understand the meaning of this compound. In the

33. The Leader of the world, whose store of merit has been praised, has no equal in the triple world. O supreme of men, let us soon become like thee !

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Dharaṇidhara rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee against the earth, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord and said : They must be possessed of not a few good roots, O Lord, who are to hear this chapter from the Dharmaparyāya about the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara and this miraculous power of transformation of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara.

And while this chapter of the All-sided One was being expounded by the Lord, eighty-four thousand living beings from that assembly felt their minds drawn to that supreme and perfect enlightenment, with which nothing else can be compared¹.

next following chapter we shall meet with a Tathāgata named Sālendrarāga, i.e. king of the Sāla-chiefs.

¹ Asamasama ; Burnouf takes it as 'qui est égal à ce qui n'a pas d'égal.' The term also occurs Lalita-vistara, p. 114, l. 9.

CHAPTER XXV.

ANCIENT DEVOTION ¹.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire assemblage of Bodhisattvas: Of yore, young men of good family, at a past epoch, incalculable, more than incalculable Æons ago, at that time there appeared in the world a Tathâgata named *Galadharagargita-ghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., in the Æon *Priyadarsana*, in the world *Vairokanarasmipratimandita*. Now, there was, young men of good family, under the spiritual rule of the Tathâgata *Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā* a king called *Subhavyûha*. That king *Subhavyûha*, young men of good family, had a wife called *Vimaladattâ*, and two sons, one called *Vimalagarbha*, the other *Vimalanetra*. These two boys, who possessed magical power and wisdom², applied themselves to the course of duty of Bodhisattvas, viz. to the perfect virtues (*Pâramitâs*) of almsgiving, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, wisdom, and skilfulness; they were accomplished in benevolence, compassion, joyful sympathy and indifference, and in all the thirty-

¹ *Pûrvayoga*; rather, ancient history; cf. p. 153.

² In the margin sundry epithets have been added, which here are omitted.

seven constituents of true knowledge¹. They had perfectly mastered the meditation Vimala (i.e. spotless), the meditation Nakshatrarâgâditya², the meditation Vimalanirbhâsa, the meditation Vimalâbhâsa, the meditation Alaṅkārasûra³, the meditation Mahâtegarbha⁴. Now at that time, that period the said Lord preached the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law out of compassion for the beings then living and for the king Subhavyûha. Then, young men of good family, the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra went to their mother, to whom they said, after stretching their joined hands : We should like to go, mother, to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., and that, mother, because the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., expounds, in great extension, before the world, including the gods, the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. We should like to hear it. Whereupon the queen Vimaladattâ said to the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra : Your father, young gentlemen, the king Subhavyûha, favours the Brah-

¹ Bodhipakshika or Bodhapakshika (dharmâs). They form part of the 108 Dharmâloka-mukhas in *Lalita-vistara*, p. 36, l. 17—p. 38, l. 6; an enumeration of them is found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 497.

² Burnouf's reading is Nakshatratârâgâditya, i.e. the Sun, king of stars and asterisms.

³ So Burnouf; my MS. has Alaṅkārasubha, i.e. splendid with ornaments.

⁴ I.e. having great lustre in the interior, or womb of great lustre. Nirmalanirbhâsa may mean both 'spotless radiance' and 'having a spotless radiance'; Vimalâbhâsa, 'spotless shine,' or 'having a spotless shine.'

mans. Therefore you will not obtain the permission to go and see the Tathâgata. Then the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra, stretching their joined hands, said to their mother: Though born in a family that adheres to a false doctrine, we feel as sons to the king of the law. Then, young men of good family, the queen Vimaladattâ said to the young princes: Well, young gentlemen, out of compassion for your father, the king Subhavyûha, display some miracle, that he may become favourably inclined to you, and on that account grant you the permission of going to the Lord Galadharagargita-ghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñâ, the Tathâgata, &c.

Immediately the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra rose into the atmosphere to a height of seven Tâl trees¹ and performed miracles such as are allowed by the Buddha, out of compassion for their father, the king Subhavyûha. They prepared in the sky a couch and raised dust; there they also emitted from the lower part of their body a shower of rain, and from the upper part a mass of fire; then again they emitted from the upper part of their body a shower of rain, and from the lower part a mass of fire². While in the firmament they became now big, then small; and now small, then big. Then they vanished from the sky to come up again from the earth and reappear in the air. Such, young men of good family, were the miracles produced by the

¹ Or seven spans, whatever may be meant by it.

² A similar miracle was performed by the Buddha, according to the traditions of the Southern Buddhists, when he had to show his superiority to the six heretical doctors; see Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, vol. i, p. 218.

magical power of the two young princes, whereby their father, the king Subhavyûha, was converted. At the sight of the miracle produced by the magical power of the two young princes, the king Subhavyûha was content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and happy, and, the joined hands raised, he said to the boys : Who is your master, young gentlemen? whose pupils are you? And the two young princes answered the king Subhavyûha : There is, noble king, there exists and lives a Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, a Tathâgata, &c.; seated on the stool of law at the foot of the tree of enlightenment; he extensively reveals the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law to the world, including the gods. That Lord is our Master, O noble king; we are his pupils. Then, young gentlemen of good family, the king Subhavyûha said to the young princes: I will see your Master, young gentlemen; I am to go myself to the presence of that Lord.

After the two young princes had descended from the sky, young gentlemen, they went to their mother and with joined hands stretched forward said to her: Mother, we have converted our father to supreme and perfect knowledge; we have performed the office of masters towards him; therefore let us go now; we wish to enter upon the ecclesiastical life in the face of the Lord. And on that occasion, young men of good family, the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra addressed their mother in the following two stanzas:

1. Allow us, O mother, to go forth from home and to embrace the houseless life; ay, we will

become ascetics, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathâgata.

2. As the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, nay, more rare is the *Gina*. Let us depart; we will renounce the world; the favourable moment is precious (or not often to be met with).

Vimaladattâ said :

3. Now I grant you leave; go, my children, I give my consent. I myself will likewise renounce the world, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathâgata.

Having uttered these stanzas, young men of good family, the two young princes said to their parents : Pray, father and mother, you also go together with us to the Lord *Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, the Tathâgata, &c., in order to see, humbly salute and wait upon him, and to hear the law. For, father and mother, the appearance of a Buddha is rare to be met with as the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, as the entering of the tortoise's neck into the hole of the yoke formed by the great ocean¹. The appearance of Lords Buddhas, father and mother, is rare. Hence, father and mother, it is a happy lot we have been blessed with, to have been born at the time of such a prophet. Therefore, father and mother, give us leave; we would go and become ascetics in presence² of the Lord *Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, the Tathâgata, &c., for the

¹ I am as unable to elucidate this comparison as Burnouf was. Not unlikely the mythological tortoise in its quality of supporter of the earth is alluded to.

² *Sakâse*; Burnouf has 'sous l'enseignement' (*sâsane*), which is the more usual phrase.

seeing of a Tathâgata is something rare. Such a king of the law is rarely met with ; such a favourable occasion¹ is rarely met with.

Now at that juncture, young men of good family, the eighty-four thousand women of the harem of the king Subhavyûha became worthy of being receptacles of this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. The young prince Vimalanetra exercised himself in this Dharmaparyâya, whereas the young prince Vimalagarbha for many hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of Æons practised the meditation Sarvasattva-pâpagahana², with the object that all beings should abandon all evils. And the mother of the two young princes, the queen Vimaladattâ, acknowledged the harmony between all Buddhas and all topics treated by them³. Then, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha, having been converted to the law of the Tathâgata by the instrumentality of the two young princes, having been initiated and brought to full maturity in it, along with all his relations and retinue ; the queen Vimaladattâ with the whole crowd of women in her suite, and the two young princes, the sons of the king Subhavyûha, accompanied by forty-two thousand living beings, along with the women of the harem and the ministers, went all together and unanimously to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgatha, &c. On arriving at the place where the Lord was, they humbly saluted his

¹ *Îdrisî kshanasampad*.

² I.e. means whereby (all) evils are abandoned by all creatures.

³ *Sarvabuddhasthânâni* ; in the margin added the word for 'secret.'

feet, circumambulated him three times from left to right and took their stand at some distance.

Then, young men of good family, the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgata, &c., perceiving the king Subhavyûha, who had arrived with his retinue, instructed, roused, excited, and comforted him with a sermon. And the king Subhavyûha, young men of good family, after he had been well and duly instructed, roused, excited, and comforted by the sermon of the Lord, was so content, glad, ravished, joyful, rejoiced, and delighted, that he put his diadem on the head of his younger brother and established him in the government, whereafter he himself with his sons, kinsmen, and retinue, as well as the queen Vimaladattâ and her numerous train of women, the two young princes accompanied by forty-two¹ thousand living beings went all together and unanimously forth from home to embrace the houseless life, prompted as they were by their faith in the preaching of the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgata, &c. Having become an ascetic, the king Subhavyûha, with his retinue, remained for eighty-four thousand years applying himself to studying, meditating, and thoroughly penetrating this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. At the end of those eighty-four thousand years, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha acquired the meditation termed Sarvagunâlaṅkāravavyûha². No sooner had he ac-

¹ Burnouf has eighty-four, but this must be a faulty reading, because the number of forty-two agrees with that given above.

² I. e. collocation (or disposition) of the ornaments of all good qualities.

quired that meditation, than he rose seven Tâls up to the sky, and while staying in the air, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha said to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c.: My two sons, O Lord, are my masters, since it is owing to the miracle produced by their magical power that I have been diverted from that great heap of false doctrines, been established in the command of the Lord, brought to full ripeness in it, introduced to it, and exhorted to see the Lord. They have acted as true friends to me, O Lord, those two young princes who as sons were born in my house, certainly to remind me of my former roots of goodness.

At these words the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., spoke to the king Subhavyûha: It is as thou sayest, noble king. Indeed, noble king, such young men or young ladies of good family as possess roots of goodness, will in any existence, state, descent, rebirth or place¹ easily find true friends, who with them shall perform the task of a master², who shall admonish, introduce, fully prepare them to obtain supreme and perfect enlightenment. It is an exalted position, noble king, the office of a true friend who rouses (another) to see the Tathâgata. Dost thou see these two young princes, noble king? I do, Lord; I do, Sugata, said the king. The Lord

¹ Bhavagatikyutyupapattyâyatanesu. Burnouf must have read bhagavakkyu° or something like it, for he translates: 'qui sont nés dans les lieux où se sont accomplis la naissance et la mort d'un Bienheureux.'

² I. e. of a teacher, sâstrikrityena.

proceeded : Now, these two young gentlemen, noble king, will pay worship to sixty-five (times the number of) Tathâgatas, &c., equal to the sands of the Ganges ; they will keep this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, out of compassion for beings who hold false doctrines, and with the aim to produce in those beings an earnest striving after the right doctrine.

Thereupon, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha came down from the sky, and, having raised his joined hands, said to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c. : Please, Lord, deign to tell me, what knowledge the Tathâgata is possessed of, so that the protuberance on his head is shining ; that the Lord's eyes are so clear ; that between his brows the Ūrnâ (circle of hair) is shining, resembling in whiteness the moon ; that in his mouth a row of equal and close-standing teeth is glittering ; that the Lord has lips red as the Bimba and such beautiful eyes.

As the king Subhavyûha, young men of good family, had celebrated the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., by enumerating so many good qualities and hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of other good qualities besides, he said to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c. : It is wonderful, O Lord, how valuable the Tathâgata's teaching is, and with how many inconceivable virtues the religious discipline proclaimed by the Tathâgata is attended ; how beneficial the moral precepts proclaimed by the Tathâgata are. From henceforward, O Lord, we will no

more be slaves to our own mind; no more be slaves to false doctrine; no more slaves to rashness; no more slaves to the sinful thoughts arising in us. Being possessed of so many good qualities, O Lord, I do not wish to go away from the presence of the Lord¹.

After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., the king rose up to the sky and there stood. Thereupon the king Subhavyûha and the queen Vimaladattâ from the sky, threw a pearl necklace worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces) upon the Lord; and that pearl necklace no sooner came down upon the head of the Lord than it assumed the shape of a tower with four columns, regular, well-constructed, and beautiful. On the summit of the tower appeared a couch covered with many hundred thousand pieces of fine cloth, and on the couch was seen the image of a Tathâgata sitting cross-legged. Then the following thought presented itself to the king Subhavyûha: The Buddha-knowledge must be very powerful, and the Tathâgata endowed with inconceivable good qualities that this Tathâgata-image shows itself on the summit of the tower, (an image) so nice, beautiful, possessed of an extreme abundance of good colours. Then the Lord Galadhara-gargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., addressed the four classes

¹ Here I have followed Burnouf's reading; the Cambridge MS. has: *ebhir aham Bhagavann iyadbhir akusalair dharmair samanvâgato nekkhâmi Bhagavato 'ntikam* (sic) *upasamkramitum*, i.e. being possessed of so many unholy qualities, O Lord, I do (or did) not wish to approach the Lord.

(and asked): Do you see, monks, the king Subhavyûha who, standing in the sky, is emitting a lion's roar? They answered: We do, Lord. The Lord proceeded: This king Subhavyûha, monks, after having become a monk under my rule shall become a Tathâgata in the world, by the name of Sâlendrarâga¹, endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., in the world Vistîrnavatt; his epoch shall be called Abhyudgatarâga. That Tathâgata Sâlendrarâga, monks, the Arhat, &c., shall have an immense congregation of Bodhisattvas, an immense congregation of disciples. The said world Vistîrnavatt shall be level as the palm of the hand, and consist of lapis lazuli. So he shall be an inconceivably great Tathâgata, &c. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the king Subhavyûha at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so; for it is the very same Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasri here present, who at that time, that juncture was the king Subhavyûha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the queen Vimaladattâ at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so; for it is the very same Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Vairokanarasmipratimandîtarâga², who at that time, that juncture was the queen Vimaladattâ, and who out of compassion for the king Subhavyûha and the creatures had assumed

¹ Also written Sâlendrarâga. In the Calcutta edition of the *Lalita-vistara*, p. 201, l. 12, he occurs as Sârendrarâga, but Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 33, in a list drawn from the same work, has Sâlendrarâga.

² Burnouf's reading has dhvaga for râga.

the state of being the wife of king Subhavyūha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the two young princes were others. But you must not think so; for it was Bhaishagyaṛāga and Bhaishagyaṛāgasamudgata, who at that time, that juncture were sons to the king Subhavyūha. With such inconceivable qualities, young men of good family, were the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas Bhaishagyaṛāga and Bhaishagyaṛāgasamudgata endowed, they, the two good men, having planted good roots under many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas. Those that shall cherish the name of these two good men shall all become worthy of receiving homage from the world, including the gods.

While this chapter on Ancient Devotion was being expounded, the spiritual insight of eighty-four thousand living beings in respect to the law was purified so as to become unclouded and spotless.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ENCOURAGEMENT¹ OF SAMANTABHADRA.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra, in the east, surrounded and followed by Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas surpassing all calculation, amid the stirring of fields, a rain of lotuses, the playing of hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of musical instruments, proceeded with the great pomp of a Bodhisattva, the great display of transformations proper to a Bodhisattva, the great magnificence of a Bodhisattva, the great power of a Bodhisattva, the great lustre of a glorious Bodhisattva, the great stately march of a Bodhisattva, the great miraculous display of a Bodhisattva, a great phantasmagorical sight of gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, who, produced by his magic, surrounded and followed him ; Samantabhadra, then, the Bodhisattva, amid such inconceivable miracles worked by magic, arrived at this Saha-world. He went up to the place of the Lord on the *Grīdhra-kūṭa*, the king of mountains, and on approaching he humbly saluted the Lord's feet, made seven circumambulations from left to right, and said to the Lord : I have come hither, O Lord, from the field of the Lord Ratna-

¹ Utsāhana.

tegobhyudgata, the Tathâgata, &c., as I am aware, Lord, that here in the Saha-world is taught the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, to hear which from the mouth of the Lord Sâkyamuni I have come accompanied by these hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. May the Lord deign to expound, in extension, this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law to these Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. So addressed, the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra : These Bodhisattvas, young man of good family, are, indeed, quick of understanding, but this is the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, that is to say, an un-mixed truth¹. The Bodhisattvas exclaimed : Indeed Lord ; indeed, Sugata. Then in order to confirm, in the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, the females² among the monks, nuns, and lay devotees assembled at the gathering, the Lord again spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra : This Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, young man of good family, shall be entrusted to a female if she be possessed of four requisites, to wit : she shall stand under the superintendence of the Lords Buddhas ; she shall have planted good roots³ ; she shall keep steadily to the mass of disci-

¹ *Yad utâsambhinnatathatâ.*

² *Tâsâm.* I am not able to discover the connection between this confirming of the females in the gathering, and the foregoing remark on the character of the Saddharma. The explanation is probably to be sought in the term *asambhinna*, unallayed, un-mixed. The meaning of the passage may be that the *Saddharma-pundarîka*, as a general rule, is fit for males only, but under certain conditions may be entrusted to females also.

³ We would say : she must have a good antecedent behaviour.

plinary regulations ; she shall, in order to save creatures, have the thoughts fixed on supreme and perfect enlightenment. These are the four requisites, young man of good family, a female must be possessed of, to whom this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law is to be entrusted.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra said to the Lord : At the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, I will protect the monks who keep this Sûtrânta ; I will take care of their safety, avert blows¹, and destroy poison, so that no one laying snares for those preachers may surprise them, neither Mâra the Evil One, nor the sons of Mâra, the angels called Mârakâyikas, the daughters of Mâra, the followers of Mâra, and all other servitors to Mâra ; that no gods, goblins, ghosts, imps, wizards, spectres laying snares for those preachers may surprise them. Incessantly and constantly, O Lord, will I protect such a preacher. And when a preacher who applies himself to this Dharmaparyâya shall take a walk, then, O Lord, will I mount a white elephant with six tusks, and with a train of Bodhisattvas betake myself to the place where that preacher is walking, in order to protect this Dharmaparyâya. And when that preacher, applying himself to this Dharmaparyâya, forgets, be it but a single word or syllable, then will I mount the white elephant with six tusks, show my face to that preacher, and repeat this entire Dharmaparyâya². And when the preacher has

¹ Or punishment.

² Samantabhadra renders the same service to pious and studious preachers as the Buddha himself; see chapter X, especially stanzas 29-31. As to the elephant on which he is mounted, one knows

seen my proper body and heard from me this entire Dharmaparyâya, he, content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and delighted, will the more do his utmost to study this Dharmaparyâya, and immediately after beholding me he will acquire meditation and obtain spells, termed the talisman¹ of preservation, the talisman of hundred thousand koṭis, and the talisman of skill in all sounds.

Again, Lord, the monks, nuns, male or female lay devotees, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, shall study this Dharmaparyâya, when walking for three weeks, (or) twenty-one days, to them will I show my body, at the sight of which all beings rejoice. Mounted on that same white elephant with six tusks, and surrounded by a troop of Bodhisattvas, I shall on the twenty-first day betake myself to the place where the preachers are walking; there I shall rouse, excite, and stimulate them, and give them spells whereby those preachers shall become inviolable, so that no being, either human or not human, shall be able to surprise them, and no women able to beguile them. I will protect them, take care of their safety, avert blows², and destroy poison. I will, besides, O Lord, give those preachers words of talismanic spells, such as, *Adande dandapati, dandâvartani dandakusale dandasudhâri dhâri sudhârapati, bud-dhapasyani dhârani, âvartani samvartani saṅgha-parīkshite saṅghanirghâtani dharmaparīkshite sarva-*

that the Bodhisattva entered the womb of his mother Mâyâ Devī in the shape of an elephant with six tusks; see *Lalita-vistara*, p. 63. According to the description of the elephant, it must, originally, be a name of lightning.

¹ Âvarta.

² Or punishment.

sattvarutakausalyânugate *simhavikrīḍite*¹. The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, whose organ of hearing is struck by these talismanic words, Lord, shall be aware that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra is their ruling power².

Further, Lord, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas to whom this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law shall be entrusted, as long as it continues having course in Gambudvīpa, those preachers, Lord, should take this view: It is owing to the power and grandeur of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra that this Dharmaparyāya has been entrusted to us. Those creatures who shall write and keep this Sūtra, O Lord, are to partake of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra; they will belong to those who have planted good roots under many Buddhas, O Lord, and whose heads are caressed by the hands of the Tathāgata. Those who shall write and keep this Sūtra, O Lord, will afford me pleasure. Those who shall write this Sūtra, O Lord, and comprehend it, shall, when they disappear from this world, after having written it, be reborn in the company of the

¹ In Burnouf's translation we find added: *anuvarte vartani vartāli svāhā*. All terms are, or ought to be, vocatives of feminine words in the singular. *Patī*, as in Pāli *paṇḍapatī*, Buddhist Sansk. *pragāpatī*, interchanges with the ending *vatī*; not only in *pragāvatī* (e. g. in *Lalita-vistara*), but in some of the words occurring in the spell; so for *dandapatī* the Tibetan text has *dandāvatī*. As *Śiva* in *Mahābhārata* XII, 10361 is represented as the personified *Danda*, we may hold that all the names above belong to *Śiva's* female counterpart, *Durgā*. The epithet of *Simhavikrīḍitā* is but a variation of *Simhikā*, one of the names of *Dākshāyāni* or *Durgā* in her quality of mother to *Rāhu*. Cf. the remarks on the spells in chap. XXI.

² As the presiding deity of lightning he is also the lord of flame, of *Svāhā*, identified with *Dākshāyāni-Durgā*.

gods of paradise, and at that birth shall eighty-four thousand heavenly nymphs immediately come near them. Adorned with a high crown, they shall as angels dwell amongst those nymphs. Such is the mass of merit resulting from writing this Dharmaparyâya; how much greater will be the mass of merit reaped by those who recite, study, meditate, remember it! Therefore, young men of good family¹, one ought to honour this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, and write it with the utmost attention. He who writes it with undistracted attention shall be supported by the hands of a thousand Buddhas, and at the moment of his death he shall see another thousand of Buddhas from face to face. He shall not sink down into a state of wretchedness, and after disappearing from this world he shall enter the company of the Tushita-gods, where the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya is residing, and where, marked by the thirty-two sublime characteristics, surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, and waited upon by hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of heavenly nymphs he is preaching the law. Therefore, then, young men of good family, a wise young man or young lady of good family should respectfully write this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, respectfully recite it, respectfully study it, respectfully treasure it up in his (or her) mind. By writing, reciting, studying this Dharmaparyâya, and by treasuring it up in one's mind, young men of good family, one is to acquire innumerable good qualities. Hence a wise young man or young lady of good

¹ Burnouf's reading has, O Lord. The reading of the Cambridge MS. is no mere mistake, for we find it repeated in the sequel.

family ought to keep this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. I myself, O Lord, will superintend this Dharmaparyâya, that through my superintendence it may here spread in Gambudvîpa.

Then the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra : Very well, very well, Samantabhadra. It is happy that thou art so well disposed to promote the weal and happiness of the people at large, out of compassion for the people, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of men ; that thou art endowed with such inconceivable qualities, with a mind so full of compassion, with intentions so inconceivably kind, so that of thine own accord thou wilt take those preachers under thy protection. The young men of good family who shall cherish the name of the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra may be convinced that they have seen Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c. ; that they have heard this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law from the Lord Sâkyamuni ; that they have paid homage to the Tathâgata Sâkyamuni ; that they have applauded the preaching of the Tathâgata Sâkyamuni. They will have joyfully accepted this Dharmaparyâya ; the Tathâgata Sâkyamuni will have laid his hand upon their head, and they will have decked the Lord Sâkyamuni with their robes. Those young men or young ladies of good family, Samantabhadra, must be held to have accepted the command of the Tathâgata¹. They

¹ If I rightly understand these cautious and veiled words, the meaning is that such persons, though no Buddhists, must be held in equal esteem as if they were. The persons alluded to are, not unlikely, Saiva monks or devotees, who, if leading a pious life, have

will have no pleasure in worldly philosophy¹; no persons fondly addicted to poetry will please them; no dancers, athletes, vendors of meat, mutton butchers, poulterers, pork butchers, or profligates will please them. After having heard, written, kept, or read such Sûtrântas as this, they will find no delight in those persons. They must be held to be possessed of natural righteousness²; they will be right-minded from themselves, possess a power to do good of their own accord, and make an agreeable impression on others. Such will be the monks who keep this Sûtrânta. No passionate attachment will hinder them, no hatred, no infatuation, no jealousy, no envy, no hypocrisy, no pride, no conceitedness, no mendaciousness. Those preachers, Samantabhadra, will be content with what they receive. He, Samantabhadra, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, sees a monk keeping this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, must think thus: This young man of good family will reach the terrace of enlightenment; this young man will conquer the troop of the

for protector or patron Samantabhadra, who, as we have seen above, is the lord of Svâhâ or Dâkshâyânî, consequently Sîva-Kâla.

¹ Na Lokâyate ruṭir bhaviṣhyati. The Lokâyâtikas are the Indian Epicureans.

² Svabhâvadharmasamanvâgatâḥ, which may also be rendered by, possessed of the religion of Svabhâva (Nature). This I think to be the recondite and real meaning of the term, whether it alludes to the Svâbhâvika sect of Buddhism or to materialistic schools among the Saivas. Though the philosophical tenets of all Svâbhâvikas are identical with those of the Lokâyâtikas, their opinions on morals are exactly the reverse. Hence it may have been deemed necessary to inculcate on devotees of more or less strong ascetic habits the precept that they should have no intercourse with the immoral vulgar materialists.

wicked Mâra¹, move forward the wheel of the law, strike the drum of the law, blow the conch trumpet of the law, spread the rain of the law, and ascend the royal throne of the law. The monks who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, keep this Dharmaparyâya, will not be covetous, nor greedy of robes or vehicles². Those preachers will be honest, and possessed of three emancipations; they will refrain from worldly business. Such persons as lead into error monks who know this Sûtrânta, shall be born blind; and such as openly defame them, shall have a spotted body in this very world. Those who scoff and hoot at the monks who copy this Sûtrânta, shall have the teeth broken and separated far from each other; disgusting lips, a flat nose, contorted hands and feet, squinting eyes; a putrid body, a body covered with stinking boils, eruptions, scabs, and itch. If one speaks an unkind word, true or not true, to such writers, readers, and keepers of this Sûtrânta, it must be considered a very heinous sin. Therefore then, Samantabhadra, people should, even from afar, rise from their seats before the monks who keep this Dharmaparyâya and show them the same reverence as to the Tathâgata.

While this chapter of the Encouragement of Samantabhadra was being expounded, hundred thousands of koṭis of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, acquired the talismanic spell Âvarta.

¹ Mârakaliḥakram.

² Yâna; Burnouf has read pâna, drink. It is, indeed, generally impossible to distinguish between pa and ya in the Nepalese MSS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PERIOD¹.

Thereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., rose from his pulpit, collected the Bodhisattvas, took their right hands with his own right hand, which had become strong by the exercise of magic, and spoke on that occasion as follows: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of incalculable Æons. Ye, young men of good family, do your best that it may grow and spread.

A second time, a third time the Lord spoke to the host of Bodhisattvas after taking them by the right hands: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of incalculable Æons. Receive it, young men of good family, keep, read, fathom, teach, promulgate, and preach it to all beings. I am not avaricious, young men of good family, nor narrow-minded; I am confident and willing to impart Buddha-knowledge, to impart the knowledge of the Tathâgata, the knowledge of the Self-born. I am a bountiful giver, young

¹ Dharmaparyâya, properly, the period of the law.

men of good family, and ye, young men of good family, follow my example; imitate me in liberally showing this knowledge of the Tathâgata, and in skilfulness, and preach this Dharmaparyâya to the young men and young ladies of good family who successively shall gather round you. And as to unbelieving persons, rouse them to accept this law. By so doing, young men of good family, you will acquit your debt to the Tathâgatas.

So addressed by the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., the Bodhisattvas filled with delight and joy, and with a feeling of great respect they lowered, bent, and bowed their body towards the Lord, and, the head inclined and the joined hands stretched out, they spoke in one voice to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., the following words: We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathâgata commands; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathâgatas. Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. A second time, a third time the entire host of Bodhisattvas spoke in one voice the same words: Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathâgata commands us; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathâgatas.

Thereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., dismissed all those Tathâgatas, &c., who had come to the gathering from other worlds, and wished them a happy existence, with the words: May the Tathâgatas, &c., live happy. Then he restored the Stûpa of precious substances of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., to its place, and wished him also a happy existence.

Thus spoke the Lord. The incalculable, innumerable Tathâgatas, &c., who had come from other

worlds and were sitting on their thrones at the foot of jewel trees, as well as Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., and the whole host of Bodhisattvas headed by Visishṭakâritra, the innumerable, incalculable Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas who had issued from the gaps of the earth, the great disciples, the four classes, the world, including gods, men, demons, and Gandharvas, in ecstasy applauded the words of the Lord.

INDEX.

- Abân Yasht, page 253.
 Abbhutadhamma, 45.
 Âbhâsvaras (pl.), 340, 346.
 Abhayandada, 412.
 Abhigñâ, 1, 89, 131, 242.
 Abhigñâgñânâbhibhû. See Mahâ-
 bhigñâgñânâbhibhû.
 Abhirati, 177.
 Abhisamskâra, 317.
 Abhyudgatarâga, 429.
 Adbhutadharma, 45.
 Aditi, 124, 371.
 Âditta-pariyâya, 79.
 Agâtasatru, 6.
 Agita, 18 seq., 290 seqq., 311, 316
 seq., 320 seqq.
 Âgîvaka, 263.
 Âgñâta-Kaundînya, 2, 34, 56, 198,
 202.
 Agrasrâvaka, 2.
 Âkalâ, 374.
 Akanishṭhas (pl.), 340.
 Âkârapratishṭhita, 178.
 Akshayamati, 4, 406, 412 seq.
 Akshobhya, 177.
 Alaṅkârasubha, 420.
 Alaṅkârasûra, 420.
 Amitâbha, 178, 389, 417.
 Amitâyus, 178, 389, 417.
 Amoghadasin, 4.
 Anâbhibhû, 183.
 Anâgâmin, 315, 330, 387.
 Ânanda, 3, 205 seqq.
 Ânanda-Bhadra, 207.
 Anantaâritra, 284.
 Anantamati, 19.
 Anantavikrâmin, 4.
 Anavanâmitavaigayanta, 206.
 Anavanatâ Vaigayantî, 206.
 Anavatapta, 5.
 Anikshiptadhura, 4.
 Anilambha, 394.
 Ânisamsa, 336.
 Ânrisamsa, 336.
 Anupadhiresha, 139.
 Anupâdisesa, 139.
 Anupamamati, 4.
 Anutpattikadharmakshânti, 134, 254.
 Anuvyaṅgana, 246.
 Anyâ, 371.
 Âpastamba, 48.
 Apkrîtsna, 394.
 Âpokasîna, 394.
 Appamaññâ, 140.
 Aprâñhita, 99.
 Apratyanîka, 94.
 Apratyanîya, 94.
 Âraññakaṅga, 293.
 Âranyadhuta, 293.
 Ardvî Sûra, 253.
 Arhat (of the Buddhists), 1, 8, 35,
 and further passim.
 Arhat (of the Gainas), 265.
 Arûpabrahmaloka, 241.
 Ârya, 13, 79, 81, 275, 338.
 Âryasatyâni. See Truths.
 Asaiksha, 71.
 Asamasama, 418.
 Asañkhyeya, 284, 329, 331.
 Âsaya, 317.
 Asekha. See Asaiksha.
 Asoka, 383.
 Asvagit, 2.
 Asvins, 67 seq.
 Atikrântabhâvaniya, 387.
 Aupapâduka, 160.
 Avabhâsa, 142.
 Avalokitesvara, 4, 406 seqq.
 Âvarta, 439.
 Âvenika-dharma, 31.
 Avidyâ, 133.
 Avîki, 7, 10, 92, 337, 340, 350, 360.
 Bala, 79.
 Beal (S.), 228, 406, 414.
 Benares, 56, 70.
 Bhadra (a world), 258.
 Bhadrakalpa, 193.
 Bhadrapâla, 4, 360.
 Bhadravargîya, 2.
 Bhadrîka, 2.
 Bhâgavata-Purâna, 118.

- Bhaishagya-râga, 4, 213 seqq., 255, 371 seqq., 385, 392, 394, 404, 430.
 Bhaishagya-râgasamudgata, 394, 430.
 Bharadvâga, 19.
 Bhâradvâga, 2.
 Bharhut (Stûpa of), 345.
 Bhâvanâ, 140.
 Bhavânî, 371.
 Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, 354 seqq.
 Bhîshmasvara, 360.
 Bigandet (P.), 55, 421.
 Birth Stories, 2. See *Gâtaka*.
 Bodhipakshika. See *Bodhipakshika*.
 Bodhi (constituents of). See *Bodhyaṅga*.
 Bodhimanda, 155.
 Bodhipakshika, 420.
 Bodhisattva, 4, and further passim.
 Bodhi tree, 300.
 Bodhyaṅga, 31.
 Brahma (Sahâmpati), 5, 55, 69, 252, 347, 349, 387, 416.
 Brahmadhvaga, 178.
 Brahmaṭakra, 134.
 Brahmakâya (= Brahmakâyika), 345.
 Brahmakâyika, 5, 156, 342, 347, 387.
 Brahmaloaka. See *Brahma-world*.
 Brahmas (pl., divine beings), 21, 64, 115, 345.
 Brahmasamstha, 63.
 Brahma-Sûtra, 63, 322 seq.
 Brahmavâdinî, 336.
 Brahmavihâra, 140.
 Brahma-world, 160, 241, 315, 322 seq., 340, 364, 387.
 Brîhaspati, 411.
 Brîhat-Samhitâ, 76, 179.
 Buddha, 16, and further passim.
 Buddhadharmas, 31.
 Buddha-field, 7 seqq., 145, 194, 211, &c.
 Buddhaghosha, 241.
 Buddha-vehicle, 11, 42 seq., 89, 129, 137.
 Bühler (G.), 48.
 Burnouf (Eug.), 2, and further passim.
 Childers (R. C.), 31, 71, 132, 241, 325.
 Cunningham (A.), 345.
 Dâkshâyânî, 435.
 Danda, 435.
 Dandapati, 435.
 Dandâvatî, 435.
 Dasabala, 31.
 Dasavîla, 269.
 Devadatta, 246 seq.
 Devanikâya, 342.
 Devarâga, 247.
 Devasopâna, 247.
 Dhammakhandha. See *Dharma-skandha*.
 Dhammapada, 58, 99.
 Dhanvantari, 404.
 Dhâranî, 311, 314.
 Dhâranîdhara, 4.
 Dhâranîndhara, 4, 418.
 Dharma, 56, 245 seq.
 Dharmabhâṣaka, 336.
 Dharmadhara, 5.
 Dharmagahanâbhyudgatarâga, 208.
 Dharmâlोकamukha, 420.
 Dharmamati, 19.
 Dharmaparyâya, 6, 17, 20 seqq., 65, 120, &c.
 Dharmaprabhâsa, 195 seqq.
 Dharmarâga, 58, 91, 115, 122, 307.
 Dharmasâṅgîti, 272.
 Dharmaskandha, 241.
 Dhârmika, 245.
 Dhâtu, 251, 399.
 Dhritarâshtra, 4.
 Dhritiparipûrṇa, 67.
 Dhūtaguna, 132.
 Dhūtaṅga, 132, 193.
 Dhvagrakeyûra, 393.
 Dhyâni-bodhisattva, 134.
 Dhyâni-buddha, 134, 411, 417.
 Dîpaṅkara, 22, 28, 300.
 Dîpavamsa, 241, 260, 281, 383.
 Drishtiguru, 407.
 Druma, 5.
 Dundubhîsvararâga, 358.
 Durgâ, 256, 371, 435.
 Ekaṭakra, 81.
 Ekapâd, 81.
 Fausböll (V.), 45, 48.
 Gadgadasvara, 393 seqq.
 Gandharva, 5, 7, 20, 23, 69, and further passim.
 Gandharvakâyika, 5.
 Garuda, 6 seq., 20, 69, 162, and further passim.
 Gâthâ, 45.
 Gaurî, 373.
 Gautamî, 3, 256 seqq.

- Gavâmpati, 2.
 Gayâ, 294, 296, 299.
 Gayâśrisha, 79.
 Geya, 45.
 Ghoshamati, 19.
 Giantesses (island of), 407.
 Goldstücker (Th.), 134.
 Gridhrakûṣa, 1, 235, 248 seq., 307 seq., 321, 396, 398, 431.
 Guhagupta, 4.

 Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigṇa, 419 seqq.
 Gambudvîpa, 214 seq., 329, 391, 435, 437.
 Gâmbûnadaprabhâsa, 148 seq.
 Gâtaka, 45, 48, 392.
 Gina, 8, 12 seqq., 23, and further passim.
 Gîvanmukta, 135.
 Gîvanmukti, 138.
 Gñânâkara, 157.
 Gñânāmudrâ, 394.
 Gñânolkâ, 394.
 Gyotishprabha, 5.

 Haradatta, 48.
 Hardy (R. Spence), 2, 31, 79, 246, 348, 394 seq., 402, 420.
 Hârîti, 374.
 Himâlâya, 130, 137, 351.
 Hiouen T'sang, 59, 260.
 Hodgson (B. H.), 30, 186, 241, 269, 321, 429.

 Indra, 55, 252, 342, 387, &c.
 Indradatta, 4.
 Indradhvaga, 178.
 Indras (pl.), 315, 347.
 Indriya, 79.
 Îsvara, 4, 55, 116, 349, 411.
 Itivṛttika, 45.
 Itivuttaka, 45.
 Ityukta, 45.

 Julien (Stanislas), 62.

 Kâla, 198.
 Kâla-mountain, 233 seq., 386.
 Kâlodâyin, 198.
 Kalpa (al. Æon), 89, 284; intermediate kalpa, 27, 67 seq., 148, &c.
 Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigṇa, 393 seq.
 Kamphilla. See Kapphina.

 Kapilavastu, 294, 296.
 Kapina, 2, 198.
 Kapphilla, 2, 198.
 Kapphina, 2, 198.
 Kâranda-vyûha, 407, 416.
 Karketana, 50.
 Karmâsaya, 317.
 Kashâyas (the five), 58.
 Kashphina. See Kapphina.
 Kasphina. See Kapphina.
 Kâsyapa. See Mahâ-Kâsyapa.
 Kâsyapa of Gayâ, 2, 198.
 Kâsyapa of Nadi, 2, 198.
 Kâsyapa of Uruvilvâ, 2, 198.
 Karasî, 48.
 Karasivaddbano, 48.
 Katba Upanishad, 122.
 Kâtyâyana. See Mahâ-Kâtyâyana.
 Kaundînya. See Âgñâta-Kaundînya.
 Kaushîbila. See Mahâ-Kaushîbila.
 Kesinî, 374.
 Ketu, 211 seq.
 Kharaskandha (al. Suraskandha), 6.
 Kinnara, 7, 20, 33, 69, and further passim.
 Kinnara king, 5.
 Klesa, 58.
 Klesakashâya, 42.
 Kosi, 3, and further passim.
 Kottbîta. See Mahâ-Kottbîta.
 Krittikâs (the Pleiads), 256 seq.
 Kubera, 411.
 Kumâra, 256.
 Kumârabhûta, 4.
 Kumâragîva, 62.
 Kumbhânda, 373.
 Kundîna (family), 199.
 Kuntî, 374 seq.
 Kûradantî, 374.
 Kûrâgâra, 321.

 Kailaka, 186.
 Kailakabhûta, 186.
 Kakravâla, 233.
 Kakravartin, 157, 174, 252, 332, 411.
 Kandâlî, Kandâlîkâ, 373.
 Kandra, 4.
 Kandrâprabha, 394.
 Kandrâprabhâsvararâga, 358.
 Kandrâpradîpa (= Kândrasûryapradîpa), 26; name of a Samâdhi, 394.
 Kandrârkadîpa, 25 seq.
 Kândrasûryapradîpa, 18 seq.
 Kandravimalasûryaprabhâsarî, 376 seqq.

- Karaka, 263.
 Kellakabhūta. See Kailaka.
 Kelukabhūta. See Kailaka.
 Kbandogya Upanishad, 320.
 Kitradhvaga, 413.
 Kittavimukti, 31.
 Kullavagga, 2, 47 seq., 198, 268.
 Kunda, 198.
 Lakshmi, 251.
 Lalita-vistara, 3, 17, 55, 58, 70, 79, 110, 140, 156, 191, 316, 348, 392, 418, 420, 429.
 Lambā, 373.
 Layana, 222.
 Lohitamukti, 147.
 Lokabandhu, 166, 210.
 Lokadhātu, 177.
 Lokāyatamantradhāraka, 263.
 Lokāyatika, 263, 438.
 Lotus of the True Law, 21 seq., 65, 174 seq., 177, 228 seqq., 357, 366, 370, 377, 386 seqq., 432 seqq.
 Madhubhūmika, 387.
 Madhura, 5.
 Madhurasvara, 5.
 Magadha, 6.
 Mahābhārata, 170, 256, 435.
 Mahābhigñānābhībhū, 153 seqq., 183.
 Mahābrahmas (pl.), 342.
 Mahādharma, 5.
 Mahākālpa, 381.
 Mahā-Kāryapa, 2, 98, 108, 113, 118 seqq., 142 seqq.
 Mahā-Kātyāyana, 2, 98, 144, 147 seq.
 Mahā-Kaushībila, 2.
 Mahākāya, 6.
 Mahā-Kottābīta, 2.
 Mahā-Kunda, 198.
 Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, 2, 98, 144, 149.
 Mahā-Māyā, 5, 124. Cf. Māyā Devī.
 Mahā-Mukilinda, 233.
 Mahānāman, 2.
 Mahānanda, 2.
 Mahāpragāpatī, 3.
 Mahāpratibhāna, 4, 228 seqq., 255.
 Mahāpūrṇa, 6.
 Mahāratnapratimandita, 66.
 Maharddhiprāpta, 6.
 Mahārūpa, 153.
 Mahāsambhava, 354.
 Mahāsāṅghika, 228.
 Mahāsattva, 4, and further passim.
 Mahāsthāmaprāpta, 4, 354 seq.
 Mahātegas, 6.
 Mahāteggogarbha, 420.
 Mahāvagga, 2 seq., 55, 70, 79, 156, 198.
 Mahāvastu, 5.
 Mahāvīkrāmin, 4.
 Mahāvīyūha, 142.
 Mahesvara, 4, 55, 116, 349, 411.
 Maitrāyanīputra. See Pūrṇa.
 Maitreya, 4 seq., 28, 286 seq., 290 seqq., 311, 314, 316, 328 seqq., 436.
 Makuradanti, 374.
 Mālādharī, 374.
 Manasvin, 5.
 Mandāra, 308.
 Mandārava, 6, 9, 20, 24, 69, 228, 234, 313, 342, 345, 378.
 Maṅgughosha (= Maṅgurī), 11, 15, 280.
 Maṅgūsha, 6, 9, 20, 342, 345.
 Maṅgūshaka, 6, 9, 20, 342, 345.
 Maṅgurī, 4, 8 seqq., 23, 248 seqq., 262 seqq., 363, 394 seqq.
 Maṅgusvara (= Maṅgurī), 16.
 Manobhirāma, 150.
 Manogñā, 5.
 Manogñarabdābhigargita, 206.
 Manogñasvara, 5.
 Manu (law book), 191, 317.
 Manus (pl.), 193.
 Mānushi-Buddha, 193.
 Māra, 63 seq., 143, 155, 275, 391 seqq., 433, 439.
 Mārakāyika, 391, 433.
 Māras (pl. divine beings), 21, 64, 115.
 Marut, 55.
 Mātangi, 373.
 Mati, 22.
 Matres (the seven), 256.
 Maṭṭakandī, 374.
 Maudgalyāyana. See Mahā-Maudgalyāyana.
 Māyā (Devī), 5, 371, 434.
 Meghadundubhisvararāga, 399 seq.
 Meghasvara, 179.
 Meghasvarapradīpa, 179.
 Meghasvararāga, 179, 358.
 Meru, 5, 337, 350 seq., 414.
 Merukālpa, 178.
 Merukūṣa, 178.
 Milinda Paṭṭho, 132, 153.
 Mithra, 17 seq., 28.

- Muṭilinda, 233.
 Müller (Max), 59, 317.
 Mundaka Upanishad, 131.
 Musâragalva, 147.
 Nâga, 5, 20, 24, 69, 162, 213, 223, 253, 338 seq., 347, 349, 363, 376, 391, 412 seq., 415, 431.
 Nâga king, 5, 248, 251 seq.
 Nakiketas, 122.
 Nakshatrarâga, 4.
 Nakshatrarâgâditya, 420.
 Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, 37, 376 seqq., 394.
 Nakshatrarâgavikrîdita, 393.
 Nakshatratârâgâditya, 420.
 Nanda (a Nâga king), 5; (an Arhat), 2.
 Naradatta, 4.
 Nârâyana, 397.
 Nayuta, 3.
 Nirâmisha, 191.
 Nirgrantha, 263.
 Nirvâna, 18, 21, and further passim.
 Nityaparivrita, 178.
 Nityodyukta, 4.
 Oldenberg (H.), 2, 241.
 Opapâtika, 160.
 Padmaprabha, 65 seqq.
 Padmarî, 4, 399 seq., 405.
 Padmavîrâshabhavikrâmin, 67.
 Pandita, 209, 318.
 Pânini, 25, 53, 113, 144, 153.
 Pañkavaggiya, 2.
 Pâramitâ, 18, 140, 243, 246, 249, 252, 316, 355, 419.
 Parganya, 119.
 Parikâraka, 209.
 Parinirmita Vasavartin, 225.
 Parivrâg, Parivrâgaka, 63, 263.
 Paryâya (= Dharmaparyâya), 255, 277.
 Parisallâna, 175.
 Paisambhidâ, 192.
 Perfections (the six). See Pâramitâ.
 Phoenix, 378 seqq.
 Pilindavatsa, 2.
 Pindola (Bhâradvâga), 2.
 Pitri-worship, 115.
 Prabhâsa (= Samantaprabhâsa), 199.
 Prabhûtaratna, 229 seqq., 283, 313, 364 seqq., 392, 397 seqq., 412, 442.
 Pradânarûra, 4, 372, 394, 404.
 Pragâpatî, 435.
 Pragâvatî, 435.
 Pragñâ, 30, 307, 371.
 Pragñâgyotis, 387.
 Pragñâkûra, 248 seqq.
 Prâgñika, 30.
 Prakriti, 124.
 Pralambâ, 373.
 Prânâyâma, 402.
 Pravidhâna, 203, 208.
 Prasâdavattî, 394.
 Prathamakalpika, 387.
 Pratirûpaka, 68.
 Pratisamlayana, 175.
 Pratisamvid, 192.
 Pratityasamutpâda, 133; cf. 172.
 Pratyekabuddha, 10, 30, 33, 36, &c.
 Pratyekagina, 137.
 Priyadarâna (an Æon), 400, 419.
 Pûnyâbhisamskâra, 317.
 Pûrna (Maitrâyâṇiputra), 3, 191 seqq.
 Pûrnakândra, 4.
 Purushottama, 44, 46.
 Pûrva-yoga, 153, 376, 419.
 Pushpadantî, 374.
 Râgagrîha, 1.
 Râhu, 6, 210 seq., 395.
 Râhula, 3, 205, 209 seq., 257.
 Râhula-Bhadra (= Râhula), 209.
 Rasmiprabhâsa, 142 seq.
 Rasmivasahasraparipûrṇadhvaga, 257.
 Ratipratipûrna, 150.
 Ratna (a term applied to Bodhisattvas), 66.
 Ratnadatta, 4.
 Ratnakândra, 4.
 Ratnâkara, 4.
 Ratnaketurâga, 211.
 Ratnamati, 19.
 Ratnapâñi, 4.
 Ratnaprabha, 4.
 Ratnaprabhâsa (al. Ratnâvabhâsa), 145.
 Ratnas (the seven), 227.
 Ratnasambhava, 145.
 Ratnategobhyudgata, 432.
 Ratnâvabhâsa. See Ratnaprabhâsa.
 Ratnavisuddha, 229.
 Revata, 2.
 Rhys Davids (T. W.), 2, 45, 392.
 Rig-veda, 66, 81, 309, 404.
 Rudra, 401, 404.
 Rûpabrahmaloka, 241.

- Riddhi, 19, 273.
 Riddhivikrīḍita, 394.
 Rishipatana, 70.
 Sadāparibhūta, 356 seqq.
 Saddharma-pundarīka. See Lotus.
 Name of a Samādhi, 393.
 Sāgara, 5, 248, 251 seqq.; his daughter, 251 seqq.
 Sāgarabuddhidhārin Abhigñāprāpta, 207.
 Sāgaravaradharabuddhivikrīḍitābhigñā, 206, 209 seqq.
 Sāgata. See Svāgata.
 Sāhampati. See Brahma.
 Saha-world, 230 seqq., 256, and further passim.
 Samantabhadra, 431 seqq.
 Samantagandha, 4.
 Samantamukha, 406.
 Samantaprabha (= Samantaprabhāsa), 200.
 Samantaprabhāsa, 198 seqq.
 Sambhava, 153.
 Samskāra, 107, 133.
 Sandhābhāshita, 30, 59; cf. 62, 121, 261, 273, 320.
 Sandhābhāshya, 30, 59; cf. 62, 121, 261, 273, 320.
 Sandhāyabhāshita, 30, 59; cf. 62, 121, 261, 273, 320.
 Saṅgameśvara, 309.
 Saṅgha, 56.
 Saṅgraha (=vastūni), 140.
 Saptaratnapadmavikrāmin (al. Saptaratnapadmavikrāntagāmin), 209.
 Sarvabuddhasaṅgārjuna, 400.
 Sarvadarjuna-Saṅgraha, 402.
 Sarvagunālakāravayūha, 425.
 Sarvalokabhayaḡitakāmbhitatvavidhvamsanakara, 179.
 Sarvalokabhayaḡitāstambhitatvavidhvamsanakara, 179.
 Sarvalokadhātūpadravodvegapratyuttirna, 178.
 Sarvapūnyasamukhaya, 394.
 Sarvārthanāman, 4.
 Sarvarūpasāṅgārjuna, 378, 384, 404.
 Sarvarutakauśalya, 394.
 Sarvasattvapāpagahana, 424.
 Sarvasattvapriyadarjuna, 257, 377 seqq.
 Sarvasattvatrātri, 161.
 Sarvasattvogahārī, 374.
 Satatasamitābhīyukta, 4, 336 seqq.
 Satpurusha, 402.
 Schiefner (A.), 89.
 Sekho, 71.
 Senāpati, 411.
 Senart (E.), 5, 227, 230, 348.
 Simha, 4.
 Simhadhvaga, 178.
 Simhaghoshā, 178.
 Simhāṅdrā, 360.
 Simhāvikrīḍitā, 435.
 Simhikā, 435.
 Skanda, 256, 411.
 Sopadhīśha, 138.
 Srotaāpanna, 315, 330, 387.
 Stūpa, 8, 15, 277 seqq., &c.
 Subhūti, 2, 98, 144 seqq.
 Sudharma (a king of the Kinnaras), 5; an angel, 169.
 Sudharmā, 167, 342, 345.
 Sugata, 10, and further passim.
 Sugātā, 296.
 Sugataketanā, 360.
 Sukhākara, 417.
 Sukhāvati, 178, 389, 417.
 Sukhāvati-vyūha, 317.
 Sumati, 19.
 Sumeru, 5, 162, 169, 233, 267, 337, 350 seq., 386.
 Sunanda, 3.
 Sundara-Nanda, 3.
 Supratishṭhitakārita, 284.
 Suraskandha, 6; cf. Kharaskandha.
 Sūryagarbha, 4.
 Sūryāvarta, 394.
 Susamsthita, 4.
 Susārthavāha, 4.
 Sūtra, 24, 29, 46, and further passim.
 Sūtrānta, 65, 144, 176, 218, &c.
 Sutta, 45.
 Suvikrāntavikrāmin, 4.
 Suviruddha, 195, 197.
 Svābhāvika, 438.
 Svāgata, 198.
 Svāhā, 435.
 Svastika, 392.
 Svayambhū, 310.
 Svayambhūḡāna, 217.
 Sakra, 4.
 Sākyamuni, 179, 228, 232, 234 seqq., 283 seq., 298, and further passim.
 Sākyaputra, 3.
 Sākyasimha, 28.
 Śāla king, 417.
 Śāleṇdrarāga, 429.

- Sāṇḍilyavidyā*, 320.
Saṅkara (the philosopher), 63, 134.
Saṅkhaśilā, 11.
Sāri (son of) = *Sāriputra*, 47 seq., 56, 69.
Sāriputra, 2, 30 seqq., 252 seqq.
Sasiketu, 145.
Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 386.
Sayyāsana, 308.
Sikhiṇ (name of Brahma), 5, 179; name of an angel, 167.
Siva, 5, 81, 115, 407, 435.
Śrāmaṇera, 292.
Śrāvaka, 129.
Śrāvaka-yāna, 269.
Śrīgarbha, 22, 27.
Subhavyūha, 419 seqq.
Sūnyatā, 127; cf. 99.
Svetāsvatara Upanishad, 134.

Tādī (tādin), 25.
Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, 314.
Tamālapatraśandanagandha, 150 seq.
Tamālapatraśandanagandhābhigāṇa, 178.
Tāpin, 25.
Tārā, *Tārakā*, 251, 253.
Tathāgata, 9, 12, 17, and further passim.
Tathāgatas (the sixteen), 178.
Tāyin, 25, 45, 57, 113, 144, 169, 199, 207, 209, 287, 315.
Tīrtha-doctrine, 260.
Tīrthika, 63, 259 seq., 265.
Tishter Yasht, 253.
Tishtrya, 253.
Tishya (= *Upatishya*), 89.
Trailokavikrāmin, 4.
Trāyastriṃśa (gods), 156.
Trenckner (V.), 132.
Trinābhi, 81.
Tripād, 81.
Trivartman, 134.
Trivṛt, 134.
Truths (the four great), 18, 90, 158, 354.
Tushita gods, 436.

Udāna, 45.
Upādāna, 172.
Upādisesa, 138.
Upananda (an Arhat), 3; a *Nāga*, 5.
Upaniśā, 317.
Upasthāyaka, 209.
Upatishya, 89.
Upāya, 30; cf. 307.

Upāyakauśalya, 30, 59.
Ūrṇā, 427.
Utpalaka, 5.
Uttaramati, 4.

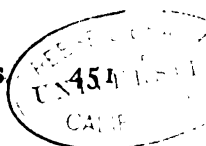
Vaggiputtaka, 260.
Vagra-Ātārya, 269.
Vagratkbedikā, 59.
Vagrapāni, 411.
Vaidehī, 6.
Vaigayanta, 342, 345.
Vaiḥāyasa, 227.
Vaipulya, 45.
Vairocanaśāstra *mipratimandita*, 393, 396 seq., 419, 429.
Vaiśāradya, 246.
Vaiśravaṇa, 4, 373.
Vaivasvata, 309.
Vaiyākaraṇa, 45.
Vakkula, 2, 198.
Vakula, 2, 198.
Vandya, 318.
Varāha-Mihira, 76.
Varaprabha, 21 seq., 26 seq.
Vardhamānamati, 4.
Varuṇadatta, 4.
Vāshpa, 2.
Vasībhūta, 1.
Vāsuki, 5.
Vāyu, 397, 401 seq.
Vedalla, 45.
Vedānta, 322.
Vehicles (the three), 78 seqq., 213.
Vemaṇitri, 6.
Vepakitti, 6.
Veyyākaraṇa, 45.
Vihāra, 222.
Vikurvā, 406.
Vimala, 253 seq.; name of a *Samādhi*, 420.
Vimalābhāsa, 420.
Vimaladatta, 380; name of a *Samādhi*, 393.
Vimaladattā, 419 seqq.
Vimalagarbha (a prince), 419 seqq.; name of a *Samādhi*, 394.
Vimalāgrānetra, 27.
Vimalanetra, 22, 419 seqq.
Vimalanirbhāsa, 420.
Vimalaprabha, 394.
Vimatisamudghātin, 19.
Vimoksha, 31.
Vimukti, 31.
Vinirbhoga, 355.
Viparyin, 193.
Viprakitti, 6.

Vipratyanika, vipratyanîyaka, 17.	Westergaard (N. L.), 253.
Viragâ, 66, 68.	
Virûdbaka, 4, 373.	Yâgñavalkya, 141.
Virûpâksha, 4.	Yama, 65 seq., 91, 115 seq., 167,
Vîreshamati, 4, 19.	178, 233, 248, 309, 402, 415,
Vishnu, 5, 44, 81, 173, 301, 397, 411.	417.
Vîshvâkâritra, 284, 364, 367, 394,	Yâna, 34, 53.
442.	Yasaskâma, 23, 28.
Vistîrnavatî, 429.	Yasodharâ, 3, 257 seq.
Visuddhakâritra, 284.	Yoga, 7.
Visvanâtha, 309.	Yogarâstra, 31, 71, 140, 387, 402.
Vyûha, 173.	Yoga system, 31, 71, 387.
Vyûharâga (a Bodhisattva), 394 ;	Yogayâtrâ, 170.
name of a Samâdhi, 394.	Yogin, 7, 92, 319.



TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS



CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.									
		III Class.									
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh	
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	. . .	
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	. . .	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .	𐬚	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . .	. . .	ङ	{ 𐬚 (ng) }	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	𐬛	{ 𐬛 (h) }	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	h. hs	
8 " lenis	,	. . .	. . .	𐬜	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	.	k	. . .	𐬝	𐬞	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	k	
14 " aspirata	.	kh	. . .	𐬞	. . .	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	kh	
15 Media	.	g	. . .	𐬟	. . .	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .	
16 " aspirata	.	gh	. . .	𐬠	. . .	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	
17 " Nasalis	.	ṅ	. . .	𐬡	. . .	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	. . .	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init.	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ש	s
22 " lenis assibilatus		s								
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬕				ת	th
25 " assibilata	d		TH	द						
26 Media	dh			ध	𐬆	𐬆	د	د		
27 " aspirata										
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬌	𐬌	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ש	s
34 " asper 2			S (S)							
35 " lenis	z				𐬰	𐬰	ز	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)							

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	39 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	50 Media	b
41 " aspirata	dh	51 " aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	52 Tenuissima	...
43 Semivocalis	r	53 Nasalis	m
44 " fricata	r	54 Semivocalis	w
45 " diacritica	...	55 " aspirata	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	56 Spiritus asper	f
47 " lenis	zh	57 " lenis	v
		58 Anusvāra	m
		59 Visarga	h

VOWELS.		I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	CHINESE.	ARABIC.	DEVANAGARI.	ROMAN.	SYMBOLS.	OTHERS.
1	Neutralis	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	ā	.
2	Laryngo-palatalis	ē	.	.	.	.	.	.	ē	.
3	" labialis	ō	.	.	.	.	.	.	ō	.
4	Gutturalis brevis	a	.	.	.	.	.	.	a	.
5	" longa	ā	(a)	.	अ	आ	अ	.	ā	.
6	Palatalis brevis	i	.	.	इ	ई	इ	.	i	.
7	" longa	ī	(i)	.	उ	ऊ	उ	.	ī	.
8	Dentalis brevis	h	.	.	ह	ह	ह	.	h	.
9	" longa	h	.	.	ह	ह	ह	.	h	.
10	Lingualis brevis	ri	.	.	रि	रि	रि	.	ri	.
11	" longa	ri	.	.	रि	रि	रि	.	ri	.
12	Labialis brevis	u	.	.	उ	उ	उ	.	u	.
13	" longa	ū	(u)	.	उ	उ	उ	.	ū	.
14	Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	.	.	ए	ए	ए	.	e	.
15	" longa	é (ai)	(e)	.	ए	ए	ए	.	é	.
16	Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	.	अ	आ	अ	.	āi	.
17	" "	ei (ēi)	.	.	इ	ई	इ	.	ei	.
18	" "	oi (ōu)	.	.	उ	ऊ	उ	.	oi	.
19	Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	.	.	ओ	ओ	ओ	.	o	.
20	" longa	ō (au)	(o)	.	ओ	ओ	ओ	.	ō	.
21	Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	.	अ	आ	अ	.	āu	.
22	" "	eu (ēu)	.	.	इ	ई	इ	.	eu	.
23	" "	ou (ōu)	.	.	उ	ऊ	उ	.	ou	.
24	Gutturalis fracta	ā	.	.	अ	आ	अ	.	ā	.
25	Palatalis fracta	ī	.	.	इ	ई	इ	.	ī	.
26	Labialis fracta	ū	.	.	उ	ऊ	उ	.	ū	.
27	Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō	.	.	ओ	ओ	ओ	.	ō	.

**HOME USE
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
MAIN LIBRARY**

This book is due on the last date stamped below.
1-month loans may be renewed by calling 642-3405.
6-month loans may be recharged by bringing books
to Circulation Desk.

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior
to due date.

**ALL BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL 7 DAYS
AFTER DATE CHECKED OUT.**

NOV 4 1974 1 7

REC'D CIRC DEPT

OCT

4 '74 3 6

MAY 30 1987

RECEIVED BY

APR 30 1987

CIRCULATION DEPT.

LD21—A-40m-5,'74
(R8191L)

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

YC 54595

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



8003002407



YC 54595



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UC-NRLF



B 3 022 010

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

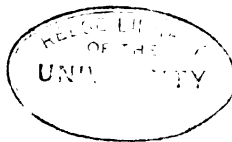
TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXXVI



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1894

[*All rights reserved*]

Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

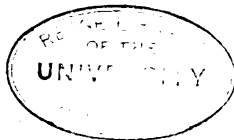
THE QUESTIONS
OF
KING MILINDA

TRANSLATED FROM THE PÂLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

PART II



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1894

[*All rights reserved*]

38.19

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.	PAGE
Chinese books on Nāgasena	xi
The Buddhist canon	xv
Vasubandhu's reference to Nāgasena	xvii
Kshemendra's reference to Milinda	xvii
The Mahāvamsa on Assagutta and Vattaniya	xviii
The Kathā Vatthu	xx
Milinda and other authorities on the soul theory	xxi
The Milinda later than the Kathā Vatthu	xxvi

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT.

Book IV. The Solving of Dilemmas.

41st Dilemma. Why should houses (Wihâras) be built for the houseless ones?	1
42nd Dilemma. Was not the Buddha immoderate in food?	4
43rd Dilemma. Was not Bakkula said to be superior (in health) to the Buddha?	8
44th Dilemma. Why is the Buddha's teaching called both new and old?	13
45th Dilemma. Did not the Bodisat once kill animals in sacrifice?	16
46th Dilemma. Did not the Bodisat once abuse the Buddha?	20
47th Dilemma. Was not Kassapa the Buddha less powerful than the potter?	23
48th Dilemma. Why is the Buddha called both Brahman and king?	25
49th Dilemma. Did not the Buddha teach for hire?	31
50th Dilemma. Did not the Buddha once doubt? (See No. 34.)	38

	PAGE
51st Dilemma. Was not the Buddha taught by others?	43
52nd Dilemma. Why can there be only one Buddha at a time?	47
53rd Dilemma. Did not the Buddha put the Order above himself?	51
54th Dilemma. As a layman can reach Arahatship, why enter the Order?	56
55th Dilemma. Did not the Buddha, having tried and abandoned asceticism, nevertheless still insist on it?	60
56th Dilemma. Men sometimes throw off the robes. Why not test candidates before initiation?	63
57th Dilemma. How is it that Arahats suffer bodily pain?	75
58th Dilemma. Why cannot an offender, who is not aware of his offence, enter the Path?	78
59th Dilemma. How can a guilty Samāṇa purify gifts?	82
60th Dilemma. The 'soul' in water.	85
61st Dilemma. Why does the Order trouble itself about learning, and about buildings and gifts?	92
62nd Dilemma. Why cannot a layman, who can become an Arahāt, continue as one?	96
63rd Dilemma. How is it that an Arahāt can do wrong?	98
64th Dilemma. What is there that is, but not in the world?	101
65th Dilemma. What is there that is without a cause?	103
66th Dilemma. Karma-born, cause-born, and season-born.	107
67th Dilemma. What becomes of dead devils?	108
68th Dilemma. Why did not the Buddha promulgate all the Rules of the Order at once?	109
69th Dilemma. How does the sun get cool?	111
70th Dilemma. Why is the sun hotter in winter?	112
71st Dilemma. How can Vessantara's giving away of his children be approved?	114
72nd Dilemma. Why did the Bodisat undergo penance?	132
73rd Dilemma. Which is stronger, virtue or vice?	144
74th Dilemma. Do the dead derive advantage from gifts given here?	151
75th Dilemma. Dreams and sleep.	157
76th Dilemma. Is death ever premature?	162

	PAGE
77th Dilemma. How can there be wonders at the graves of Arahats?	174
78th Dilemma. Cannot all men be converted?	176
79th Dilemma. Is Nirvāṇa all bliss, or partly pain?	181
80th Dilemma. The form, figure, duration, &c., of Nirvāṇa	186
81st Dilemma. The realisation of Nirvāṇa	195
82nd Dilemma. The place of Nirvāṇa	202

Book V. The Problem of Inference.

§ 1. How can you know that the Buddha ever lived?	206
4. The ordinary city, and its architect, shops, and inhabitants	208
5. The City of Righteousness, and its architect	211
6. The flower bazaar therein	212
7. The perfume bazaar therein	214
8. The fruit bazaar therein	215
10. The antidote bazaar therein	217
11. The medicine bazaar therein	218
12. The ambrosia bazaar therein	219
13-20. The jewel bazaar therein, and the seven Jewels of the Truth	220
21. The general store bazaar therein	229
22. The inhabitants of the City of Righteousness	231
23. The generals in the City of Righteousness	234
The chaplains in the City of Righteousness	234
The lamplighters in the City of Righteousness	235
The peace-officers in the City of Righteousness	236
The shop-keepers in the City of Righteousness	237
The drunkards (1) in the City of Righteousness	238
The watchmen in the City of Righteousness	238
The lawyers and judges in the City of Righteousness	238
The bankers in the City of Righteousness	239
24. The conclusion drawn by inference	240

Book VI. The Voluntary Extra Vows.

§ 1. Can laymen attain Nirvāṇa?	244
6. The twenty-eight advantages of the vows	251
7. The eighteen good qualities that come from keeping them	252

	PAGE
§ 10. No Arahatsip without having kept them . . .	254
12-15. Similes	255
16. He who, being unworthy, takes the vows . . .	261
18. He who, being worthy, takes the vows . . .	264
20. Details of the thirteen extra vows . . .	268
24. The example of Upasena	270
25. The thirty graces of the true recluse . . .	271
26. The example of Sâriputta	273
 Book VII. Similes of Arahatsip.	
§ 1. Detailed list of these similes, sixty-seven being still preserved, and thirty-eight being now lost . . .	275
19. Wonders at the conclusion of Nâgasena's solution of the three hundred and four puzzles . . .	373
20. Conversion of Milinda the king	373
21. Milinda enters the Order, and becomes an Arahatsip . . .	374
Additions and Corrections	377
Index of Proper Names	379
Index of Subjects	381

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East . . .	385
---	-----

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE first to notice a few points as to the history of the Milinda book which have either come to light since the former Introduction was written, or which I then omitted to notice.

Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Books¹ mentions a Chinese book called Nā-sien Pikhiu K'in (that is 'The Book of the Bhikshu Nāgasena' Sūtra)². I have been so fortunate as to receive detailed information about this book both from Dr. Serge d'Oldenbourg in St. Petersburg and from M. Sylvain Lévi in Paris. Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg forwarded to me, in the spring of 1892, a translation into English (which he himself had been kind enough to make) from a translation into Russian by Mr. Ivanovsky, of the Chinese Introduction, and of various episodes in the Chinese which seemed to differ from the Pāli. This very valuable aid to the interpretation of the Milinda, which the unselfish courtesy of these two Russian scholars intended thus to place at my disposal, was most unfortunately lost in the post; and I have only been able to gather from a personal interview with Professor d'Oldenbourg that the Introduction was a sort of Gātaka story in which the Buddha appeared as a white elephant³.

By a curious coincidence this regrettable loss has been

¹ Called on the title-page 'Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka.' But this must surely be a mistake. It includes a number of works which are not translations at all, and translations of a large number of others which do not belong to the Piṭakas.

² No. 1358 in the Catalogue. Translated under the Eastern Tsin Dynasty, 317-420.

³ As there is nothing about this curious Introduction in either of M. Specht's papers to be mentioned immediately, it seems possible that there are really three Chinese books on the same subject.

since made good by the work of two French scholars. Mons. Sylvain Lévi forwarded to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in the autumn of 1892, a careful study on the subject by M. Edouard Specht, preceded by an introductory essay by himself.

It appears from this paper, which excited much interest when it was read, that there are, not one, but two separate and distinct works extant in China under the name of Nā-sien Píkhiu K'in, the one inserted in the Korean collection made in that country in 1010 A.D., and the other printed in the collection of Buddhist books published under the Sung in 1239. Neither the date nor the author of either version seems to be known, but Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio states of his work, which is probably one of the two, that it was composed between 317 and 420 A.D.¹ The Korean book gives much less of the matter contained in our books II and III than the later work in the Sung collection, the former containing only 13,752 characters while the latter has 22,657. In the matter of the order of the questions also the later of the two Chinese books follows much more closely the order found in the present translation than does the work found in the Korean collection.

This paper has since been published in the Proceedings of the Congress², and it gives translations of several episodes on questions in which the Chinese is said to throw light on the Pāli. Both M. Specht and M. Sylvain Lévi seem to think that the two Chinese books were translations of older recensions of the work than the one preserved in Pāli. This argument does not seem to me, as at present advised, at all certain. It by no means follows that a shorter recension, merely because it is shorter, must necessarily be older than a longer one. It is quite as possible that the longer one gave rise to the shorter ones.

¹ It would be very interesting to have this point decided; namely, whether the volume in the India Office Library is identical with either of the two very different books in Paris. If not, we have, then, still another Chinese book on Milinda.

² Vol. i. pp. 520-529.

The story of a discussion between Nāgasena and Milinda is no doubt, if the arguments in the Introduction to Part I are of any avail, an historical romance with an ethical tendency. In constant repetition, after it had become popular, it is precisely those parts which do not appeal so easily to the popular ear (because they deal, not with ordinary puzzles, but with dilemmas or with the higher mysteries of Arahatsip), that would be naturally omitted. I do not go so far as to say that it must have been so. But I venture to think that for a critical judgment as to the comparative dates of the three works on the same subject, now known to exist, we must wait till translations of the whole of the two independent Chinese versions are before us. And further that the arguments must then turn on quite other considerations than the very ambiguous conclusions to be drawn merely from the length or shortness of the different treatment in each case. It is very much to be hoped therefore that M. Specht will soon give us complete versions of the two Chinese works in question.

At present it can only be said that we have a very pretty puzzle propounded to us, a puzzle much more difficult to solve than those which king Milinda put to Nāgasena the sage. If the shorter version (or rather paraphrase, for it does not seem to be a version at all in our modern sense)—that from the Korea—be really the original, how comes it that the other Chinese book, included in a collection made two centuries later, should happen to differ from it in the precise parts in which it, the supposed original, differs from the Pāli? Surely the only probable hypothesis would be that of the Chinese books, both working on the same original, the later is more exact than the earlier: and that we simply have here one more instance of an already well-known characteristic of Chinese reproductions of Indian books—namely, that the later version is more accurate than the older one. The later a Chinese ‘translation’ the better, in the few cases where comparison is possible, it has proved to be (that is, the nearer to our idea of what a translation should be);

and Tibetan versions are better, as a rule, than the best of the Chinese.

Since the publication of this very interesting paper, M. Sylvain Lévi has had the great kindness to send me an advance proof of a more complete paper, to be published in Paris, in which M. Specht and himself have made a detailed analysis of the three versions, setting out over against the English translation of each question (as contained in the first volume of the present work) the translations of it as they appear in each of the Chinese versions. I have not been able by a study of this analysis to add anything to the admirable summary of the conclusions as to the relations of these two books to one another and to the Pāli which are given by M. Specht in his article in the Proceedings of the Ninth Congress. The later version is throughout much nearer to the Pāli; but neither of the two give more than a small portion of it, the earlier does not seem to go much further than our Volume I, page 99 (just where the Pāli has the remark, 'Here end the questions of king Milinda'), and the later, though it goes beyond this point, apparently stops at Volume I, page 114.

These details are of importance for the decision of the critical question of the history of the Milinda. The book starts with an elaborate and very skilful introduction, giving first an account of the way in which Nāgasena and Milinda had met in a previous birth, then the life history, in order, of each of them in this birth, then the account of how they met. Throughout the whole story the attention is constantly directed to the very great ability of the two disputants, and to the fact that they had been specially prepared through their whole existence for this great encounter, which was to be of the first importance for religion and for the world. This introductory story occupies in my translation thirty-nine pages. Is it likely that so stately an entrance hall should have really been built to lead only into one or two small rooms?—to two chapters occupying only sixty pages more? Is it not more probable that the original architect had a better sense of proportion? As an Introduction to the book as we have it in these

volumes the story told in those thirty-nine pages is very much in place ; as an Introduction to the first two chapters only, or to the first two and a portion of the third, it is quite incongruous. And accordingly we find in the very beginning of the Introduction a kind of table of contents in which the shape of the whole book, as we have it here, is foreshadowed in detail, and in due proportion. This will have to be taken into account when, with full translations of the two Chinese books before us, we shall have to consider whether they are really copies of the original statue, or whether they are interesting fragments.

I ought not to close this reference to the labours of MM. Lévi and Specht without calling attention to a slip of the pen in one expression used by M. Sylvaïn Lévi regarding the *Milinda*¹. He says, 'La science ne connaissait jusqu'ici de cet ouvrage qu'un texte écrit en Pali et incorporé dans le canon Singhalais?' Now there is, accurately speaking, no such thing as a Sinhalese canon of the Buddhist Scriptures, any more than there is a French or an English canon of the Christian Scriptures. The canon of the three *Pitakas*, settled in the valley of the Ganges (probably at Patna in the time of Asoka), has been adhered to, it is true, in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. But it cannot properly be called either a Ceylonese or a Burmese or a Siamese canon. In that canon the *Milinda* was never incorporated. And not only so, but the expression used clearly implies that there is some other canon. Now there has never been any other canon of the Buddhist Scriptures besides this one of the three *Pitakas*. Many Buddhist books, not incorporated in the canon, have been composed in different languages—Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Sinhalese, Burmese, Siamese, &c.—but no new canon, in the European meaning of the phrase, has ever been formed.

One meets occasionally, no doubt, in European books on Buddhism allusions or references to a later canon

¹ 'Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists,' vol. i, p. 518.

supposed to have been settled at the Council of Kanishka. The blunder originated, I believe, with Mr. Beal. But in the only account of that Council which we possess, that of Yuan Tshang¹, there is no mention at all of any new canon having been settled. The account is long and detailed. An occurrence of so extreme an importance would scarcely have escaped the notice of the Chinese writer. But throughout the account the canonicity of the three Piṭakas is simply taken for granted. The members of the Council were chosen exclusively from those who knew the three Piṭakas, and the work they performed was the composition of three books—the Upadesa, the Vinaya Vibhāṣā, and the Abhidharma Vibhāṣā. The words which follow in the Chinese have been differently interpreted by the European translators. Julien says:

‘They (the members of the Council) thoroughly explained the three Piṭakas, and thus placed them above all the books of antiquity².’

Beal, on the other hand, renders:

‘Which (namely, which three books) thoroughly explained the three Piṭakas. There was no work of antiquity to be compared with (placed above) their productions³.’

It is immaterial which version best conveys the meaning of the original. They both clearly show that, in the view of Yuan Tshang, the Council of Kanishka did not establish any new canon. Since that time the rulers of China, Japan, and Tibet have from time to time published collections of Buddhist books. But none of these collections even purports to be a canon of the Scriptures. They contain works of very various, and some quite modern, ages and authors: and can no more be regarded as a canon of the Buddhist Scriptures than Migne’s voluminous collection of Christian books can be called a new canon of the Christian Scriptures.

¹ Julien’s translation, vol. i, pp. 173–178, and Mr. Beal’s own translation, i, 147–157. There are two or three incidental references to the Council in other works. See my ‘Buddhism,’ p. 239.

² St. Julien, ‘Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes,’ vol. i, pp. 177, 178.

³ Beal, ‘Buddhist Records of the Western World,’ vol. i, p. 155.

This was already pointed out in my little manual, 'Buddhism,' published in 1877, and it is a pity that references in subsequent books to a supposed canon settled at Kanishka's Council have still perpetuated the blunder. M. Sylvain Lévi, for whose genius and scholarship I have the profoundest respect, does not actually say that there was such a canon; but his words must lead readers, ignorant of the facts, to imply that there was one.

I have also to add that M. Barth has called attention¹ to the fact that M. Sylvain Lévi has added another service to those already mentioned as rendered by him to the interpretation of the Milinda, by a discussion of the reference to our book in the Abhidharma-kosa-vyākhyā, referred to in my previous Introduction, p. xxvi. This discussion was published in a periodical I have not seen². But it seems that M. Lévi, with the help of two Chinese translations, has been able to show that the citation is not only in the commentary, but also in the text, of Vasubandhu's work. M. Léon Feer has been kind enough to send me the actual words of the reference, and they will be found published in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' for 1891, p. 476.

Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg has also been good enough to point out to me that the two Cambridge MSS. of Kshemendra's Bodhisattvavadāna-kalpalatā read Milinda (not Millinda as given by Rājendra Lal Mitra³) as the name of the king referred to in the 57th Avadāna, the Stūpāvadāna. I had not noticed this reference to the character in our historical romance. It comes in quite incidentally, the Buddha prophesying to Indra that a king Milinda would erect a stūpa at Pāṭaligrāma. There is no allusion to our book, and the passage is only interesting as showing that the memory of king Milinda still survived in India at the time when Kshemendra wrote in the eleventh century A.D.

Another reference to one of the characters in the Milinda

¹ In the 'Revue de l'Histoire des Religions' for 1893 (which has only just reached me), p. 258.

² The 'Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres,' 1893, p. 232.

³ 'Nepalese Buddhist Literature,' p. 65.

which has come to notice since the publication of part i, is in the closing words of the Attha-Sālinī-Atthayogaṇā (a *ṭīkā* on Buddhaghosa's first work, his commentary on the Dhamma Saṅgaṇī), which was written in Siam after the twelfth century by Ñānakitti, and edited in 1890 at Galle, by Paññāsekhara Unnānsē. On page 265 we read :

Vattaniya-senāsane ti Viñghātaviyaṃ Vattaniya-senāsane. Tena vuttam Mahāvamsa :

Assagutta-mahāthero pabhinna-Paṭisambhido
Sattī-bhikkhū sahaṣṣāni Viñghattaviyaṃ ādiya
Vattaniya-senāsanaṃ nabhasā tattha-motarīti.

'The words Vattaniya-senāsane mean, "in the Vattaniya Hermitage in the Vindhya Desert." Therefore it is said in the Mahāvamsa :

"The great Thera Assagutta, who knew so well the Paṭisambhidā, bringing sixty thousand brethren from the Vattaniya Hermitage in the Vindhya Desert through the sky, descended there."

This quotation is very interesting. It follows that in the original text of the Attha Sālinī there is something about the Vattaniya Hermitage. And also that the author of this *Ṭīkā* must have had before him some text of our Mahāvamsa differing from ours, or perhaps some other Mahāvamsa. For the lines quoted do not occur in our text. The nearest approach to them is one line in the description of the assembly that came together at the consecration of the Mahā Thūpa at Anurādhapura in the year 157 B.C. It runs¹ :

Viñghātavi-Vattaniya-senāsana² tu Uttaro
Thero sattī-sahaṣṣāni bhikkhū ādāya āgamā.

'The thera Uttara came up bringing with him sixty thousand Bhikshus from the Vattaniya Hermitage [not Uttania Temple as Turnour translates] in the Vindhya Desert.'

The resemblance of the passages is striking. But all

¹ Chapter XXIX, p. 171, of Turnour's edition.

² Turnour has Vattaniyā-senāsana.

that can be concluded is that the author of our *Mahāvamsa*, Mahânâma, who wrote in the middle of the fifth century, knew of the Vattaniya Hermitage; and that the author of the text quoted by *Ñānakitti* (in a passage probably describing the same event) mentions an Assagutta as having come to the festival from his hermitage at Vattaniya.

Both these references are entirely legendary. In order to magnify the importance of the great festival held in Ceylon on the occasion referred to, it is related that certain famous members of the Buddhist order came, attended by many followers, through the sky, to take part in the ceremony. A comparison of this list with the previous list, also given in the *Mahāvamsa*¹, of the missionaries sent out nearly a hundred years before, by Asoka, will show that the names in the second list are in great part an echo of those in the first. But in selecting well-known names, Mahânâma in his second, fabulous, list has, according to the published text, also included that of the Vattaniya Hermitage, and, according to the new verse in the other text, has associated with that place the name of Assagutta, not found elsewhere except in the *Milinda*. In that book the residence of Assagutta is not specified—it is his friend Rohana who lives at the Vattaniya, and the locality of the Vattaniya is not specified—it would seem from the statement at I, 25 (part i, p. 20 of this translation) that it was a day's journey from 'the Guarded Slope,' that is, in the Himālayas. But geographical allusions are apt to be misleading when the talk is of Bhikshus who could fly through the air. And it seems the most probable explanation that the authors of these verses, in adopting these names, had the *Milinda* story in their mind.

[Turnour's reading of the name as Uttara, and not Assagutta, is confirmed by the *Dipavamsa*, chap. XIX, verses 4–6, where all the fourteen names of the visitors from India are given (without any details as to the districts whence they came), and the corresponding name is also Uttara there.]

¹ Turnour, pp. 71–73.

The above sets out all the new information I have been able to glean about the Milinda since the publication of the Introduction to the first volume of this translation. I had hoped in this Introduction to discuss the doctrines, as apart from the historical and geographical allusions, of our author—comparing his standpoint with that of the earliest Buddhists, set out in the four great Nikāyas, with that of later books contained in the Piṭakas, and with that of still later works not included in the canon at all. I have to express my regret that a long and serious illness, culminating in a serious accident that was very nearly a fatal one, has deprived me altogether of the power of work, and not only prevented me from carrying out this perhaps too ambitious design, but has so long delayed the writing of this Introduction.

Only one of the preliminary labours to the intended Introduction was completed. I read through the Kathā Vatthu, which has not yet been edited, with a view of ascertaining whether, at the time when that book was written, that is, in the time of Asoka, the kind of questions agitating the Buddhist community bore any relation to the kind of questions discussed by the author of our Milinda. As is well known, the Kathā Vatthu sets out a number of points on which the orthodox school, that of the Theravādins, differed in Asoka's time from the other seventeen schools (afterwards called collectively the Hīnayāna) which had sprung up among the Buddhists between the time of the Buddha and that of Asoka. I published in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' for 1892 a statement, both in the original Pāli and in English, of all the points thus discussed by the author of the Kathā Vatthu, Moggali-putta Tissa Thera, giving (from the commentary) the names of the various schools against whom, in each instance, his remarks were directed.

It is now possible to judge from this analysis of the questions proposed, what were the subjects on which differences obtained among the early Buddhists. There are a number of points raised in Tissa's discussions which are also discussed by the author of the Milinda. In every

instance the two authors agree in their views, Nāgasena in the *Milinda* always advocating the opinion which Tissa puts forward as that of the Thera-vādins. This is especially the case with those points which Moggali-putta Tissa thinks of so much importance that he discusses them at much greater length than the others.

His first chapter, for instance, by far the longest in his book, is on the question whether, in the high and truest sense of the word, there can be said to be a 'soul'¹. It is precisely this question which forms also the subject of the very first discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena, the conversation leading up to the celebrated simile of the chariot by which Nāgasena apparently convinces Milinda of the truth of the orthodox Buddhist view that there is really no such thing as a 'soul' in the ordinary sense². On leaving the sage, the king returns to his palace, and the next day the officer who escorts Nāgasena there to renew the discussion, occupies the time to raise again the same question, and is answered by the simile of the musicians³. Not content with these two expositions of this important doctrine, the author of the *Milinda* returns again soon afterwards to the same point, which he illustrates by the simile of the palace⁴, and further on in the book he takes occasion to discuss and refute the commonly held opinion that there is a soul in inanimate things, such as water⁵.

It cannot be doubted that the authors of the *Kathā Vatthu* and the *Milinda* were perfectly justified in putting this crucial question in the very forefront of their discussion—just as the Buddha himself, as is well known, made it the subject of the very first discourse he addressed to his earliest converted followers, the *Anatta-lakkhaṇa Sutta*, included both in the *Vinaya* and in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*⁶.

The history of ideas about the 'soul' has yet to be

¹ *Kathā Vatthu* I, 1.

² *Milinda*, i, p. 48.

³ *Milinda*, ii, pp. 85-87.

⁴ *Vinaya Texts* (S. B. E. XIII), part i, pp. 100, 101, and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

⁵ *Milinda*, i, pp. 40-41.

⁶ *Milinda*, i, pp. 86-89.

written. But the outlines of it are pretty well established, and there is nothing to show that the Indian notions on the subject, apart perhaps from the subsidiary beliefs in Karma and transmigration, were materially different from those obtaining elsewhere. Already in prehistoric times the ancestors of the Indian peoples, whether Aryan by race or not, had come to believe, probably through the influence of dreams, in the existence inside each man of a subtle image of the man himself. This weird and intangible form left the body during sleep, and at death it continued in some way to live. It was a crude hypothesis found useful to explain the phenomena of dreams, of motion, and of life. And it was applied very indiscriminately to the allied phenomena in external things—the apparent life and motion, not only of animals, but also of plants and rivers, of winds and celestial bodies, being explained by the hypothesis of a soul within them. The varying conditions and appearances of the external world gave rise to the various powers and qualities ascribed to these external souls, and hence to whole systems of polytheism and mythology. And just as the gods, which never had any existence except in the ideas of their worshippers, were born and grew and changed and passed away with those ideas, so also the hypothesis of internal souls had, no less in India than elsewhere, a continual change, a continual development—and this not only as to ideas on the nature and origin of the internal human souls, but as to their relation to the external souls or gods. And when speculation, which loved to busy itself with these mysterious and fanciful hypotheses, had learnt to conjecture a unity behind the variety of external spirits, the relation of men's souls to the one great first cause, to God, became the subject of endless discussions, of varying views invented to harmonise with varying preconceived conceptions.

When Buddhism arose these hypotheses as to 'souls,' internal and external, formed the basis of all the widely differing, and very living and earnest, religious and philosophical speculations in the valley of the Ganges, where there then obtained that marvellous freedom of thought

on all such subjects which has been throughout its history a distinguishing characteristic of the Indian people. Now there is one work, of more importance than any other in Buddhism, the collection of the Dialogues of Gotama the Buddha, brought together in the *Dīgha* and *Magghima* Nikāyas. It contains the views of the Buddha set out, as they appeared to his very earliest disciples, in a series of 185 conversational discourses, which will some day come to hold a place, in the history of human thought, akin to that held by the Dialogues of Plato. Is it a mere chance, or is it the actual result of the necessities of the case, that this question of 'souls' is put into the forefront of this collection, just as it is the point treated first and at the greatest length in the *Kathā Vatthu*, and put first also in the *Milinda*?

The first of these 185 dialogues is the *Brahmagāla Suttanta*, the discourse called the Perfect Net, the net whose meshes are so fine that no folly of superstition, however subtle, can slip through—the clearing away of the rubbish before the foundations are laid for the new palace of good sense. In it are set out sixty-two varieties of existing hypotheses, and after each and all of them has been rejected, the doctrine of Arahatsip is put forward as the right solution. The sixty-two heresies are as follows:

- 1-4. **SASSATA-VĀDĀ.** People who, either from meditation of three degrees, or fourthly through logic and reasoning, have come to believe that both the external world as a whole, and individual souls, are eternal.
- 5-8. **EKAḌḌA-SASSATIKĀ.** People who, in four ways, hold that some souls are eternal, while others are not.
 - a. Those who hold that God is eternal, but not the individual souls.
 - b. Those who hold that all the gods are eternal, but not the individual souls.
 - c. Those who hold that certain illustrious gods are eternal, but not the human souls.

- d.* Those who hold that while the bodily forms are not eternal, there is a subtle something, called Heart or Mind, or Consciousness, which is.
- 9-12. ANTÂTIKÂ. People who chop logic about finity and infinity.
 - a.* Those who hold the world to be finite.
 - b.* Those who hold it to be infinite.
 - c.* Those who hold it to be both.
 - d.* Those who hold it to be neither.
- 13-16. AMARA-VIKKHEPIKÂ. People who equivocate about virtue and vice—
 - a.* From the fear that if they express a decided opinion grief at possible mistake will injure them.
 - b.* That they may form attachments which will injure them.
 - c.* That they may be unable to answer skilful disputants.
 - d.* From dullness and stupidity.
- 17, 18. ADHIKKA-SAMUPPANIKÂ. People who think that the origin of things can be explained without a cause.
- 19-50. UDDHAMA-ÂGHATANIKÂ. People who believe in the future existence of human souls.
 - a.* Sixteen different phases of the hypothesis of a conscious existence after death.
 - b.* Eight different phases of the hypothesis of an unconscious existence after death.
 - c.* Eight different phases of the hypothesis of an existence between consciousness and unconsciousness after death.
- 51-57. UKKHEDA-VÂDÂ. People who teach the doctrine that there is a soul, but that it will cease to exist on the death of the body here, or at the end of a next life, or of further lives in higher and ever higher states of being.
- 58-62. DITTHA-DHAMMIKA-NIBBÂNA-VÂDÂ. People who hold that there is a soul, and that it can attain to perfect bliss in this present world, or in whatever world it happens to be—

- a.* By a full, complete, and perfect enjoyment of the five senses.
- b.* By an enquiring mental abstraction (the First Dhyāna).
- c.* By undisturbed mental bliss, untarnished by enquiry (the Second Dhyāna).
- d.* By mental peace, free alike from joy and pain and enquiry (the Third Dhyāna).
- e.* By this mental peace plus a sense of purity (the Fourth Dhyāna).

Professor Garbe, in his just published 'Sankhya Philosophie¹', holds that the first persons attacked in this list are the followers of the Sāṅkhya. The double view of the Sassata-vādā is no doubt the basis of the Sāṅkhya system. But the system contains much more, and it would be safer to say that we have here a warning against the philosophical view which afterwards developed into the Sāṅkhya, or rather which became afterwards a fundamental part of the Sāṅkhya. The Vedānta, in either of its forms, is not, it will be noticed, referred to in any one of the sixty-two divisions; but philosophical views forming part of the Vedānta may be traced in Nos. 5, 8, 10, 20, &c. The scheme is not intended as a refutation of the views, as a whole, held by any special school or individual, but as a statement of erroneous views on two special points, namely, the soul and the world. However this may be, we find an ample justification in this comprehensive and systematic condemnation of all current or possible forms of the soul-theory for the prominence which the author of the Milinda gives to the subject.

The other points on which the Milinda may be compared with the Kathā Vatthu will need less comment. The discussion in the Milinda as to the manner in which the Divine Eye can arise in a man², is a reminiscence of the question raised in the Kathā Vatthu III, 7 as to whether the eye of flesh can, through strength of dhamma, grow into the Divine Eye. The discussion in the Milinda as to

¹ Introduction, p. 57.

² Milinda, i, pp. 179-185.

how a layman, who is a layman after becoming an Arahāt, can enter the Order¹, is entirely in accord with the opinion maintained, as against the Uttarāpathakā, in the Kathā Vatthu IV, 1. Our Milinda ascribes the verses,

‘Exert yourselves, be strong, and to the faith,’ &c., to the Buddha². In the note on that passage I had pointed out that they are ascribed, not to the Buddha, but to Abhibhū in certain Piṭaka texts, and to the Buddha himself only in late Sanskrit works. In the exposition of Kathā Vatthu II, 3 the verses are also ascribed to the Buddha. The proposition in the Kathā Vatthu II, 8 that the Buddha, in the ordinary affairs of life, was not transcendental, agrees with Nāgasena’s argument in the Milinda, part ii, pp. 8–12. The discussion in the Milinda as to whether an Arahāt can be thoughtless or guilty of an offence³ is foreshadowed by the similar points raised in the Kathā Vatthu I, 2; II, 1, 2, and VIII, 11. And the two dilemmas, Nos. 65 and 66, especially as to the cause of space, may be compared with the discussion in Kathā Vatthu VI, 6, as to whether space is self-existent.

The general result of a comparison between these two very interesting books of controversial apologetics seems to me to be that the differences between them are just such as one might expect (*a*) from the difference of date, and (*b*) from the fact that the controversy in the older book is carried on against members of the same communion, whereas in the Milinda we have a defence of Buddhism as against the outsider. The Kathā Vatthu takes almost the whole of the conclusions reached in the Milinda for granted, and goes on to discuss further questions on points of detail. It does not give a description of Arahātship in glowing terms, but discusses minor points as to whether the realisation of Arahātship includes the Fruits of the three lower paths⁴, or whether all the qualities of an Arahāt are free from the Āsavas⁵, or whether the knowledge of his

¹ Milinda, ii, pp. 96–98 (compare 57–59).

² Milinda, ii, p. 60.

³ Kathā Vatthu IV, 9.

⁴ Milinda, ii, pp. 98 foll.

⁵ Kathā Vatthu IV, 3.

emancipation alone makes a man an Arahāt¹, or whether the breaking of the Fetters constitutes Arahātship, and whether the insight into Arahātship suffices to break all the Fetters², and so on.

The discussion of these details gives no opportunity for the enthusiastic eloquence of the author of our *Milinda*, and the very fact of his eloquence argues a later date. But there can be no doubt as to the superiority of his style. And I still adhere to the opinions expressed in the former Introduction that the work, as it stands in the Pāli, is of its kind (that is, as a book of apologetic controversy) the best in point of style that had then been written in any country; and that it is the masterpiece of Indian prose.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

TEMPLE,

May, 1894.

¹ Kathā Vatthu V, 1.

² Kathā Vatthu V, 10, and X, 1.

THE QUESTIONS
OF
KING MILINDA.

BOOK IV.

THE SOLVING OF DILEMMAS.

CHAPTER 5.

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-FIRST.

ON DWELLING-PLACES.]

I. [211] 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Blessed One said :

" In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction's dust springs up,
The state set free from home and friendship's ties,
That, and that only, is the recluse's aim ¹."

¹ This is the opening verse of the Muni Sutta (in the Sutta Nipâta I, 12). It is quoted again below, p. 385 of the Pâli text. The second line is, in the original, enigmatically terse, and runs simply, 'From a home dust arises.' This Fausböll renders (in the S. B. E., vol. x, part ii, p. 33), 'From household life arises defilement,' the word for dust (*rago*) being often used figuratively in the sense of something that disfigures, is out of place in the higher life. It is the distracting effect of household cares that the recluse has to fear.

‘ But on the other hand he said :

“ Let therefore the wise man,
Regarding his own weal,
Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men ¹. ”

‘ Now, venerable Nāgasena, if the former of these two passages was really spoken by the Tathāgata, then the second must be wrong. But if the Tathāgata really said : “ Have pleasant dwelling-places built,” then the former statement must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.’

2. [212] ‘ Both the passages you have quoted, O king, were spoken by the Tathāgata. And the former is a statement as to the nature of things, an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented to it, or to be added to it in the way of gloss ², as to what is seemly and appropriate and proper for a recluse, and as to the mode of life which a recluse should adopt, the path he should walk along, and the practice he should follow. For just, O king, as a deer in the forest, wandering in the woods, sleeps wherever he desires, having no home and no

¹ This is a very famous verse, found first in the Vinaya (*Kullavagga* VI, 1, 5), and quoted in the Introduction to the *Gāthakas* (Fausbøll, vol. i, p. 93 ; compare vol. iv, p. 354), translated in my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ vol. i, p. 132. *Hīnaī-kumburē* adds the context :

‘ Then shall they preach to him the Truth,
The Truth dispelling every grief,
Which Truth when here a man perceives,
He’s freed from stains, and dies away.’

² On these expressions compare above, p. 170 (p. 113 of the text).

dwelling-place, so also should the recluse be of opinion that

“ In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction’s dust springs up.”

3. ‘ But when the Blessed One said :

“ Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men,”

that was said with respect to two matters only. And what are those two? The gift of a dwelling-place (Wihâra) has been praised and approved, esteemed and highly spoken of, by all the Buddhas. And those who have made such a gift shall be delivered from rebirth, old age, and death. This is the first of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling-place. And again, if there be a common dwelling-place (a Wihâra) the sisters of the Order will have a clearly ascertained place of rendezvous, and those who wish to visit (the brethren of the Order)¹ will find it an easy matter to do so. Whereas if there were no homes for the members of the Order it would be difficult to visit them. This is the second of the advantages in the gift of a dwelling-place (a Wihâra). It was with reference to these two matters only that it was said by the Blessed One :

“ Have pleasant dwelling-places built,
And lodge there learned men.”

[213] ‘ And it does not follow from that that the sons of the Buddha ² should harbour longings after the household life.’

¹ The words in brackets are added from Hîna/i-kumburê.

² That is, the members of the Order.

‘Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to dwelling-places.]

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-SECOND.

MODERATION IN FOOD.]

4. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, the Blessed One said :

“Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed) when standing up (to beg for food). Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach¹.”

‘But on the other hand he said :

“Now there were several days, Udāyin, on which I ate out of this bowl when it was full to the brim, and ate even more².”

‘Now if the first rule be true, then the second statement must be false. But if the statement be true, then the rule first quoted must be wrong.

¹ This verse has not yet been traced. The first half of it occurs in a different connection at Dhammapada, verse 168, which I have rendered (at ‘Buddhism,’ p. 65), ‘Rise up and loiter not!’ without any reference at all to food. This was in accordance with the view taken of the passage, both by Prof. Fausböll, who renders it (p. 31 of his edition of the Pāli), ‘Surgat, ne sit socors,’ and by Prof. Max Müller, who renders it (S. B. E., vol. x, part i, p. 47), ‘Rouse thyself, do not be idle!’ And I still think (especially noting such passages as Dhammapada, verses 231, 232, and the verse quoted in the Commentary, p. 126 of Fausböll, from Gāṭaka IV, 496, &c.) that this was the original meaning in that connection. But here the words must clearly be taken as referring to food,* and it is very remarkable that the commentator on the Dhammapada (see p. 335 of Fausböll’s edition) takes them in that sense also even in the other connection. It is a striking instance of the way in which commentators impart a purely technical sense into a general ethical precept.

² From the Mahā Udāyi Sutta (Magghima Nikāya, No. 77).

This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

5. 'Both the passages you have quoted, O king, were spoken by the Blessed One. But the former passage [214] is a statement as to the nature of things, an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented to it, or added to it in the way of gloss, a statement of what is true and real and in accordance with the facts, and that cannot be proved wrong, a declaration made by the prophets, and sages, and teachers, and Arahats, and by the Buddhas who are wise for themselves alone (*Paṭṭheka-Buddhas*), a declaration made by the Conquerors, and by the All-wise Ones, a declaration made too by the Tathāgata, the Arahāt, the Supreme Buddha himself. He who has no self-control as regards the stomach, O king, will destroy living creatures, will take possession of what has not been given to him, will be unchaste, will speak lies, will drink strong drink, will put his mother or his father to death, will slay an Arahāt, will create a schism in the Order, will even with malice aforethought wound a Tathāgata. Was it not, O king, when without restraint as to his stomach, that Devadatta by breaking up the Order, heaped up for himself karma that would endure for a kalpa¹? It was on calling to mind this, O king, and many other things of the same kind, that the Blessed One declared :

"Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed)

¹ See above, p. 164 (p. 109 of the Pāli text). These passages show that Dr. Morris's note in the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society,' 1885, requires modification. See also below, IV, 8, 88, and the passages quoted by him in the 'Journal' for 1886.

when standing up (to beg for food). Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach."

6. 'And he who has self-control as regards the stomach gains a clear insight into the Four Truths, realises the Four Fruits of the life of renunciation¹, and attains to mastery over the Four Discriminations², the Eight Attainments³, and the Six Modes of Higher Knowledge⁴, and fulfils all that goes to constitute the life of the recluse. Did not the parrot fledgling, O king, by self-restraint as to his stomach, cause the very heaven of the great Thirty-Three to shake, and bring down Sakka, the king of the gods, to wait upon him⁵? It was on calling to mind this, O king, and many other things of a similar kind, that the Blessed One declared :

"Be not remiss as to (the rules to be observed) when standing up (to beg for food). Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach."

7. 'But when, O king, the Blessed One said : "Now there were several days, Udâyi, on which I ate out of this bowl when it was full to the brim, and ate even more," that was said by him who had completed his task, who had finished all that he had to do, who had accomplished the end he set before him, who had overcome every obstruction, by the self-dependent⁶ Tathâgata himself about himself.

¹ Sâmañña. ² Pañisambhidâ. ³ Samâpatti. ⁴ Abhiññâ.

⁵ This story will be found in the two Suka Gâtakas (Nos. 429 and 430 in Fausböll). I had not succeeded in tracing it when the list at vol. i, p. xxvi, was drawn up; it should therefore be added there.

⁶ Sayambhunâ, 'whose knowledge is not derived from any one else.' (Sayambhu-ñâna-wû says Hînañ-kumburê.) Burnouf's proposition ('Lotus,' p. 336) to take it in the sense of 'who has no other substratum or raison d'être than himself' cannot be accepted, in spite of Childers's approbation.

Just, O king, as it is desirable that a sick man to whom an emetic, or a purge, or a clyster has been administered, should be treated with a tonic ; [215] just so, O king, should the man who is full of evil, and who has not perceived the Four Truths, adopt the practice of restraint in the matter of eating. But just, O king, as there is no necessity of polishing, and rubbing down¹, and purifying a diamond gem of great brilliancy, of the finest water, and of natural purity; just so, O king, is there no restraint as to what actions he should perform, on the Tathâgata, on him who hath attained to perfection in all that lies within the scope of a Buddha².

‘Very good, Nâgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to restraint in eating.]

¹ Nighamsanâ. Compare the use of nighamsati at *Kullavagga* V, 27, 2.

² This is much more than a mere injunction not to gild refined gold. It comes very near to the enunciation of the dangerous doctrine that the holy man is above the law, and that nothing he does can be wrong. It is curious how frequently one finds this proposition cropping up in the most unexpected places, and the history of religious belief is full of instances of its pernicious effect on the most promising movements. When one considers the great influence of our author's work, it becomes especially interesting to note how the doctrine has never, among the orthodox Buddhists, who read the Pâli Scriptures, been extended from the Buddha himself to his followers, and from moderation in food to matters of more vital import in the life of a church. And this is the more remarkable as the Tantra works of the corrupt Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet show how fatal has been the result of the doctrine among those Buddhists who had lost the guiding support of the older Scriptures.

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-THIRD.]

BAKKULA'S SUPERIORITY TO THE BUDDHA.]

8. 'Venerable Nāgasena, it was said by the Blessed One :

"A Brahman am I, O brethren, devoted to self-sacrifice¹, pure-handed at every time ; this body that I bear with me is my last, I am the supreme Healer and Physician²."

'But on the other hand the Blessed One said :

"The chief, O brethren, among those who are disciples of mine, in the matter of bodily health, is Bakkula³."

'Now it is well known that diseases arose several times in the body of the Blessed One. So that if, Nāgasena, the Tathāgata was supreme, then the statement he made about Bakkula's bodily health must be wrong. But if the Elder named Bakkula was really chief among those who were healthy, then that statement which I first quoted must be

¹ *Yâkayogo*. See Sutta Nipāta III, 5, 1 ; Aṅguttara Nikāya III, 79, 2 ; and below, p. 225 (of the Pāli text).

² This passage has not yet been traced in the Piṭakas, and the context is therefore unknown. But the word Brahman must of course be applied to the Buddha here in the sense, not of one belonging to the Brahman caste, but of Arahāt. *Hīnaśi-kumburē* adds, as a gloss, *bāhita-pāpa-brāhmaṇayek*, 'brahman because he has suppressed evil in himself.' On this explanation see my note to the forty-eighth dilemma, which is devoted to the discussion of this difficulty.

On the Buddha as the Great Physician see Sutta Nipāta III, 7, 13 ; *Magghima* Nikāya I, 429 ; *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, 67, 255 ; and *Milinda*, pp. 110, 169 (of the Pāli text).

³ Aṅguttara Nikāya I, 14, 4. The reading adopted by our author agrees with that of the Sinhalese MSS. put by Dr. Morris into the text.

wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

9. 'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are correct¹. But what the Blessed One said about Bakkula was said of those disciples who had learnt by heart the sacred words, and studied them, and handed down the tradition, which in reference to the characteristics (each of them in some one point) had in addition to those which were found in him himself². [216] For there were certain of the disciples of the Blessed One, O king, who were "meditators on foot," spending a whole day and night in walking up and down in meditation. But the Blessed One was in the habit of spending the day and night in meditation, not only walking up and down but also sitting and lying down. So such, O king, of the disciples as were "meditators on foot"³ surpassed him in that particular. And there were certain of the disciples of the Blessed One, O king, who were "eaters at one sitting," who would not, even to save their lives, take more than one meal a day. But the

¹ Here, as always, they are repeated in full in the text.

² This passage is very ambiguous. *Hīnaśi-kumburē* renders it: 'with reference to what was found in himself, and besides that (with reference) to the disciples who had learnt &c. . . . tradition.' He translates *agamānaṃ* and the two following words, as relative compounds, by *āgama-dhāri-wū*, &c., and in this I have followed him. But he supplies an 'and' after the last, thus taking them as accusatives in dependence on *sandhāya*, and that cannot be right. It seems forced to separate *bāhirānaṃ* so much from the other genitives with which it stands in the text, and yet it is so impossible to make sense of the passage in any other way, that one would like to know the readings of all the MSS.

³ 'Kakkhupāla and others' adds *Hīnaśi-kumburē*. (For the story of *Kakkhupāla*, see the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, verse 1.)

Blessed One was in the habit of taking a second, or even a third. So such, O king, of the disciples as were "eaters at one sitting" surpassed him in that particular. And in a similar way, O king, a number of different things have been told, each one of one or other of the disciples. But the Blessed One, O king, surpassed them all in respect of uprightness, and of power of meditation, and of wisdom, and of emancipation, and of that insight which arises out of the knowledge of emancipation, and in all that lies within the scope of a Buddha. It was with reference to that, O king, that he said :

"A Brahman am I, O brethren, devoted to self-sacrifice, pure-handed at every time ; this body that I bear with me is my last, I am the supreme Healer and Physician."

10. 'Now one man, O king, may be of good birth, and another may be wealthy, and another full of wisdom, and another well educated, and another brave, and another adroit ; but a king, surpassing all these, is reckoned supreme. Just in that way, O king, is the Blessed One the highest, the most worthy of respect, the best of all beings. And in so far as the venerable Bakkula was healthy in body, that was by reason of an aspiration (he had formed in a previous birth)¹. For, O king, when Anoma-dassī, the Blessed One, was afflicted with a disease, with wind in his stomach, and again when Vipassī, the Blessed One, and sixty-eight thousand of his disciples, were afflicted with a disease, with greenness of blood², he,

¹ See, for other instances of such aspirations, above, vol. i, p. 5.

² *Tiṇa-pupphaka-roga*. There is a flower called *tiṇa-puppha*, and this may be a skin disease named after it. But *pupphaka* at *Gāṭaka* III, 541, means blood, and the disease may

being at those times an ascetic, had cured that disease with various medicines, and attained (thereby) to such healthiness of body (in this life) that it was said of him :

“ The chief, O brethren, among those who are disciples of mine, in the matter of bodily health, is Bakkula.”

11. ‘ But the Blessed One, O king, whether he be suffering, or not suffering, from disease ; whether he have taken, or not taken, upon himself the observance

be so called because the blood was turned by it to the colour of grass (*tina*). Hīnañ-kumburê (who gives these legends of the previous births of Bakkula at much greater length, adding others from the time of the Buddhas Padumuttara and Kassapa, and giving the story also of his present birth) says that the disease arose from contact with wind which had been poisoned through blowing over a Upas tree (p. 296 of the *Sinhalese* version). But he does not explain the name of the disease, which occurs only here.

In his present birth Bakkula is said to have been born at Kosāmbī, in a wealthy family. His mother, understanding that to bathe a new-born child in the Jumna would ensure him a long life, took him down to the river. Whilst he was there being bathed, a huge fish swallowed him. But the fish, caught at Benares, was sold to a wealthy but childless man there, and on being cut open, the babe was found in it unhurt.

The mother hearing the news of this marvel, went in great state and with haste to Benares and claimed the child. Thereupon an interesting lawsuit arose, and the king of Benares, thinking it unjust to deprive the purchaser of a fish of anything inside it, and also unjust to deprive a mother of her child, decided that the child belonged equally to both. So he became the heir of both families, and was therefore called Bak-kula, ‘ the two-family-one ’ (Bak = Bâ = Dvâ). On the real derivation of Bakkula, see Dr. Morris in the ‘ *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*,’ 1886, pp. 94-99. We need not quarrel with a false etymology which shows us so clearly the origin of the legend. Then Bakkula enjoys great prosperity in the orthodox three palaces, and at eighty years of age, being still in vigorous health, enters the Order.

of special vows¹,—there is no being like unto the Blessed One. [217] For this, O king, has been said by the Blessed One, the god of gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikāya*²:

“Whatsoever beings, O brethren, there may be—whether without feet, or bipeds, or four-footed things, whether with a body, or without a body, whether conscious or unconscious, or neither conscious nor not—the Tathâgata is acknowledged to be the chief of all, the Arahata, the Buddha Supreme.”

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say³.’

[Here ends the problem as to the superiority of
Bakkula to the Buddha.]

¹ The Dhutangas, enumerated below, p. 351 (of the Pâli text).

² *Samyutta Nikāya* XLIV, 103.

³ This piece of casuistry is not so entirely at variance with the context of the second passage (quoted from the *Âṅguttara* I, 14) as would seem at first sight. The answer practically amounts to this, that though each of many disciples may be superior to the Buddha in certain bodily qualities, or even in the special vows known as Dhutangas, yet he surpasses them in the ‘weightier matters of the law.’ It is true that one of the instances given, that of the *Īhâna-kaṅkamikâ*, is not included in the list of Dhutangas, and in the long enumeration in the *Âṅguttara* of those of the disciples who were ‘chief’ in any way, ‘weightier matters of the law’ are not overlooked. But ‘meditation on foot’ is of the same nature as the acknowledged Dhutangas, and none of the five special points in which Nâgasena places especially the superiority of the Buddha (uprightness, &c.), is mentioned in the *Âṅguttara*. Nevertheless the logical reply to the problem proposed would have been that in the *Âṅguttara* the superiority spoken of is over other disciples, and not over the Buddha.

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-FOURTH.

THE ORIGINALITY OF THE BUDDHA'S TEACHING.]

12. 'Venerable Nâgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One :

"The Tathâgata, O brethren, the Arahata, the Buddha supreme¹, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown²."

'But on the other hand he said :

"Now I perceived, O brethren, the ancient way, the ancient path, along which the previous Buddhas walked²."

'If, Nâgasena, the Tathâgata be the discoverer of a way not previously found out, then it must be wrong that it was an ancient way that he perceived, an ancient path along which previous Buddhas walked. But if the way he perceived were an ancient way, then the statement that it was unknown must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

13. 'Both the quotations you make, O king, are accurate. And both the statements so made are correct. When the previous Tathâgatas, O king, had disappeared, then, there being no teacher left, their way too disappeared. And it was that way—though then broken up, crumbled away, gone to ruin, closed in, no longer passable, quite lost to view—[218] that the Tathâgata, having gained a

¹ Supreme, that is, in comparison with the Paṭṭeka Buddhas, 'Buddhas for themselves alone:' whereas the 'altogether Buddha' can not only see the truth for himself, but also persuade others of it.

² These two quotations are from the Samyutta Nikâya XXI, 58 and X, 2, 65, says Mr. Trenckner, but I cannot trace them in M. Feer's edition.

thorough knowledge of it, saw by the eye of his wisdom¹, (and knew it) as the way that previous Buddhas trod. And therefore is it that he said :

“Now I perceived, O brethren, the ancient way, the ancient path along which previous Buddhas walked.”

‘And it was a way which—there being, through the disappearance of previous Tathâgatas, no teacher left—was a way then broken up, crumbled away, gone to ruin, closed in, and lost to view, that the Tathâgata made now passable again. And therefore is it that he said :

“The Tathâgata, O brethren, the Arahât, the Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown.”

14. ‘Suppose, O king, that on the disappearance of a sovran overlord, the mystic Gem of Sovranty lay concealed in a cleft on the mountain peak, and that on another sovran overlord arriving at his supreme dignity, it should appear to him. Would you then say, O king, that the Gem was produced by him²?’

‘Certainly not, Sir! The Gem would be in its original condition. But it has received, as it were, a new birth through him.’

‘Just so, O king, is it that the Blessed One, gaining a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of

¹ ‘The wisdom arising from the perception of the Four Noble Truths’ is Hīnaśi-kumburê’s gloss.

² The wondrous Gem-treasure of the king of kings (the Ve/uriya, etymologically the same as beryl, but probably meaning cat’s-eye) is supposed, like the other mystic treasures, to come to him of its own accord, on his becoming sovran overlord. See my ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 256 (S. B. E., vol. xi).

his wisdom, brought back to life and made passable again the most excellent eightfold way in its original condition as when it was walked along by the previous Tathâgatas,—though that way, when there was no teacher more, had become broken up, had crumbled away, had gone to ruin, was closed in, and lost to view. And therefore is it that he said :

“The Tathâgata, O brethren, the Arahata, the Buddha supreme, is the discoverer of a way that was unknown.”

15. ‘It is, O king, as when a mother brings forth from her womb the child that is already there, and the saying is that the mother has given birth to the child. Just so, O king, did the Tathâgata, having gained a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of his wisdom, bring into life, and make passable again, a way that was already there, though then broken up, crumbled away, gone to ruin, closed in, and lost to view.

‘It is as when some man or other finds a thing that has been lost, and the people use the phrase : “He has brought it back to life.” [219] And it is as when a man clears away the jungle, and sets free¹ a piece of land, and the people use the phrase : “That is his land.” But that land is not made by him. It is because he has brought the land into use that he is called the owner of the land. Just so, O king, did the Tathâgata, having gained a thorough knowledge of it by the eye of his wisdom, bring back to life, and make passable again, a way that was already there, though then broken up, crumbled

¹ Nîharati. Âvaranaya kara ganneya says Hîna/i-kumburê.

Digitized by Google

‘Now, Nâgasena, if it is true what the Buddha said, that, in his former births as a man, he inflicted no hurt on living beings, then the saying that, as Lomasa Kassapa, he had hundreds of living creatures slain must be false. But if he had, then the saying that he inflicted no hurt on living beings must be false. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.’

17. ‘The Blessed One did say, O king, that already in former births, when he was a man, he had acquired the habit of inflicting no hurt on living beings. And Lomasa Kassapa, the Rishi, did have hundreds of living creatures slain, and offered the great sacrifice, the “Drink of Triumph.” [220] But that was done when he was out of his mind through lust, and not when he was conscious of what he was doing.’

‘There are these eight classes of men, Nâgasena, who kill living beings—the lustful man through his lust, and the cruel man through his anger, and the dull man through his stupidity, and the proud man through his pride, and the avaricious man through his greed, and the needy man for the sake of a livelihood, and the fool in joke, and the king in the way of punishment. These, Nâgasena, are the eight classes of men who kill living beings. The Bodisat, venerable Nâgasena, must have been acting in accordance with his natural disposition when he did so.’

‘No, it was not, O king, an act natural to him that the Bodisat did then. If the Bodisat had been led, by natural inclination, to offer the great sacrifice, he would not have uttered the verse :

of king Lomapâda’s sacrifice (*Râmâyana* I, 8, 11 foll.) it is the arva-medha, the horse sacrifice, which is offered.

“Not the whole world, Sayha, the ocean girt,
With all the seas and hills that girdle it,
Would I, desire to have, along with shame¹.”

‘But though, O king, the Bodisat had said that, yet at the very sight of *Kandavatī* (Moon-face), the princess², he went out of his mind and lost command of himself through love. And it was when thus out of his mind, confused and agitated, that he, with his thoughts all perplexed, scattered and wandering, thus offered the great sacrifice, the “Drink of Triumph,”—and mighty was the outpour of blood from the necks of the slaughtered beasts!

‘Just, O king, as a madman, when out of his senses, will step into a fiery furnace, and take hold of an infuriated venomous snake, and go up to a rogue elephant, and plunge forwards into great waters, the further shore of which he cannot see, and trample through dirty pools and muddy places³, and rush into thorny brakes, and fall down precipices, and feed himself on filth, and go naked through the streets, and do many other things improper to be done—just so was it, O king, that at the very sight of *Kandavatī*, the princess, the Bodisat went out of his mind, and then only acted as I have said⁴.

18. [221] ‘Now an evil act done, O king, by one out of his mind, is even in this present world not considered as a grievous offence, nor is it so in

¹ This verse is found not only in the 433rd *Gāṭaka* (loc. cit.), but also in the *Sayha Gāṭaka*, No. 310, a shorter recension of the same story.

² *Hīnaśi-kumburē* here summarises the whole story.

³ *Kandanikā* and *oḷigalla*. See *Anguttara* III, 57, 1; *Magghima* I, 11, 448; *Thera Gāthā* 567; *Kullavagga* V, 17, 1. *Hīnaśi-kumburē* spells the second word with an ordinary l.

⁴ The text repeats the last paragraph.

respect of the fruit that it brings about in a future life. Suppose, O king, that a madman had been guilty of a capital offence, what punishment would you inflict upon him ?'

'What punishment is due to a madman ? We should order him to be beaten and set free. That is all the punishment he would have.'

'So then, O king, there is no punishment according to the offence of a madman. It follows that there is no sin in the act done by a madman, it is a pardonable act. And just so, O king, is it with respect to Lomasa Kassapa, the Rishi, who at the mere sight of *Kandavati*, the princess, went out of his mind, and lost command of himself through love. It was when thus out of his mind, confused and agitated, that he, with his thoughts all perplexed, scattered and wandering, thus offered the great sacrifice, the "Drink of Triumph,"—and mighty was the outpour of blood from the necks of the slaughtered beasts ! But when he returned again to his natural state, and recovered his presence of mind, then did he again renounce the world, and having regained the five powers of insight, became assured of rebirth in the Brahma world.'

'Very good, *Nāgasena* ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma about Lomasa Kassapa ¹.]

¹ It is very instructive to notice the way in which our author looks upon the historical Buddha and the various heroes of the *Gâtaka* Stories as so absolutely identical that he feels obliged to defend the conduct of all the 'types' as earnestly as he would that of the Buddha himself. There is no such conception in the *Piṭakas*, and the whole tone of our author's argument reveals the lateness of his date as compared with the *Piṭakas*.

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-SIXTH.]

THE MOCKING OF THE BUDDHA.]

19. 'Venerable Nāgasena, it was said by the Blessed One of Six-tusks, the elephant king,
 "When he sought to slay him, and had reached him
 with his trunk,

He perceived the yellow robe, the badge of a recluse,

Then, though smarting with the pain, the thought possessed his heart,—

'He who wears the outward garb the Arahats wear
 Must be scatheless held, and sacred, by the good¹.'

'But on the other hand it is said :

"When he was Gotipāla, the young Brahman, he reviled and abused Kassapa the Blessed One, the Arahāt, the Buddha supreme, with vile and bitter words, calling him a shaveling and a good-for-nothing monk²."

'Now if, Nāgasena, the Bodisat, even when he was an animal, respected the yellow robe, [222] then the statement that as Gotipāla, a Brahman, he reviled and abused the Blessed One of that time, must be false. But if as a Brahman, he reviled and abused the Blessed One, the statement that when he was Six-tusks, the elephant king, he respected the yellow robe, must be false. If when the Bodisat was an animal, though he was suffering severe and cruel and bitter pain, he respected the yellow robe

¹ From the *Kāḍḍanta Gāṭaka*, No. 514 (Fausböll, vol. v, p. 49); with which compare the *Kāsāva Gāṭaka*, No. 221 (vol. ii, p. 196).

² This has not been found in these words, but Mr. Trenckner refers to *Magghima Nikāya*, No. 81. Compare also *Gāṭaka I*, 43.

which the hunter had put on, how was it that when he was a man, a man arrived at discretion, with all his knowledge mature, he did not pay reverence, on seeing him, to Kassapa the Blessed One, the Arahāt, the Buddha supreme, one endowed with the ten powers, the leader of the world, the highest of the high, round whom effulgence spread a fathom on every side, and who was clad in most excellent and precious and delicate Benares cloth made into yellow robes? This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

20. 'The verse you have quoted, O king, was spoken by the Blessed One. And Kassapa the Blessed One, the Arahāt, the Buddha supreme, was abused and reviled by Gotipāla the young Brahman with vile and bitter words, with the epithets of shaveling and good-for-nothing monk. But that was owing to his birth and family surroundings. For Gotipāla, O king, was descended from a family of unbelievers, men void of faith. His mother and father, his sisters and brothers, the bondswomen and bondsmen, the hired servants and dependents in the house, were worshippers of Brahmā, reverers of Brahmā; and harbouring the idea that Brahmans were the highest and most honourable among men, they reviled and loathed those others who had renounced the world. It was through hearing what they said that Gotipāla, when invited by Ghaṭikāra the potter to visit the teacher, replied: "What's the good to you of visiting that shaveling, that good-for-nothing monk?"

[223] 21. 'Just, O king, as even nectar when mixed with poison will turn sour, just as the coolest water in contact with fire will become warm, so was

it that Gotipāla, the young Brahman, having been born and brought up in a family of unbelievers, men void of faith, thus reviled and abused the Tathāgata after the manner of his kind. And just, O king, as a flaming and burning mighty fire, if, even when at the height of its glory, it should come into contact with water, would cool down, with its splendour and glory spoilt, and turn to cinders, black as rotten blighted¹ fruits—just so, O king, Gotipāla, full as he was of merit and faith, mighty as was the glory of his knowledge, yet when reborn into a family of unbelievers, of men void of faith, he became, as it were, blind, and reviled and abused the Tathāgata. But when he had gone to him, and had come to know the virtues of the Buddhas which he had, then did he become as his hired servant; and having renounced the world and entered the Order under the system of the Conqueror, he gained the fivefold power of insight, and the eightfold power of ecstatic meditation, and became assured of rebirth into the Brahma heaven.'

'Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma about Gotipāla.]

¹ *Niggundi*, which *Hīnañ-kumburē* merely repeats. See *Gāṭaka* III, 348; IV, 456; *Dhammapada Commentary*, p. 209; *Aṅguttara* IV, 199; and Dr. Morris's restoration of *Dīpavamsa* XII, 32, in the Introduction to vol. ii of his *Aṅguttara*.

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-SEVENTH.]

THE HELPLESSNESS OF A BUDDHA.]

22. 'Venerable Nâgasena, this too has been said by the Blessed One :

"Ghaṭṭikâra the potter's dwelling-place remained, the whole of it, for three months open to the sky, and no rain fell upon it¹."

'But on the other hand it is said :

"Rain fell on the hut of Kassapa the Tathâgata¹."

'How was it, venerable Nâgasena, that the hut of a Tathâgata, the roots of whose merits were so widely spread², got wet? One would think that a Tathâgata should have the power to prevent that. If, Nâgasena, Ghaṭṭikâra the potter's dwelling was kept dry when it was open to the sky, it cannot be true that a Tathâgata's hut got wet. But if it did, then it must be false that the potter's dwelling was kept dry. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

23. 'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are correct. [224] Ghaṭṭikâra the potter was a good man, beautiful in character, deeply rooted in merit, who supported his old and blind mother and father. And when he was absent, the people, without so much as asking his leave, took away the thatch from his dwelling to roof in with it the hut of the Tathâgata. Then, unmoved and unshaken at his thatch being thus removed, but filled rather

¹ Both these quotations are from the *Magghima Nikâya*, No. 31 (the *Ghaṭṭikâra Suttanta*).

² *Ussanna-kusala-mûla*. See *Gâtaka I*, 145.

with a well-grounded and great joy the like of which cannot be found, an immeasurable bliss sprang up in his heart at the thought: "May the Blessed One, the chief of the world, have full confidence in me." And thereby did he obtain merit which brought forth its good result even in this present life.

24. 'And the Tathâgata, O king, was not disturbed by that temporary inconvenience (of the falling rain). Just, O king, as Sineru, the king of the mountains, moves not, neither is shaken, by the onslaught of innumerable gales¹—just as the mighty ocean, the home of the great waters, is not filled up, neither is disturbed at all, by the inflow of innumerable great rivers—just so, O king, is a Tathâgata unmoved at temporary inconvenience.

'And that the rain fell upon the Tathâgata's hut happened out of consideration for the great masses of the people. For there are two circumstances, O king, which prevent the Tathâgatas from themselves supplying (by creative power) any requisite of which they may be in need². And what are the two? Men and gods, by supplying the requisites of a Buddha on the ground that he is a teacher worthy of gifts, will thereby be set free from rebirth in states of woe. And lest others should find fault, saying: "They seek their livelihood by the working of miracles." If, O king, Sakka had kept that hut dry, or even Brahmâ himself, even then that action would have been faulty, wrong, and worthy of censure. For people might then say: "These Buddhas by

¹ Aneka-sata-sahassa-vâta-sampahârena. Perhaps 'by the battle (raging round it) of innumerable gales,' the onslaught of the winds being not against it, but against one another.

² Literally 'from receiving any self-created requisite.'

their dexterity¹ befool and lord it over the world." That is the reason why such action would have been better left undone. The Tathâgatas, O king, do not ask for any advantage; and it is because they ask for nothing that they are held blameless.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma about Ghaṭikâra the potter.]

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-EIGHTH.

WHY GOTAMA CLAIMED TO BE A BRAHMAN.]

[225] 25. 'Venerable Nâgasena, this too was said by the Blessed One :

"A Brahman am I, O brethren, devoted to self-sacrifice²."

'But on the other hand he declared :

"A king am I, Sela³."

'If, Nâgasena, the Blessed One were a Brahman, then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a king. But if he were a king, then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahman. He must have been either a Khattiya or a Brahman. For he could not have belonged, in the same birth, to two castes. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

¹ Vibhûsam katvâ. Daksha-kriyâ koṭa says Hînaśi-kumburê. The expression has not been found elsewhere.

² This passage has already been quoted above (IV, 4, 55). It has not been traced in the Piṭakas.

³ These words from the Sela Sutta (Sutta Nipâta III, 7, 7) have also been already discussed above (IV, 3, 33, 34).

26. 'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are correct. But there is good reason why the Tathâgata should have been both Brahman and also king.'

'Pray what, Nâgasena, can be that reason?'

'Because all evil qualities, not productive of merit, are in the Tathâgata suppressed, abandoned, put away, dispelled, rooted out, destroyed, come to an end, gone out, and ceased, therefore is it that the Tathâgata is called a Brahman¹. A Brahman², O king, means one who has passed beyond hesitation, perplexity, and doubt. And it is because the Tathâgata has done all this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who has escaped from every sort and class of becoming, who is entirely set free from evil and from stain, who is dependent on himself³, and it is because the Tathâgata is all of these things, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who cultivates within himself the highest and best of the excellent and supreme

¹ This argument is based on the false etymology that brâhmaṇo = bâhita-pâpo ('he in whom evil is suppressed'), adopted by Hīnaśī-kumburê above at IV, 4, 55. Buddhaghosa, in the Sumaṅgala, p. 244, has another derivation: Brahmanam anatīti brâhmaṇo. As Brahmanam has not been found elsewhere except as the accusative of Brahmā the name of the god, and as anatī only occurs in this passage, it might be contended that Buddhaghosa means an 'invoker of Brahmā.' But I think he is correct in his etymology, and intends to interpret the word Brahman as 'intoner of prayer.'

² The Arahāt-Brahman says Hīnaśī-kumburê.

³ Asahāyo, literally 'has no friend.' I am not sure that I have rightly understood this term, which I have not found elsewhere applied to the Arahāt. Hīnaśī-kumburê merely repeats the word.

conditions of heart¹. And it is because the Tathâgata does this that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who carries on the line of the tradition of the ancient instructions concerning the learning and the teaching of sacred writ, concerning the acceptance of gifts, concerning subjugation of the senses, self-control in conduct, and performance of duty. And it is because the Tathâgata carries on the line of the tradition of the ancient rules enjoined by the Conquerors² regarding all these things, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. [226] A Brahman, O king, means one who enjoys the supreme bliss of the ecstatic meditation. And it is because the Tathâgata does this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who knows the course and revolution of births in all forms of existence. And it is because the Tathâgata knows this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. The appellation "Brahman," O king, was not given to the Blessed One by his mother, nor his father, not by his brother, nor his sister, not by his friends, nor his relations, not by spiritual teachers of any sort, no, not by the gods. It is by reason of their emancipation that this is the name of the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones. From the moment when, under the Tree of Wisdom, they had overthrown the armies of the Evil One, had suppressed in themselves all evil qualities not productive of merit, and had attained to the knowledge of the Omniscient

¹ Dibba-vihâro; rendered *divya-viharana* by Hînaś-kumburê. It cannot mean here 'state of being a deva in the *kamaloka*' as rendered by Childers.

² That is, of course, the previous Buddhas.

Ones, it was from the acquisition of this insight, the appearance in them of this enlightenment, that this true designation became applied to them,—the name of “Brahman.” And that is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a Brahman¹.

27. ‘Then what is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king?’

‘A king means, O king, one who rules and guides the world, and the Blessed One rules in righteousness over the ten thousand world systems, he guides the whole world with its men and gods, its evil spirits and its good ones², and its teachers, whether Samanas or Brahmans. That is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king. A king means, O king, one who, exalted above all ordinary men, making those related to him rejoice, and those opposed to him mourn; raises aloft the Sunshade of Sovranty, of pure and stainless white, with its handle of firm hard wood³, and its many hundred ribs⁴,—the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. And the Blessed One, O king, making the army of the Evil One, those given over to false doctrine, mourn; filling the hearts of those, among gods or men, devoted to sound doctrine, with joy; [227] raises aloft over the ten thousand world systems the Sunshade of his Sovranty, pure and stainless in the whiteness of emancipation,

¹ This is a striking instance of argument in a circle. The word Brahman is first interpreted in its technical Buddhist sense of Arahant, and then the Buddha, as Arahant, is called a Brahman. The only paragraph based on the real transition of meaning in the term is that referring to the holding up of tradition.

² Samârakam sabrahmakam, ‘with its Mâras and Brahmans.’

³ Araṭu, says Hīnaś-kumburê; that is wood from the heart of the tree.

⁴ Salâkâ, which Hīnaś-kumburê repeats, adding ‘of the highest wisdom.’

with its hundreds of ribs fashioned out of the highest wisdom, with its handle firm and strong through long suffering,—the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. That too is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king. A king is one who is held worthy of homage by the multitudes who approach him, who come into his presence. And the Blessed One, O king, is held worthy of homage by multitudes of beings, whether gods or men, who approach him, who come into his presence. That too is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king. A king is one who, when pleased with a strenuous servant, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, at his own good pleasure, any costly gift the officer may choose¹. And the Blessed One, O king, when pleased with any one who has been strenuous in word or deed or thought, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, as a selected gift, the supreme deliverance from all sorrow,—far beyond all material gifts². That too is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king. A king is one who censures, fines³, or executes the man who trans-

¹ *Varitam varam*. 'A gift appropriate to the service approved of' says Hînaśi-kumburê. And the word is not in Childers. But compare the use of *varam* *varati* at *Gâtaka* III, 493.

² *Asesa-kâma-varena*, for which Hînaśi-kumburê has *asesa-kâmâvaṭṭarāyem*. Mr. Trenckner adds a *ka*, which, as being entirely superfluous, he puts in brackets. There can be but little doubt that the corrected reading is *asesa-kâmâvaṭṭarena*, and that the literal rendering would be 'gladdens him by that which has left in it nothing connected with (life in) the world of sense; to wit, deliverance from all sorrow' (that is deliverance from *samsara*).

Parimutti, which I have not found in the *Piṭakas*, and which is not in Childers, occurs above (p. 112 of the Pâli text) in the same connection.

³ *Gâpeti*. See my notes above on vol. i, p. 240, and below on VII, 5, 10. The Sinhalese has here *dhana-dânaya karanneya*, where *dânaya* must be *gâni*.

gresses the royal commands. And so, O king, the man who, in shamelessness or discontent, transgresses the command of the Blessed One, as laid down in the rules of his Order, that man, despised, disgraced and censured, is expelled from the religion of the Conqueror. That too is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king. A king is one who in his turn proclaiming laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the righteous kings of ancient times, and thus carrying on his rule in righteousness, becomes beloved and dear to the people, desired in the world, and by the force of his righteousness establishes his dynasty long in the land. And the Blessed One, O king, proclaiming in his turn laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the Buddhas of ancient times, and thus in righteousness being teacher of the world,—he too is beloved and dear to both gods and men, desired by them, and by the force of his righteousness he makes his religion last long in the land. That too is the reason why the Tathâgata is called a king.

‘Thus, O king, so many are the reasons why the Tathâgata should be both Brahman and also king, that the ablest of the brethren could scarcely in an æon enumerate them all. Why then should I dilate any further? Accept what I have said only in brief.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha
belonging to two castes.]

[DILEMMA THE FORTY-NINTH.
GIFTS TO THE BUDDHA.]

[228] 28. 'Venerable Nāgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One :

" Gifts chaunted for in sacred hymns
Are gifts I must not take.
All those who see into the Truth
Do this their practice make.
The Buddhas all refused to chaunt for wage ;
This was their conduct still
Whene'er the Truth prevailed
Through every age¹."

' But on the other hand the Blessed One, when preaching the Truth, or talking of it, was in the habit of beginning with the so-called " preliminary discourse," in which giving has the first place, and goodness only the second². So that when gods and men heard this discourse of the Blessed One, the lord of the whole world, they prepared and gave gifts, and the disciples partook of the alms thus brought about. Now if, Nāgasena, it be true what the Blessed One said, that he accepted no gifts earned by the chaunting of sacred words, then it was wrong that the Blessed One put giving thus

¹ This stanza occurs no less than five times in those portions of the *Piṭakas* already published. See *Sutta Nipāta* I, 4, 6 and III, 4, 27, and *Samyutta Nikāya* VII, 1, 8, VII, 1, 9, and VII, 2, 1. The rhythm of the Pāli is strikingly beautiful, and is quite spoilt in the rendering.

² See, for instance, *Dīgha Nikāya* V, 28 ; *Mahāvagga* I, 7, 5 and 10 ; V, 1, 9 ; VI, 26, 8 ; and *Kullavagga* VI, 4, 5. As there is a doubt about the spelling, Fausbøll at *Gātaka* I, 8, and I, 30, and our MSS. of the *Dīgha* reading *ānupubbi-kathā*, whereas Childers and Oldenberg read *anupubbi-kathā*, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the *Sinhalese* has the short *a*.

into the foreground. But if he did rightly in so emphasizing the giving of gifts, then it is not true that he accepted no gifts earned by the utterance of sacred words. And why so? Because if any one worthy of offerings should praise to the laity the good results to them of the bestowal of alms, they, hearing that discourse, and pleased with it, will proceed to give alms again and again. And then, whosoever enjoy that gift, they are really enjoying that which has been earned by the utterance of sacred words. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.'

29. 'The stanza you quote, O king, was spoken by the Blessed One. And yet he used to put the giving of alms into the forefront of his discourse. But this is the custom of all the Tathāgatas—first by discourse on almsgiving to make the hearts of hearers inclined towards it, and then afterwards to urge them to righteousness. This is as when men, O king, give first of all to young children things to play with—[229] such as toy ploughs¹, tip-cat sticks², toy wind-mills³, measures made of leaves⁴, toy carts,

¹ All these articles are mentioned in the *Dīgha Nikāya* I, 1, 14. Buddhaghosa explains the first word (*vaṅkakaṃ*) as toy ploughs. Hoops the Indian children do not have, probably for want of suitable roads.

² *Ghaṭikāṃ*, which is, according to Buddhaghosa, a game played by striking a short stick with a long one; and according to *Hīnaṣi-kumburē* the game called in *Siṃhalese* *kalli*. Clough has this word, but simply explains it as a game so called.

³ *Kīṅgulakāṃ*, which is, according to Buddhaghosa, a little wheel made of cocoa-nut leaves, which is set turning by the impact of the wind. *Hīnaṣi-kumburē* says 'an *cembaruwa* (twirling thing) made of cocoa-nut leaves.'

⁴ *Pattāḥakāṃ*. Buddhaghosa and the *Siṃhalese* agree in rendering this 'toy measures.'

and bows and arrows—and afterwards appoint to each his separate task. Or it is as when a physician first causes his patients to drink oil for four or five days in order to strengthen them, and to soften their bodies; and then afterwards administers a purge. The supporters of the faith, O king, the lordly givers, have their hearts thus softened, made tender, affected. Thereby do they cross over to the further shore of the ocean of transmigration by the aid of the boat of their gifts, by the support of the causeway of their gifts. And (the Buddha), by this (method in his teaching), is not guilty of “intimation¹.”

30. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, when you say “intimation” what are these intimations?’

‘There are two sorts, O king, of intimation—bodily and verbal. And there is one bodily intimation which is wrong, and one that is not; and there is one verbal intimation which is wrong, and one that is not. Which is the bodily intimation which is wrong? Suppose any member of the Order, in going his rounds for alms, should, when choosing a spot to stand on, stand where there is no room², that is a bodily intimation which is wrong. The true members of the Order will not accept any alms so asked for, and the individual who thus acts is despised, looked down upon, not respected, held blameworthy, disregarded, not well thought of, in the religion of the Noble Ones; he is reckoned as

¹ *Viññatti*. It is a breach of rules for a member of the Order to ask, in words, for an alms. For a Buddha to lay stress, in a discourse, on the advantages of almsgiving does not, Nāgasena means, make him guilty of this offence.

² And thus cause an obstruction, and attract attention to the fact that he is there. I do not know of any such prohibition in the Vinaya.

one of those who have broken their (vows as to) means of livelihood. And again, O king, suppose any member of the Order, in going his round for alms, should stand where there is no room, and stretch out his neck like a peacock on the gaze, in the hope: "Thus will the folk see me"—that too is a bodily intimation which is wrong. True brethren will not accept an alms so asked for, and he who thus acts is regarded like the last. And again, O king, suppose any member of the Order should make a sign with his jaw, or with his eyebrow, or with his finger—[230] that too is a bodily intimation which is wrong. True brethren will not accept an alms so asked for, and he who thus acts is regarded the same way.

31. 'And which is the bodily intimation which is not wrong? If a brother, on going his round for alms, be self-possessed, tranquil, conscious of his acts; if he stand, wherever he may go, in the kind of spot that is lawful; if he stand still where there are people desirous to give, and where they are not so desirous, if he pass on¹;—that is a bodily intimation which is not wrong. Of an alms so stood for the true members of the Order will partake; and the individual who thus asks is, in the religion of the Noble Ones, praised, thought highly of, esteemed, and reckoned among those whose behaviour is without guile, whose mode of livelihood is pure. For thus has it been said by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"The truly wise beg not, for Arahats scorn to beg.

¹ The author has *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 2 in his mind, where the signs (of their being willing or not) are specified.

The good stand for their alms, thus only do they beg¹."

32. 'Which is the verbal intimation which is wrong? In case, O king, a brother intimate his wish for a number of things, requisites of a member of the Order—robes and bowls and bedding and medicine for the sick—that is a verbal intimation which is wrong. Things so asked for the true members of the Order (Ariyâ) will not accept; and in the religion of the Noble Ones the individual who acts thus is despised, looked down upon, not respected, held blameworthy, disregarded, not well thought of—reckoned rather as one who has broken his (vows as to) means of livelihood. And again, O king, in case a brother should, in the hearing of others, speak thus: "I am in want of such and such a thing;" and in consequence of that saying being heard by the others he should then get that thing—that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong. True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained, and he who acts thus is regarded like the last. And again, O king, in case a brother, dilating in his talk², give the people about him to understand: "Thus and thus should gifts be given to the Bhik-

¹ From *Gâtaka* III, 354. The words are there ascribed, not to the Buddha, but to the Bodisat in the story.

The word translated Arahats is Ariyâ, which is taken here, as elsewhere, as a dissyllable, and pronounced Aryâ. It is the same as our word Aryans, and is rendered above Noble Ones. I do not think that it is applied exclusively to Arahats.

² *Vaḥī-vipphârena*. The expression has not been found elsewhere, nor is it in Childers. The *Sinhalese* has: 'dilating on the words obtaining in this religion.' I presume it means, that not content with praising almsgiving in general, he particularises. Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 37.

khus," and in case they, on hearing that saying, should bring forth from their store anything so referred to—that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong. True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained, and he who acts thus is regarded like the last. [231] For when Sâriputta, the Elder, O king, being ill in the night-time, after the sun had set, and being questioned by Moggallâna, the Elder, as to what medicine would do him good, broke silence; and through that breach of silence obtained the medicine—did not Sâriputta then, saying to himself: "This medicine has come through breach of silence; let not my (adherence to the rules regarding) livelihood be broken," reject that medicine, and use it not¹? So that too is a verbal intimation which is wrong. True members of the Order will not use a thing so obtained, and he who acts thus is regarded like the last.

33. 'And what is the verbal intimation which is right? Suppose a brother, O king, when there is necessity for it, should intimate among families either related to him, or which had invited him to spend the season of Was with him², that he is in want of medicines—this is a verbal intimation which is not wrong. True members of the Order will partake of things so asked for; and the individual who acts thus is, in the religion of the Noble Ones, praised, thought highly of, esteemed, reckoned among those whose mode of livelihood is pure,

¹ This story has not yet been traced; but the Sinhalese (p. 317) gives it at great length.

² *Ñâti-pavâritesu kulesu*. Compare *Pâkittiya* 39 ('Vinaya Texts,' vol. i, p. 39).

approved of the Tathâgatas, the Arahats, the Supreme Buddhas. And the alms that the Tathâgata, O king, refused to accept of Kasî-Bhâradvâga, the Brahman¹, that was presented for the sake of testing him with an intricate puzzle which he would have to unwind², for the sake of pulling him away, of convicting him of error, of making him acknowledge himself in the wrong. Therefore was it that the Tathâgata refused that alms, and would not partake thereof.'

34. 'Nâgasena, was it always, whenever the Tathâgata was eating, that the gods infused the Sap of Life from heaven into the contents of his bowl, or was it only into those two dishes—the tender boar's flesh, and the rice porridge boiled in milk—that they infused it³ ?'

'Whenever he was eating, O king, and into each morsel of food as he picked it up—just as the royal cook takes the sauce and pours it over each morsel in the dish while the king is partaking of it⁴. [232] And so at Verañgâ, when the Tathâgata was eating the cakes⁵ made of dried barley, the gods moistened each one with the Sap of Life, as they placed it

¹ See Sutta Nipâta I, 4. The Sinhalese always has a long î in Kasî.

² Âvetthana. Compare the use of all these terms above, II, 1, 3 (vol. i, p. 46).

³ There is nothing about this infusion of the Sap of Life (*dibbam ogam*) in the published texts of the *Piṭakas*. But it is mentioned in the account in the *Gâtaka Commentary* of the second meal referred to ('Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 92). The other is, of course, the Buddha's last meal, 'Book of the Great Decease,' IV, 14-23 (in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 71-73).

⁴ Hīnañ-kumburê gives here a great deal of additional matter (pp. 314-324).

⁵ Pulake; which the Sinhalese renders *peti*.

near him¹. And thus was the body of the Tathâgata fully refreshed.'

'Great indeed was the good fortune, Nâgasena, of those gods that they were ever and always so zealous in their care for the body of the Tathâgata! Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the problem as to the Buddha's mode of livelihood.]

[DILEMMA THE FIFTIETH.

ON THE BUDDHA'S AFTER-DOUBT².]

35. 'Venerable Nâgasena, your people say:

"The Tathâgata gradually, through millions of years, through æon after æon³, brought his omniscient wisdom to perfection for the sake of the salvation of the great masses of the people⁴."

'But on the other hand (they say)⁵:

"Just after he had attained to omniscience his

¹ I am not sure what meal is here referred to. The Buddha is twice said to have taken meals at *Veraṅgâ* (in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*, pp. 6, 11; *Pârâgika* I, 2 and I, 4). In neither case is there any mention of these cakes. But the former of the two may be the one referred to, as it took place in a time of drought.

² Compare my manual 'Buddhism,' p. 41.

³ Literally 'through four Asaṅkheyyas and a lak of Kappas.'

⁴ This passage has not yet been traced in the *Piṭakas*, and the word *samuddharanâ* (rendered 'salvation') does not occur elsewhere in published texts. It means literally 'bringing safe to shore.' Compare *samuddha/a* at *Saddhammopâyaṇa* 143 in the 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society' for 1887, p. 44.

⁵ See 'Vinaya Texts,' vol. i, p. 85, and *Samyutta Nikâya* VI, 1. The words are very slightly different.

heart inclined, not to the proclamation of the Truth, but to rest in peace."

'So that, Nâgasena, just as if an archer, or an archer's pupil, who had practised archery for many days with the object of fighting, should, when the day of the great battle had come, draw back—just so did the Tathâgata, who through countless ages had gradually matured his omniscience for the sake of bringing safe to the shore (of salvation) the great masses of the people, turn back, on the day when that omniscience had been reached, from proclaiming the Truth. Just as if a wrestler who through many days had practised wrestling should, when the day of the wrestling match¹ had come, draw back—just so did the Tathâgata, who through countless ages had gradually matured his omniscience for the sake of bringing safe to the shore (of salvation) the great masses of the people, turn back, on the day when that omniscience had been reached, from proclaiming the Truth.

'Now was it from fear, Nâgasena, that the Tathâgata drew back, or was it from inability to preach², or was it from weakness, or was it because he had not, after all, attained to omniscience? [233] What was the reason of this? Tell me, I pray, the reason, that my doubts may be removed. For if for so long a time he had perfected his wisdom with the object of saving the people, then the statement that he hesitated to announce the Truth must be wrong. But if that be true, then the other statement must be false. This too is a double-edged problem,

¹ Compare Sumaṅgala Vilâsini, p. 85.

² Apâka/atâya, not found elsewhere. I follow the Sinhalese, which has *bœna kiyana no dœnena bæwin*.

now put to you,—a problem profound, a knot hard to unravel,—which you have to solve.’

36. ‘The statements in both the passages you quote, O king, are correct. But that his heart inclined, not to the preaching of the truth, but to inaction, was because he saw, on the one hand, how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine¹, how hard to grasp and understand, how subtle, how difficult to penetrate into; and, on the other, how devoted beings are to the satisfaction of their lusts, how firmly possessed by false notions of Individualism². And so (he wavered) at the thought: “Whom shall I teach? And how can I teach him?”—his mind being directed to the idea of the powers of penetration which beings possessed.

‘Just, O king, as an able physician, when called in to a patient suffering from a complication of diseases, might reflect: “What can be the treatment, what the drug, by which this man’s sickness can be allayed?”—just so, O king, when the Tathâgata called to mind how afflicted were the people by all the kinds of malady which arise from sin, and how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine, how subtle, and how difficult to grasp, then at the thought: “Whom can I teach? And how shall I teach him?” did his heart incline rather to inaction than to preaching—[234] his mind being directed to the powers of penetration which beings possessed.

‘And just, O king, as a king, of royal blood, an anointed monarch, when he calls to mind the many

¹ ‘Of Arahatsip’ is Hinafi-kumburê’s gloss.

² Sakkâya-di//hi. The belief in being, instead of in becoming; the belief in the permanence of individuality. See my ‘Hibbert Lectures,’ pp. 211–214.

people who gain their livelihood in dependence on the king—the sentries and the body-guard, the retinue of courtiers, the trading folk, the soldiers and the royal messengers, the ministers and the nobles¹—might be exercised at the thought: “How now, in what way, shall I be able to conciliate them all?”—just so when the Tathâgata called to mind how profound and abstruse was the Doctrine, how subtle, and how difficult to grasp, and how devoted beings were to the satisfaction of their lusts, how firmly possessed by false notions of Individualism, then at the thought: “Whom shall I teach? And how shall I teach him?” did his heart incline rather to inaction than to preaching—his mind being directed to the powers of penetration which beings possessed.

37. ‘And this, too, is an inherent necessity in all Tathâgatas that it should be on the request of Brahmâ that they should proclaim the Dhamma. And what is the reason for that? All men in those times, with the ascetics and the monks, the wandering teachers and the Brahmans, were worshippers of Brahmâ, reverers of Brahmâ, placed their reliance on Brahmâ. And therefore, at the thought: “When so powerful and glorious, so famous and renowned, so high and mighty a one has shown himself inclined (to the Dhamma), then will the whole world of gods and men become inclined to it, hold it fitting, have faith in it”—on this ground, O king, the Tathâgatas preached the Dhamma when requested to do so by Brahmâ. For just, O king, as what a sovran or a minister of state shows homage to, or offers worship to, that will the rest of mankind, on

¹ On this list see below, IV, 6, 11.

the ground of the homage of so powerful a personage, show homage to and worship—just so, O king, when Brahmâ had paid homage to the Tathâgatas, so would the whole world of gods and men. For the world, O king, is a reverer of what is revered. And that is why Brahmâ asks of all Tathâgatas that they should make known the Doctrine, and why, on so being asked, they make it known¹.

‘Very good, Nâgasena! The puzzle has been well unravelled, most able has been your exposition. That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the problem as to the Buddha's hesitation to make the Doctrine known.]

Here ends the Fifth Chapter.

¹ Hīnañ-kumburê here gives a page of description—not found in the Pāli—of the episode of Brahmâ's request to the Buddha. The oldest account of this episode has been already translated in vol. xiii of the ‘Sacred Books of the East,’ in ‘Vinaya Texts,’ part i, pp. 84–88.

BOOK IV. CHAPTER 6.

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-FIRST.

CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENTS AS TO THE BUDDHA'S
TEACHER.]

1. [235] 'Venerable Nāgasena, this too has been said by the Blessed One :

"I have no teacher, and the man
Equal to me does not exist.
No rival to me can be found
In the whole world of gods and men¹."

'But on the other hand he said :

"Thus then, O brethren, Âlāra Kālāma, when he was my teacher and I was his pupil, placed me on an equality with himself, and honoured me with exceeding great honour²."

¹ This verse is found three times in the Piṭakas—in the Mahāvagga I, 6, 8, in the Ariya-pariyesana Sutta (*Magghima Nikāya* I, 171), and in the Aṅgulimāla Sutta (*Magghima Nikāya*, No. 86). It occurs with other stanzas of a similar tendency, and many of the lines in those stanzas are repeated, but with variations and in a different order, by the author of the *Lalita Vistara* (pp. 526, 527 of Rāgendra Lāl Mitra's edition). One verse is found there in two detached lines which run thus in the Sanskrit :—

Âtāryyo na hi me kaṣṭit, sadṛśo me na vidyate

and

Sadevâsuragandharvvo nâsti me pratipudgalaḥ.

Hinaṁ-kumburê renders *pratipuggalo*, not by 'rival,' but by 'superior.'

² Mr. Trenckner has pointed out that this quotation is found in two Suttas, Nos. 85 and 100 in the *Magghima Nikāya*.

‘Now if the former of these statements be right, then the second must be wrong. But if the second be right, then the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve.’

2. ‘Both the quotations you have made, O king, are accurate. But when he spoke of *Āṅāra Kālāma* as his teacher, that was a statement made with reference to the fact of his having been his teacher while he (*Gotama*) was still a *Bodisat* and before he had attained to insight and to *Buddhahood*; and there were five such teachers, O king, under whose tuition the *Bodisat* spent his time in various places—his teachers when he was still a *Bodisat*, before he had attained to insight and to *Buddhahood*. And who were these five?

3. ‘Those eight *Brahmans* who, just after the birth of the *Bodisat*, took note of the marks on his body—[236] *Rāma*, and *Dhaga*, and *Lakkhana*, and *Manti*¹, and *Yañña*², and *Suyāma*, and *Subhoga*³, and *Sudatta*⁴—they who then made known his future glory, and marked him out as one to be carefully guarded—these were first his teachers⁵.

¹ *Hīnaśi-kumburē* reads *Gâtimantī*. It may be noted that Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 149), who omits *Yañña*, gives *Gâti* and *Manta* as two separate names, and spells the last two names *Bhoga* *Sudanta*.

² So also the *Siṃhalese*, p. 329. But the *Gâtaka Commentary* (verse 270 at vol. i, p. 50) has *kondañña*.

³ The *Gâtaka Introduction* (loc. cit.) has *Bhoga*. The *Siṃhalese* has *Subhoga*.

⁴ *Hīnaśi-kumburē* agrees here with Hardy in reading *Sudanta*.

⁵ This episode has not been traced in the *Piṭakas*. The *Siṃhalese* here gives also the detail of the one and two fingers, found in the *Gâtaka*, and translated in my ‘*Buddhist Birth Stories*,’ p. 72.

‘And again, O king, the Brahman Sabbamitta of distinguished descent, who was of high lineage in the land of Udiṅka¹, a philologist and grammarian, well read in the six Vedaṅgas², whom Suddhodana the king, the Bodisat’s father, sent for, and having poured out the water of dedication from a golden vase, handed over the boy to his charge, to be taught—this was his second teacher³.

‘And again, O king, the god who raised the agitation in the Bodisat’s heart, at the sound of whose speech the Bodisat, moved and anxious, that very moment went out from the world in his Great Renunciation—this was his third teacher⁴.

¹ In the North-West. See *Gâtaka* I, 140, &c.

² *Khaṅgavantaṃ*. These are phonetics, prosody, grammar, exegesis, astronomy, and ritual. I was wrong in taking Childers’s interpretation of this word at ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 72.

³ This episode is also not in the *Piṭakas*. On *onogeti* see *Mahāvagga* I, 22, 18. Sabbamitra is given in the *Thera Gāthā*, I, 150, as the name of a Thera, and in the *Divyāvadana*, p. 420, as the name of Asoka’s herald or court crier.

⁴ There is nothing about any such devatā in the *Piṭakas*. *Hīnaśi-kumburē* takes it to mean the god who took the outward appearance of the four visions—an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and a recluse. But in that story—which is not related in the *Piṭakas* of the Buddha, though it is referred to in connection with him at *Buddhavaṃsa* XXVI, p. 16—the god does not speak. The only god whose words are said, in any of the later Pāli legends, to have agitated the Bodisat’s heart at that moment, was the Evil One himself; and that only in one version of the legend, the Pāli authority for which I cannot give. It is in Hardy’s ‘Manual,’ p. 157, where the speech of the Evil One, placed at *Gâtaka* I, 63 at a later time, is said to have been made at the moment of the Renunciation. Even if it be not a mere blunder of Hardy’s to put it at that time, still it cannot be the speech referred to by our author. For the startling doctrine that the Evil One himself was one of the Bodisat’s teachers would never have been smuggled in, as it were, by concealing the identity of the spirit referred to under

‘ And again, O king, Āra Kālāma—he was his fourth teacher.

‘ And again, O king, Uddaka the son of Rāma—he was his fifth teacher.

‘ These, O king, are the five who were his teachers when he was still a Bodisat, before he had attained to insight and to Buddhahood. But they were teachers in worldly wisdom. And in this Doctrine that is transcendental, in the penetrating into the wisdom of the omniscient ones—in that there is no one who is above the Tathāgata to teach him. Self-dependent for his knowledge is the Tathāgata, without a master, and that is why it was said by the Tathāgata :

“ I have no teacher, and the man
Equal to me does not exist.
No rival to me can be found
In the whole world of gods and men.”’

‘ Very good, Nāgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha’s teachers.]

the generic term of devatā. Now in the Fo-pan-hin-tsi-kin (Nanjio, No. 680), a Chinese work of the beginning of the seventh century A. D., we find in the sixteenth kwuen or chapter (if one may trust the abstract given in Beal’s ‘ Romantic Legend,’ p. 131) that a Devaputra named Tsao-ping is said to have spoken to the Bodisat at the moment of the Renunciation. It is scarcely open to doubt that our author had in his mind an earlier form of that episode. But if so it is the only proved case of his having Sanskrit, and not Pāli works, as his authority.

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-SECOND.]

WHY MUST THERE BE ONLY ONE BUDDHA
AT A TIME ?]

4. 'Venerable Nāgasena, this too was said by the Blessed One :

"This is an impossibility, an occurrence for which there can be no cause, that in one world two Arahats Buddhas supreme should arise at one and the same time [237]—such a thing can in no wise be¹."

'But, Nāgasena, when they are preaching, all the Tathāgatas preach (the Doctrine as to) the thirty-seven constituent elements of insight²; when they are talking, it is of the Four Noble Truths that they talk; when they are instructing, it is in the three Trainings³ that they instruct; when they are teaching, it is the practice of zeal⁴ that they teach. If, Nāgasena, the preaching of all the Tathāgatas is one, and their talk of the same thing, and their training the same, and their teaching one, why then should not two Tathāgatas arise at the same time? Already by the appearance of one Buddha has this world become flooded with light. If there should be a second Buddha the world would be still more illuminated by the glory of them both. When they were exhorting two Tathāgatas would exhort at ease; when they were instructing two Tathāgatas would instruct at ease. Tell me the reason of this, that I may put away my doubt.'

¹ *Āṅguttara Nikāya* I, 15, 10.

² These divisions of the seven 'Jewels of the Law' of Arahats are set out in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 62-63.

³ *Adhisīla*, *adhiṭṭhita*, and *adhipaṇṇā*.

⁴ *Appamāda*.

5. 'This world system, O king, is a one-Buddha-supporting world; that is, it can bear the virtue of only a single Tathâgata. If a second Tathâgata were to arise the world could not bear him, it would shake and tremble, it would bend, this way and that, it would disperse, scatter into pieces, dissolve, be utterly destroyed. Just as a boat, O king, might be able to carry one passenger across. Then, when one man had got on board, it would be well trimmed and able to bear his weight¹. But if a second man were to come like to the first in age and caste and strength and size and stoutness of body and build of frame, and he too should get on board the boat—would that boat be able, O king, to carry them both?'

'Certainly not, Sir! it would shake and tremble; it would bend, this way and that; it would break into pieces, be shattered, dissolved, and utterly destroyed; it would sink into the waves.'

'Just so, O king, with this world, if a second Tathâgata were to appear. Or suppose, O king, that a man [238] had eaten as much food as he wanted, even so that he had filled himself with nourishment up to the throat, and he—thus satiated², regaled, filled with good cheer, with no room left for more, drowsy and stiff as a stick one cannot bend—were again to eat as much food as he had eaten before—would such a man, O king, then be at ease?'

'Certainly not, Sir! If he were to eat again, but once more, he would die.'

¹ Samupâdikâ, for which the Sinhalese has sama bara wanniya, usûlana sulu wanniya.

² Dhâto; not in Childers, but see Gâtaka II, 247, Mahâvagga VI, 25, 1, and below, IV, 6, 29.

‘Well, no more could this world bear a second Tathâgata, than that man could bear a second meal.’

6. ‘But how is that, Nâgasena? Would the earth tremble at a too great weight of goodness?’

‘Suppose, O king, there were two carts quite filled with precious things up to the top¹, and people were to take the things from the one cart and pile them up on the other, would that one be able to carry the weight of both?’

‘Certainly not, Sir! The nave of its wheels would split, and the spokes would break, and the circumference would fall to pieces, and the axle-tree would break in twain².’

‘But how is that, O king? Would the cart come to pieces owing to the too great weight of goods?’

‘Yes, it would.’

7. ‘Well, just so, O king, would the earth tremble owing to the too great weight of goodness. But that argument has been adduced to make the power of the Buddhas known³. Hear another fitting reason why two Buddhas could not appear at the same

¹ Literally ‘mouth.’ I presume a small uncovered bullock cart is meant, like that figured in Plate 57 in Cunningham’s ‘Bharhut Tope.’ The chariot on the other hand is of the shape given in Plates 3, 34, 35 of Fergusson’s ‘Tree and Serpent Worship.’ The usual form of the bullock cart has also a hood, or cover, as clearly shown in Fergusson’s Plate No. 65, and Cunningham’s Plate No. 34. But the one here referred to cannot have had the cover over it, for then the supposition that more goods were piled on to it, when full, would be an impossible one. I know of no other passage where the mukha, literally ‘mouth,’ of a cart is mentioned, and I may possibly be wrong in rendering it ‘top.’

² This simile has already been used in the Vessantara Dilemma above, I, 173.

³ Our author himself here confesses that his thoughts are more on edification than on logic.

time. If, O king, two Buddhas were to arise together, then would disputes arise between their followers, and at the words: "Your Buddha, our Buddha," they would divide off into two parties—just as would the followers of two rival powerful ministers of state. This is the other [239] reason, O king, why two Buddhas could not appear at the same time.

8. 'Hear a further reason, O king, why two Buddhas could not appear at the same time. If that were so, then the passage (of Scripture) that the Buddha is the chief would become false, and the passage that the Buddha takes precedence of all would become false, and the passage that the Buddha is the best of all would become false. And so all those passages where the Buddha is said to be the most excellent, the most exalted, the highest of all, the peerless one, without an equal, the matchless one, who hath neither counterpart nor rival—all would be proved false. Accept this reason too as in truth a reason why two Buddhas cannot arise at once.

9. 'But besides that, O king, this is a natural characteristic of the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, that one Buddha only should arise in the world. And why? By reason of the greatness of the virtue of the all-knowing Buddhas. Of other things also, whatever is mighty in the world is singular. The broad earth is great, O king, and it is only one. The ocean is mighty, and it is only one. Sineru, the king of the mountains, is great; and it is only one. Space is mighty, and it is only one. Sakka (the king of the gods) is great, and he is only one. Mâra (the Evil One, Death) is great, and he is only one. Mahâ-Brahmâ is mighty, and he is only one.

A Tathâgata, an Arahata Buddha supreme, is great ; and he is alone in the world. Wherever any one of these spring up, then there is no room for a second. And therefore, O king, is it that only one Tathâgata, an Arahata Buddha supreme, can appear at one time in the world.'

'Well has the puzzle, Nâgasena, been discussed by simile adduced and reason given. Even an unintelligent man on hearing this would be satisfied; how much rather one great in wisdom as myself. Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to why there should be only one Buddha at a time in the world.]

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-THIRD.

WHY SHOULD GIFTS BE GIVEN TO THE ORDER RATHER THAN TO THE BUDDHA?]

[240] 10. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Blessed One said to his mother's sister¹, Mahâ-Pagâpatî the Gotamî, when she was about to give him a cloth wrapper for use in the rainy season² :

"Give it, O Gotamâ, to the Order. If the Order is presented by you with it, then will you have paid homage thereby alike to the Order and to me³."

'But what, Nâgasena? Is not the Tathâgata of

¹ There is no general word in Pâli for aunt or uncle. There are separate expressions for each of the degrees of relationship expressed by those words in English—mother's brother, father's sister, &c.

² Vassika-sâṁikâ. See the note at 'Vinaya Texts,' vol. ii, p. 225 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xvii).

³ From the Ganta Sutta (Magg'hima Nikâya, No. 142). See Mr. Trenckner's note.

greater weight and importance, and more worthy of gifts than even the jewel treasure of the Order, that the Tathâgata should have told his aunt, when about to present him with a wrapper for the rainy season which she herself had carded and pressed and beaten and cut and woven¹, to give it to the Order! If, Nâgasena, the Tathâgata were really higher and greater and more excellent than the Order, then he would have known that a gift given to him would be most meritorious, and therefore would not have told her to give it to the Order. But inasmuch as the Tathâgata, Nâgasena, puts himself not in the way of gifts to himself, gives no occasion for such gifts, you see that he then told his aunt to give that wrapper rather to the Order.'

11. 'The quotation you make, O king, is correct, and the Blessed One did so direct his aunt's gifts². But that was not because an act of reverence paid to himself would bear no fruit, or because he was unworthy to receive gifts, but it was out of kindness and mercy that he, thinking: "Thus will the Order in times to come, when I am gone, be highly thought of;" magnified the excellence which the Order really had, in that he said: "Give it, O Gotamî, to the Order. If you present the Order with it, thus will you have paid homage alike to the Order and to me." Just as a father, O king, while he is yet alive, exalts in the midst of the assembly of ministers, soldiers, and royal messengers, of

¹ The translation of these five technical terms of cloth-making is doubtful. The *Simhalese* (p. 335) has *piṅgana*, *sindina*, *pothita*, *kaṣīna*, *wiyana*.

² The *Simhalese* (p. 335) here gives at length the story of *Paṅḍapātī's* gift, at the time when Gotama returned, as the Buddha, to *Kapilavathu*.

sentries, body guards, and courtiers¹—yea, in the presence of the king himself—the virtues which his son really possesses, thinking: “If established here he will be honoured of the people in times to come;” so was it out of mercy and kindness that the Tathâgata, thinking: “Thus will the Order, in times to come, when I am gone, be highly thought of;” magnified the excellence which the Order really had, in that he said: “Give it, O Gotamî, to the Order. If you present the Order with it, thus will you have paid homage alike to the Order and to me.”

12. [241] ‘And by the mere gift of a wrapper for the rainy season, the Order, O king, did not become greater than, or superior to, the Tathâgata. Just, O king, as when parents anoint their children with perfumes, rub them, bathe them, or shampoo them², does the son by that mere service of theirs become greater than, or superior to, his parents?’

‘Certainly not, sir! Parents deal with their children as they will, whether the children like it or not³. And therefore do they anoint them with perfumes, shampoo, or bathe them.’

‘And just so, O king, the Order did not become greater than, or superior to, the Tathâgata merely by the fact of that gift; and although the Tathâgata, whether the Order liked it or not, told his aunt to give the wrapper to the Order.

13. ‘Or suppose, O king, some man should bring a complimentary present to a king, and the king should present that gift to some one else—to a soldier or a

¹ On this list see above, p. 234 of the Pâli text (IV, 5, 36).

² On these words compare *Ânguttara Nikâya* II, 4, 2.

³ *Akâmakaranîyâ*. Compare *Vimâna Vatthu* X, 6 and *Dîgha Nikâya* II, 46.

messenger, to a general or a chaplain,—would that man become greater than, or superior to, the king, merely by the fact that it was he who got the present¹?

‘Certainly not, Sir! That man receives his wage from the king, from the king he gains his livelihood; it was the king who, having placed him in that office, gave him the present.’

‘And just so, O king, the Order did not become greater than, or superior to, the Tathâgata merely by the fact of that gift. The Order is, as it were, the hired servant of the Tathâgata, and gains its livelihood through the Tathâgata. And it was the Tathâgata who, having placed it in that position, caused the gift to be given it.

14. ‘And further the Tathâgata, O king, thought thus: “The Order is by its very nature worthy of gifts. I will therefore have this thing, my property though it be, presented to it,” and so he had the wrapper given to the Order. For the Tathâgata, O king, magnifies not the offering of gifts to himself, but rather to whomsoever in the world is worthy of having gifts presented to him. For this was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Magghima Nikâya*, [242] in the religious discourse entitled *Dhamma-dâyâda*, when he was exalting the attainment of being content with little:

“He would become the first of my Bhikkhus, the most worthy of presents and of praise².”

15. ‘And there is not, O king, in the three worlds

¹ The same simile has already occurred, vol. i, p. 220 (IV, 2, 22).

² *Magghima Nikâya*, vol. i, p. 13 (in ‘Mr. Trenckner’s edition for the Pâli Text Society).

any being whatever more worthy of gifts, greater or more exalted or better, than the Tathâgata. It is the Tathâgata who was greatest and highest and best. As it was said, O king, by Mânava-gâmika the god, in the most excellent *Samyutta* Nikâya, as he stood before the Blessed One in the midst of the assembly of gods and men :

“Of all the Râgagaha hills Mount Vipula’s acknowledged chief,
Of the Himâlayas Mount White, of planetary orbs the sun,
The ocean of all waters, of constellations bright the moon ¹—
In all the world of gods and men the Buddha’s the acknowledged Lord ²!”

‘And those verses of Mânava the god, O king, were well sung, not wrongly sung, well spoken, not wrongly spoken, and approved by the Blessed One ³. And was it not said by Sâriputta, the Commander of the faith :

“There is but one Confession, one true Faith,
One Adoration of clasped hands stretched forth
—That paid to Him who routs the Evil One,
And helps us cross the ocean of our ills ⁴!”

¹ This must have been composed after the moon god had become established in belief as the husband, or lord, of the Nakshatras, or lunar mansions. For it cannot, of course, be intended that the moon is itself a constellation.

² *Samyutta* Nikâya III, 2, 10 (vol. i, p. 67 of the Pâli Text Society’s edition).

³ These phrases of approval are commonly used in the *Piṭakas* of words uttered by any one whose sayings would not, of themselves, carry weight. So in the *Dīgha* III, 1, 28 and in the *Magg’hima* I, 385.

⁴ This verse has not yet been traced in the *Piṭakas*. In

‘And it was said by the Blessed One himself, the god over all gods :

“There is one being, O brethren, who is born into the world for the good and for the weal of the great multitudes, out of mercy to the world, for the advantage and the good and the weal of gods and men. And what is that being? A Tathâgata, an Arahata Buddha supreme¹.”

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the precedence of the Order over the Buddha.]

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-FOURTH.]

IS IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BE A LAYMAN, OR TO ENTER THE ORDER?]

16. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, it was said by the Blessed One :

“I would magnify, O brethren, the Supreme Attainment² either in a layman or in a recluse. Whether he be a layman, O brethren, or a recluse, the man who has reached the Supreme Attainment

the Thera Gâthâ we have a collection of verses ascribed to Sâriputta, but this is not one of them. The literal translation is : ‘There is but one feeling of faith, but one taking of refuge, but one stretching forth of the hands (with joined palms, in adoration—that paid) to the Buddha, who puts to rout the armies of the Evil One, and is able to make (us) cross (the ocean of continual becoming).’ The taking of refuge meant is the confession, the repetition of which characterises a man as a Buddhist—‘I take my refuge in the Buddha, &c.’

¹ Ânguttara Nikâya I, 13, 1.

² That is, of insight and of the practice of right conduct.

shall overcome all the difficulties inherent therein, shall win his way even to the excellent condition of Arahatship¹." [243]

'Now, Nāgasena, if a layman, clad in white robes, enjoying the pleasures of sense, dwelling in a habitation encumbered with wife and children², making constant use of the sandal wood of Benares³, of garlands and perfumes and unguents, accepting gold and silver, wearing a turban inlaid with jewels and gold, can, having reached the Supreme Attainment, win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatship—and if a recluse, with his shaven head and yellow robes, dependent for his livelihood on the alms of other men, perfectly fulfilling the four-fold code of morality⁴, taking upon himself and carrying out the hundred and fifty precepts⁵, con-

¹ *Samyutta Nikāya* XLIV, 24, says Mr. Trenckner. The passage has not yet been reached in M. Léon Feer's edition for the Pāli Text Society. *Hīnañ-kumburē* (p. 341) renders *ñāya* by *nirwāna*.

² Literally 'a bed encumbered, &c.' See below, p. 348 of the Pāli text, where the question, as here, is whether such a layman can attain to the *Nirvāṇa* of Arahatship.

³ So the Buddha says of himself (*Āṅguttara Nikāya* III, 38), that, in the days when he was a layman, he never used any sandal wood except that from Benares.

⁴ I don't know what these four *Sīlakkhandhas* are. Morality is described in the *Piṭakas* as threefold, fivefold, or tenfold, according as the *Sīlas*, in three divisions (as translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' vol. xi of the 'Sacred Books of the East,' pp. 189–200), are referred to; or the first five, or the whole ten, of the moral precepts (the Buddhist Ten Commandments) set out in my 'Buddhism,' p. 160. This reference to four divisions of the moral code is foreign to the *Piṭakas*, at least as we yet know them.

⁵ The *Diyaḍḍhesu sikkhāpada-satesu*. It is clear from the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* III, 83 that the precepts referred to are those of the *Pātimokkha* (translated by me at the beginning of 'Vinaya

ducting himself according to the thirteen extra vows¹ without omitting any one of them, can also, having reached the Supreme Attainment, win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatsip—then, Sir, what is the distinction between the layman and the recluse? Your austerity is without effect, your renunciation is useless, your observance of the precepts is barren, your taking of the extra vows is vain. What is the good of your therein heaping up woes to yourselves, if thus in comfort the condition of bliss can be reached?’

17. ‘The words you ascribe to the Blessed One, O king, are rightly quoted. And that is even so. It is the man who has reached to the Supreme Attainment who bears the palm. If the recluse, O king, because he knows that he is a recluse, should neglect the Attainments, then is he far from the fruits of renunciation, far from Arahatsip—how much more if a layman, still wearing the habit of the world, should do so! But whether he be a layman, O king, or a recluse, he who attains to the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatsip.

18. ‘But nevertheless, O king, it is the recluse who is the lord and master of the fruit of renunciation. And renunciation of the world, O king, is full of gain, many and immeasurable are its advantages, its profit can no man calculate. Just, O king, as no man can put a measure, in wealth, on the

Texts,’ vol. xvii of the ‘Sacred Books of the East’), notwithstanding the fact that the actual number of these rules is 227.

¹ The Dhutangas: see above, IV, 5, 10, and the enumeration below at the translation of p. 351 of the Pāli text.

value of a wish-conferring gem, [244] saying: "Such and such is the price of the gem"—just so, O king, is the renunciation of the world full of gain, many and immeasurable are its advantages, its profit can no man calculate—no more, O king, than he could count the number of the waves in the great ocean, and say: "So and so many are the waves in the sea!"

19. 'Whatsoever the recluse, O king, may have yet to do, all that doth he accomplish straightway, without delay. And why is that? The recluse, O king, is content with little, joyful in heart, detached from the world, apart from society, earnest in zeal, without a home, without a dwelling-place, righteous in conduct, in action without guile, skilled in duty and in the attainments—that is why whatsoever may lie before him yet to do, that can he accomplish straightway, without delay—just as the flight of your javelin¹, O king, is rapid because it is of pure metal, smooth, and burnished, and straight, and without a stain.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the recluse having no advantages over the layman.]

¹ Nârâṅka. As Childers expresses a doubt as to the character of this weapon, I would refer to the *Magghima* I, 429, *Gâtaka* III, 322, and *Milinda*, pp. 105, 418 (of Mr. Trenckner's text).

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-FIFTH.

ASCETICISM.]

20. 'Venerable Nāgasena, when the Bodisat was practising austerity¹, then there was found no other exertion the like of his, no such power, no such battling against evil, no such putting to rout of the armies of the Evil One, no such abstinence in food, no such austerity of life. But finding no satisfaction in strife like that, he abandoned that idea, saying:

"Not even by this cruel asceticism am I reaching the peculiar faculty, beyond the power of man, arising from insight into the knowledge of that which is fit and noble². May there not be now some other way to wisdom³?"

'But then, when weary of that path he had by another way attained to omniscience, he, on the other hand, thus again exhorted and instructed his disciple in that path (he had left, saying):

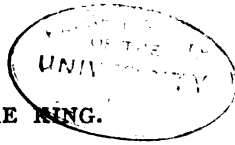
[245] "Exert yourselves, be strong, and to the faith
The Buddhas taught devote yourselves with zeal.
As a strong elephant a house of reeds,
Shake down the armies of the Evil One⁴."

¹ See 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 90, 91; and *Magghīma Nikāya* I, 240-246.

² *Alamariya-dassana-ñāṇa-visesaṃ*. I am not sure of the exact meaning of this compound. For *alamariya* the *Siṃhalese* has here (p. 343) *sarvagñatā*, and renders the whole 'do I arrive at a superhuman condition, at the distinctive faculty which is able to see into omniscience,' and on IV, 8, 21 it gives a slightly different but practically identical rendering, 'I shall not reach that superhuman condition which can distinguish or which suffices for insight into the supreme omniscience.'

³ That is the wisdom of Buddhahood. The passage is from the *Magghīma Nikāya* I, 246 (quoted also below, IV, 8, 21).

⁴ This is a very famous stanza. It is put into the mouth of



‘Now what, Nâgasena, is the reason that the Tathâgata exhorted and led his disciples to that path which he had himself abandoned, which he loathed?’

21. ‘Both then also, O king, and now too, that is still the only path. And it is along that path that the Bodisat attained to Buddhahood. Although the Bodisat, O king, exerting himself strenuously, reduced the food he took till he had decreased it to nothing at all¹, and by that disuse of food he became weak in mind, yet when he returned little by little to the use of solid food, it was by that path that before long he attained to Buddhahood. And that only has been the path along which all the Tathâgatas reached to the attainment of the insight of omniscience. Just as food is the support of all beings, as it is in dependence on food that all beings live at ease, just so is that the path of all the Tathâgatas to the attainment of the insight of omniscience. The fault was not, O king, in the exertion, was not in the power, not in the battle waged against evil, that the Tathâgata did not then, at once, attain to Buddhahood. But the fault was in the disuse of food, and the path itself (of austerity) was always ready for use.

22. ‘Suppose, O king, that a man should follow a path in great haste, and by that haste his sides

Abhibhû at Thera Gâthâ, verse 256, and in the *Samyutta Nikâya* VI, 2, 4, §§ 18 and 23; and also, in its Sanskrit form, into the mouth of the Buddha at the *Divyâvadana*, p. 300, and into the mouth of the gods at *ibid.* p. 569. It is possibly another instance of our author having Sanskrit, and not Pâli, authorities in his mind, that he ascribes it here to the Buddha, and not to Abhibhû, the Elder.

¹ The *Simhalese* has here six pages of description of the austerities not found in the Pâli text.

should give way¹, or he should fall a cripple on the ground, unable to move, would there then be any fault, O king, in the broad earth that that man's sides had given way?'

'Certainly not, Sir! The great earth is always ready. How should it be in fault? The fault was in the man's own zeal which made him fail.'

'And just even so, O king, the fault was not in the exertion, not in the power, not in the battle waged against evil, that the Tathâgata did not then, at once, attain to Buddhahood. But the fault was in the disuse of food, and the path itself was always ready—[246] just as if a man should wear a robe, and never have it washed, the fault would not be in the water, which would always be ready for use, but in the man himself. That is why the Tathâgata exhorted and led his disciples along that very path. For that path, O king, is always ready, always right.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the path.]

¹ Pakkha-hato: 'should become like one whose two hands are ruined' says the *Simhalese* here (p. 349), but at p. 411 (on p. 276 of the *Pâli*) it translates the same term, 'whose hands and feet are broken.' It is literally 'should become side-destroyed,' and may mean paralysed.

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-SIXTH.

THE BACKSLIDERS.]

23. 'Venerable Nâgasena, this doctrine of the Tathâgatas is mighty, essentially true, precious, excellent, noble, peerless, pure and stainless, clear and faultless. It is not right to admit a layman who is merely a disciple¹ into the Order. He should be instructed as a layman still, till he have attained to the Fruit of the First Path², and then be admitted. And why is this? When these men, still being evil, have been admitted into a religion so pure, they give it up, and return again to the lower state³, and by their backsliding the people is led to think: "Vain must be this religion of the Samana Gotama, which these men have given up." This is the reason for what I say.'

24. 'Suppose, O king, there were a bathing tank⁴, full of pure clear cold water. And some man, dirty, covered with stains and mud, should come there, and without bathing in it should turn back again, still dirty as before. Now in that matter whom would the people blame, the dirty man, or the bathing tank?'

'The dirty man, Sir, would the people blame,

¹ *Tâvatakam*. I take this word, in the sense of 'mere,' as an accusative in agreement with *gihim* (see the use of the word at pp. 107, 115, 241 of the Pâli text), and not as an accusative of motion, 'into so great a sâsanam.'

² That is till he be converted, till he has 'entered the stream.' See 'Buddhism,' p. 101.

³ That is, of a layman.

⁴ *Ta/âka*, which Childers wrongly renders 'pond, pool, lake.' It is always an artificial tank, reservoir. See *Kullavagga* X, 1, 6; *Gâtaka* I, 239; *Milinda*, pp. 66, 81, 296.

saying: "This fellow came to the bathing tank, and has gone back as dirty as before. How could the bathing tank, of itself, cleanse a man who did not care to bathe? What fault is there in the tank?"'

'Just so, O king, [247] has the Tathâgata constructed a bathing tank full of the excellent waters of emancipation¹,—the bath of the good law. Whosoever of conscious discerning beings are polluted with the stains of sin, they, bathing in it, can wash away all their sins. And if any one, having gone to that bathing tank of the good law, should not bathe in it, but turn back polluted as before, and return again to the lower state, it is him the people would blame, and say: "This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, and finding no resting-place within it, has returned again to the lower state. How could the religion of the Conquerors, of itself, cleanse him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it? What fault is there in the system?"'

25. 'Or suppose, O king, that a man afflicted with dire disease should visit a physician skilled in diagnosis², knowing an efficacious and lasting method of cure, and that that man should then not let himself be treated, but go back again as ill as before. Now therein whom would the people blame, the sick man or the doctor?'

'It is the sick man, Sir, they would blame, say-

¹ 'Vimutti: of the nectar of the Nirvâṇa which is the highest fruit of Arahatsip' is Hinañi-kumburê's gloss.

² Roguppatti-kusalam: 'skilled in the threefold origin of disease' says the Sinhalese (p. 351). See also pp. 248, 272 of the Pâli text.

ing : " How could the physician, of himself, cure this man, who would not let himself be treated ? What fault is there in the doctor ? "

' Just so, O king, has the Tathâgata deposited in the casket of his religion the ambrosial medicine (of Nirvâṇa) which is able to entirely suppress all the sickness of sin, thinking : " May all those of conscious sentient beings who are afflicted with the sickness of sin drink of this ambrosia, and so allay all their disease." And if any one, without drinking the ambrosia, should turn back again with the evil still within him, and return once more to the lower state, it is he whom the people will blame, saying : " This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, and finding no resting-place within it, has returned again to the lower state. How could the religion of the Conquerors, of itself, cure him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it ? What fault is there in the system ? "

¹26. ' Or suppose, O king, a starving man were to attend at a place where a mighty largesse of food² given for charity was being distributed, and then should go away again, still starving, without eating anything. Whom then would the people blame, the starving man, or the feast of piety ? '

' It is the starving man, Sir, they would blame, saying : [248] " This fellow, though tormented with hunger, still when the feast of piety was provided for him, partook of nothing, and went back as hungry as before. How could the meal, of which he

¹ The *Simhalese* (p. 352) inserts here ' Give me, Sir, I pray you, another smile,' and then goes on ' Then suppose, O king, &c.'

² Bhatta, perhaps rice, as the food par excellence.

would not eat, enter, of itself, into his mouth? What fault is there in the food?"

'Just so, O king, has the Tathâgata placed the most excellent, good, auspicious, delicate ambrosial food, surpassing sweet, of the realisation of the impermanency of all things¹, into the casket of his religion, thinking: "May all those of conscious sentient beings who feel within them the torment of sin², whose hearts are deadened by cravings, feeding upon this food, allay every longing that they have for future life in any form, in any world." And if any one, without enjoying this food, should turn back, still dominated by his cravings, and return once more to the lower state, it is he whom the people will blame, saying: "This man entered religion according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, and finding no resting-place within it, has returned again to the lower state. How could the religion of the Conquerors, of itself, purify him who would not regulate his life in accordance with it? What fault is there in the system?"

27. 'If the Tathâgata, O king, had let a householder be received into the Order only after he had been trained in the first stage of the Excellent Way, then would renunciation of the world no longer indeed be said to avail for the putting away of evil qualities, for purification of heart—then would there be no longer any use in renunciation. It would be as if a man were to have a bathing tank excavated

¹ Kayâgata-sati: literally 'intentness of mind on (the truth relating to) bodies.'

² Kilesa-kilant-agghattâ. Compare *khâttagghattam*, *Gâtaka* I, 345.

by the labour of hundreds (of workpeople¹), and were then to have a public announcement made: "Let no one who is dirty go down into this tank! Let only those whose dust and dirt have been washed away, who are purified and stainless, go down into this tank!" Now would that bath, O king, be of any use to those thus purified and stainless?'

'Certainly not, Sir! The advantage they would have sought in going into the bath they would have already gained elsewhere. Of what use would the bath be to them then?'

'Just so, O king, had the Tathâgata ordained that only laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order, then would the advantage they seek in it have been already gained. Of what use would the renunciation be to them then?'

28. 'Or suppose, O king, that a physician, a true follower of the sages of old², one who carries (in his memory) the ancient traditions and verses³, a practical man⁴, skilled in diagnosis, and master of an efficacious and lasting system of treatment, who had collected (from medicinal herbs) a medicine able to cure every disease, were to have it announced: [249] "Let none, Sirs, who are ill come to visit me! Let the

¹ Stonemasons and sculptors are implied as well as navvies. Compare my note at 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 262.

² Sabhâva-isi-bhattiko. Compare Siva-bhattiko (Saivite) at Mahāvamsa, chapter 93, line 17. In râga-bhattiko (above, p. 142 of the Pâli text) the connotation is different. The Sinhalese (p. 353) repeats the phrase.

³ Suta-manta-dharo, which the Sinhalese repeats.

⁴ Atakkiko: 'without the theories (vitarka) resorted to by those ignorant of the practice of medicine' says Hīnaśī-kumburê.

healthy and the strong visit me!" Now, would then, O king, those men free from illness and disease, healthy and jubilant, get what they wanted from that physician ?'

'Certainly not, Sir! What men want from a physician, that would they have already obtained otherwise. What use would the physician be to them ?'

'Just so, O king, had the Tathâgata ordained that only those laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order, then would the advantages they seek in it have been already gained elsewhere. Of what use would the renunciation be to them then ?

29. 'Or suppose, O king, that some had had many hundreds of dishes of boiled milk-rice prepared¹, and were to have it announced to those about him: 'Let not, Sirs, any hungry man approach to this feast of charity. Let those who have well fed, the satisfied, refreshed, and satiated², those who have regaled themselves, and are filled with good cheer, —let them come to the feast.' Now would any advantage, O king, be derived from the feast by those men thus well fed, satisfied, refreshed, satiated, regaled, and filled with good cheer ?'

'Certainly not, Sir! The very advantage they would seek in going to the feast, that would they have already attained elsewhere. What good would the feast be to them ?'

'Just so, O king, had the Tathâgata ordained that

¹ As Agâtasattu is said to have done for Devadatta at *Gâtaka* I, 186.

² See above, IV, 6, 5.

only those laymen who had already entered the first stage of the Excellent Way should be received into the Order, thus would the advantages they seek in it have been already gained elsewhere. Of what use would the renunciation be to them?

30. 'But notwithstanding that, O king, they who return to the lower state manifest thereby five immeasurably good qualities in the religion of the Conquerors. And what are the five? They show how glorious is the state (which those have reached who have entered the Order), how purified it is from every stain, how impossible it is for the sinful to dwell within it together (with the good), how difficult it is to realise (its glory), how many are the restraints to be observed within it.

31. 'And how do they show the mighty glory of that state? Just, O king, as if a man, poor, and of low birth, without distinction¹, deficient in wisdom, were to come into possession of a great and mighty kingdom, it would not be long before he would be overthrown, utterly destroyed², and deprived of his glory. For he would be unable to support his dignity. [250] And why so? Because of the greatness thereof. Just so is it, O king, that whosoever are without distinction, have acquired no merit, and are devoid of wisdom, when they renounce the world according to the religion of the Conquerors, then, unable to bear that most excellent renunciation, overthrown, fallen, and deprived of their glory, they return to the lower state. For they are unable to

¹ Nibbisesa, not in Childers; but see, for instance, *Gâtaka* II, 32.

² Paridhamsati. Compare below, IV, 7, 8 (p. 265 of the Pâli).

carry out the doctrine of the Conquerors. And why so? Because of the exalted nature of the condition which that doctrine brings about. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the mighty glory of that state.

32. 'And how do they show how purified that state is from every stain? Just, O king, as water, when it has fallen upon a lotus, flows away, disperses, scatters, disappears, adheres not to it. And why so? Because of the lotus being pure from any spot. Just so, O king, when whosoever are deceitful, tricky, crafty, treacherous, holders of lawless opinions, have been admitted into the religion of the Conquerors, it is not long before they disperse, and scatter, and fall from that pure and stainless, clear and faultless¹, most high and excellent religion, and finding no standing-place in it, adhering no longer to it, they return to the lower state. And why so? Because the religion of the Conquerors has been purified from every stain. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the purity of that state from every stain.

33. 'And how do they show how impossible it is for the sinful to dwell within it together with the good? Just, O king, as the great ocean does not tolerate the continuance in it of a dead corpse², but whatever corpse may be in the sea, that does it bring quickly to the shore, and cast it out on to the dry land. And why so? Because the ocean is

¹ *Nikkanta-pandara*: literally 'thornless and yellow-white.' The second of these epithets of the religion (*sāsana*) is applied to it above, IV, 6, 23 (p. 250 of the Pāli). The Sinhalese merely repeats them.

² On this curious belief see the note above on IV, 3, 39 (p. 187 of the Pāli).

the abode of mighty creatures. Just so, O king, when whosoever are sinful, foolish, with their zeal evaporated, distressed, impure, and bad, have been admitted into the religion of the Conquerors, it is not long before they abandon that religion, and dwelling no longer in it—the abode of the mighty, the Arahats, purified, and free from the Great Evils¹—they return to the lower state. And why so? Because it is impossible for the wicked to dwell in the religion of the Conquerors. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the impossibility of the sinful to abide within it together with the good.

34. 'And how do they show how difficult a state it is to grasp? Just, O king, as archers who are clumsy, untrained, ignorant, and bereft of skill, are incapable of high feats of archery, such as hair-splitting², but miss the object, and shoot beyond the mark. And why so? Because of the fineness and minuteness of the horse-hair. [251] Just so, O king, when foolish, stupid, imbecile³, dull, slow-minded

¹ They are lust, dulness, delusion, and ignorance.

² *Vâlaggavedham*, 'hair-splitting'; which is also used in the *Piṭakas* in the secondary sense we too have given to it.

³ *E/amûga*, supposed to mean literally 'deaf and dumb'; but often (if not always) used in this secondary sense. See *Gâtaka* I, 247, 248 (where both MSS. read *elamûga*), and *Magghima Nikâya* I, 20 (where Mr. Trenckner has an interesting note). In both places the fifth century commentators explain the word by *lâla-mukha*, 'drivelling,' supposing it to be derived from *elâ*, 'saliva,' and *mukha*, 'mouth.' This is certainly wrong, for the last part of the compound is *mûka*, 'dumb.' The fact is that the word was a puzzle, even then. The meaning assigned to it by both Pâli and Sanskrit lexicographers of 'deaf and dumb' has not yet been confirmed by a single passage either in Pâli or Sanskrit. And as *eḍa*, 'sheep,' is common in both, in its longer form of *eḍaka*, *e/aka*, the compound probably meant originally 'as dumb

fellows renounce the world according to the doctrine of the Conquerors, then they, unable to grasp the exquisitely fine and subtle distinctions of the Four Truths, missing them, going beyond them, turn back before long to the lower state. And why so? Because it is so difficult to penetrate into the finenesses and subtleties of the Truths. This is how they show forth the difficulty of its realisation.

35. 'And how do they show how many are the restraints to be observed within it? Just, O king, as a man who had gone to a place where a mighty battle was going on, when, surrounded on all sides by the forces of the enemy, he sees the armed hosts crowding in upon him, will give way, turn back, and take to flight. And why so? Out of fear lest he should not be saved in the midst of so hot a fight. Just so, O king, when whosoever are wicked¹, unrestrained, shameless, foolish, full of ill-will, fickle, unsteady, mean and stupid, renounce the world under the system of the Conquerors, then they, unable to carry out the manifold precepts, give way, turn back, and take to flight, and so before long return to the lower state. And why so? Because of the multiform nature of the restraints to be observed in the religion of the Conquerors. Thus is it, O king, that they show forth the manifoldness of the restraints to be observed.

as a sheep,' which would be a quite satisfactory basis for the secondary sense of 'imbecile,' in which alone it can be traced in Pāli. For the Sanskrit form *eḍamūka* Böhtlingk-Roth give only lexicographers as authority. So *eḷā*, 'saliva,' is in Pāli only a lexicographer's word, and may have been invented to explain *eḷamūga*, and *ane/agalā vākā*, as at *Sumāṅgala*, p. 282.

¹ *Pākata*. *Hīna/i-kumburē* says (p. 356) *pāpakalāwū*, which suggests a different reading.

36. 'As on that best of flowering shrubs, O king, the double jasmine¹, there may be flowers that have been pierced by insects, and their tender stalks being cut to pieces, they may occasionally fall down. But by their having fallen is not the jasmine bush disgraced. For the flowers that still remain upon it pervade every direction with their exquisite perfume. Just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors, return again to the lower state, are, like jasmine flowers bitten by the insects and deprived of their colour and their smell, colourless as it were in their behaviour, and incapable of development. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame. For the members of the Order who remain in the religion pervade the world of gods and men with the exquisite perfume of their right conduct.

37. 'Among rice plants that are healthy [252] and ruddy there may spring up a kind of rice plant called Karumbhaka², and that may occasionally fade. But by its fading are not the red rice plants disgraced. For those that remain become the food of kings. Just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they, like Karumbhaka plants among the red rice, may grow not, nor attain development, and may even occasionally relapse into the lower state. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame,

¹ Vassikā. So also above, IV, 3, 32 (p. 183 of the Pāli).

² 'A yellowish white kâwalu sort' says Hīnaśi-kumburê, and Clough renders kâwalu by 'a species of panic grass' (*panicum glaucum*). The word has only been found in this passage.

for the brethren that remain stedfast become fitted even for Arahatship.

38. 'On one side, O king, of a wish conferring gem a roughness¹ may arise. But by the appearance of that roughness is not the gem disgraced. For the purity that remains in the gem fills the people with gladness. And just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they may be rough ones and fallen ones in the religion. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame, for the brethren who remain stedfast are the cause of joy springing up in the hearts of gods and men.

39. 'Even red sandal wood of the purest sort, O king, may become in some portion of it rotten and scentless. But thereby is not the sandal wood disgraced. For that portion which remains wholesome and sweet scatters and diffuses its perfume all around. And just so, O king, whosoever having renounced the world under the system of the Conquerors return again to the lower state, they, like the rotten part of the sandal wood, may be as it were thrown away in the religion. But by their backsliding is not the religion of the Conquerors put to shame. For the brethren who remain stedfast pervade, with the sandal wood perfume of their right conduct, the world of gods and men.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! By one appropriate simile after another, by one correct analogy after another have you most excellently made clear the

¹ Kakkasam. The Sinhalese (p. 357) has left out this clause, evidently by mistake only.

faultlessness of the system of the Conquerors, and shown it free from blame. And even those who have lapsed make evident how excellent that system is.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to those who have lapsed.]

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-SEVENTH.]

WHY HAVE ARAHATS NO POWER OVER THEIR BODIES?]

40. 'Venerable Nāgasena, your (members of the Order) say: [253]

"There is one kind of pain only which an Arahāt suffers, bodily pain, that is, and not mental¹."

'How is this, Nāgasena? The Arahāt keeps his mind going by means of the body. Has the Arahāt no lordship, no mastery, no power over the body?'

'No, he has not, O king.'

'That, Sir, is not right that over the body, by which he keeps his mind going, he should have neither lordship, nor mastery, nor power. Even a bird, Sir, is lord and master and ruler over the nest in which he dwells.'

41. 'There are these ten qualities, O king, inherent in the body, which run after it, as it were, and accompany it from existence to existence². And what are the ten? Cold and heat, hunger and thirst,

¹ This passage has not yet been traced in the Piṭakas. An almost identical phrase has already been quoted, as said by the Buddha himself, at II, 1, 4 (p. 44 of the Pāli).

² Bhavē bhavē anuparivattanti. See IV, 4, 41 (p. 204 of the Pāli).

the necessity of voiding excreta, fatigue and sleepiness, old age, disease, and death. And in respect thereof, the Arahāt is without lordship, without mastery, without power.'

'Venerable Nāgasena, what is the reason why the commands of the Arahāt have no power over his body, neither has he any mastery over it? Tell me that.

'Just, O king, as whatever beings are dependent on the land, they all walk, and dwell, and carry on their business in dependence upon it. But do their commands have force, does their mastery extend over it?'

'Certainly not, Sir!'

'Just so, O king, the Arahāt keeps his mind going through the body. And yet his commands have no authority over it, nor power.'

42. 'Venerable Nāgasena, why is it that the ordinary man suffers both bodily and mental pain?'

'By reason, O king, of the untrained state of his mind. Just, O king, as an ox when trembling with starvation might be tied up with a weak and fragile and tiny rope of grass or creeper. But if the ox were excited¹ then would he escape, dragging the fastening with him. Just so, O king, when pain comes upon him whose mind is untrained, then is his mind excited, and the mind so excited bends his body this way and that and makes it grovel on the ground, [254] and he, being thus untrained in mind, trembles² and cries, and gives forth terrible

¹ Parikupati, not in Childers; but see above, IV, 1, 38 (p. 118 of the Pāli).

² Tasati. Mr. Trenckner points out (p. 431) that two MSS.

groans. This is why the ordinary man, O king, suffers pain as well in body as in mind.'

43. 'Then why, Sir, does the Arahāt only suffer one kind of pain—bodily, that is, and not mental?'

'The mind of the Arahāt, O king, is trained, well practised, tamed, brought into subjection, and obedient, and it hearkens to his word. When affected with feelings of pain, he grasps firmly the idea of the impermanence of all things, so ties his mind as it were to the post of contemplation, and his mind, bound to the post of contemplation, remains unmoved, unshaken, becomes steadfast, wanders not—though his body the while may bend this way and that and roll in agony by the disturbing influence of the pain. This is why it is only one kind of pain that the Arahāt suffers—bodily pain, that is, and not mental.'

44. 'Venerable Nāgasena, that verily is a most marvellous thing that when the body is trembling the mind should not be shaken. Give me a reason for that.'

'Suppose, O king, there were a noble tree, mighty in trunk and branches and leaves. And when agitated by the force of the wind its branches should wave. Would the trunk also move?'

'Certainly not, Sir!'

'Well, O king, the mind of the Arahāt is as the trunk of that noble tree.'

'Most wonderful, Nāgasena, and most strange!

read *rasati* and one *sarati*. The *Siṃhalese* rendering (p. 359), *bhaya wanneya*, confirms the reading he has adopted.

¹ The *Siṃhalese* (p. 360) has four lines here that are not in the *Pāli*.

Never before have I seen a lamp of the law that
burned thus brightly through all time.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Arahāt's
power over his body.]

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-EIGHTH.

THE LAYMAN'S SIN.]

45. [255] 'Venerable Nāgasena, suppose a layman had been guilty of a Pârâgika offence¹, and some time after should enter the Order. And neither he himself should be aware that when still a layman he had so been guilty, nor should any one else inform him, saying: "When a layman you were guilty of such an offence." Now if he were to devote himself to the attainment of Arahātship², would he be able so to comprehend the Truth as to succeed in entering upon the Excellent Way?'

'No, O king, he would not.'

'But why not, Sir?'

'That, in him, which might have been the cause of his grasping the Truth has been, in him, destroyed. No comprehension can therefore take place.'

46. 'Venerable Nāgasena, your people say:

"To him who is aware (of an offence) there comes

¹ This, for a member of the Order, would be either unchastity, theft, murder, or putting forward false claims to extraordinary holiness. See 'Vinaya Texts,' part i, pp. 3-5. But Hīnaśīkumburê takes the word Pârâgika here in the sense of matricide, parricide, injuring a Bo Tree, murder of an Arahāt, wounding a Tathâgata, or rape of a nun.

² Tathattâya. Rāhat phala piṇisa pilipadane wī nam, says the Sinhalese (p. 361).

remorse. When remorse has arisen there is an obstruction in the heart. To him whose heart is obstructed there is no comprehension of the Truth¹."

'Why should there then be no such comprehension to one not aware of his offence, feeling no remorse, remaining with a quiet heart. This dilemma touches on two irreconcilable statements. Think well before you solve it.'

47. 'Would selected seed², O king, successfully sown in a well-ploughed, well-watered, fertile soil, come to maturity?'

'Certainly, Sir!'

'But would the same seed grow on the surface of a thick slab of rock?'

'Of course not.'

'Why then should the same seed grow in the mud, and not on the rock?'

'Because on the rock the cause for its growth does not exist. Seeds cannot grow without a cause.'

'Just so, O king, the cause by reason of which his comprehension of the Truth (his conversion) might have been brought about, has been rooted out in him. Conversion cannot take place without a cause.'

48. '[Give me, Sir, another simile³.']

'Well, O king, will sticks and clods and cudgels⁴

¹ This passage has not yet been traced in the *Piṭakas*.

² *Sâradam* bīgam. 'Seed which will give sâra.' It has nothing to do with *sâradam*, 'autumn.' See *Samyutta Nikâya* XXII, 24.

³ Added from the *Siṃhalese* (p. 362). It is not in the *Pâli*.

⁴ *Lakuṣa*, not in *Childers*. But see below (p. 301 of the *Pâli* text). It is probably the same Dravidian word as appears in the Sanskrit dictionaries as *laguḍa*.

and clubs find a resting-place in the air, in the same way as they do on the ground ?'

'No, Sir.'

'But what is the reason why they come to rest on the earth, when they will not stand in the air ?'

'There is no cause in the air for their stability, and without a cause they will [256] not stand.'

'Just so, O king, by that fault of his the cause for his conversion has been removed. And without a cause there can be no conversion. Now will fire, O king, burn in water in the same way as it will on land ?'

'No, Sir.'

'But why not ?'

'Because in water the conditions precedent for burning do not exist. And there can be no burning without them.'

'Just so, O king, are the conditions precedent to conversion destroyed in him by that offence of his. And when the conditions which would bring it about are destroyed there can be no conversion.'

49. 'Venerable Nāgasena, think over this matter once more. I am not yet convinced about it. Persuade me by some reason how such obstruction can occur in the case of one not aware of his offence, and feeling therefore no remorse.'

'Would the Halāhala¹ poison, O king, if eaten by

¹ There is a curious confusion about this word. It is found in post-Buddhistic Sanskrit in the sense of a particular sort of strong poison, and in this sense it occurs also in the *Gātaka Commentary* I, 271; III, 103; and in the *Tela-kaśāha-gāthā*, verse 82. In none of these passages is the nature of the poison at all explained; it is taken for granted as a well-known powerful poison. But above (p. 122 of the Pāli), and at *Gātaka* I, 47, 48, it is used in

a man who did not know he had eaten it, take away his life ?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, is there an obstruction to his comprehension of the Truth, who, without being aware of it, has committed a sin. And would fire, O king, burn a man who walked into it unawares?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Well, just so in the case you put. Or would a venomous snake, if it bit a man without his knowing it, kill him?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Well, just so in the case you put. And is it not true that Samana Kolañña, the king of Kalinga,—when surrounded by the seven treasures of a sovereign overlord he went mounted on his state elephant to pay a visit to his relatives,—was not able to pass the Tree of Wisdom, though he was not aware that it was there¹? Well, of the same kind is the reason why one who has committed an offence, even though he know it not, is nevertheless incapable of rising to the knowledge of the Truth.'

'Verily, Nâgasena, this must be the word of the Conqueror. To find any fault with it were vain. And this (explanation of yours) must be the meaning of it. I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma of the layman's sin.]

the sense of kolâhala, 'noise' (compare the Sanskrit halahâlâ, used as a cry or call). In this sense it is probably a mere imitation of the supposed sound. In the sense of poison its derivation is doubtful.

¹ This must be the incident referred to at *Gâtaka* IV, 232, though the name of the king is given (on the previous page) simply as Kâliṅga and not as Samana-kolañño.

[DILEMMA THE FIFTY-NINTH.

THE GUILTY RECLUSE.]

50. [257] 'Venerable Nāgasena, what is the distinction, what the difference, between a layman who has done wrong, and a Samāna (member of the Order) who has done wrong? Will they both be reborn in like condition? Will the like retribution happen to both? Or is there any difference?'

'There are, O king, ten qualities which abound in the guilty Samāna, distinguishing him from the guilty layman. And besides that, in ten ways does the Samāna purify the gifts that may be given him.

51. 'And what are the ten qualities which abound in the guilty Samāna, distinguishing him from the guilty layman? The guilty Samāna, O king, is full of reverence for the Buddha, for the Law, for the Order, and for his fellow-disciples; he exerts himself in putting questions about, and in recitation of (the sacred texts); he is devoted to learning, though he has done wrong. Then, O king, the guilty one entering the assembly, enters it decently clad, he guards himself alike in body and mind through fear of rebuke, his mind is set upon exerting himself (towards the attainment of Arahātship), he is of the companionship of the brethren. And even, O king, if he does wrong he lives discreetly. Just, O king, as a married woman sins only in secret and in privacy, so does the guilty Samāna walk discreetly in his wrongdoing. These are the ten qualities, O king, found in the guilty Samāna, distinguishing him from the guilty layman.

52. 'And what are the ten ways in which, besides,

he purifies a gift given to him? He purifies it in that he wears an invulnerable coat of mail¹; in that he is shorn in the fashion of the characteristic mark of renunciation used by the seers of old²; in that he is one who is included in the multitude of the brethren; in that he has taken his refuge in the Buddha, the Law, and the Order; in that he dwells in a lonely spot suitable for the exertion (after Arahatsip); in that he seeks after the treasure of the teaching of the Conquerors; in that he preaches the most excellent law (Dhamma); in that his final destiny is to be reborn in the island of truth³; in that he is possessed of an honest belief that the Buddha is the chief of all beings; in that he has taken upon himself the keeping of the Uposatha day. These, O king, are the ten ways in which, besides, he purifies a gift given to him.

53. [258] 'Even, O king, when thoroughly fallen, a guilty Samāsa yet sanctifies the gifts of the supporters of the faith—just as water, however thick, will wash away slush and mud and dirt and stains—just as hot, and even boiling water will put a mighty blazing fire out—just as food, however nasty, will allay the faintness of hunger. For thus, O king, hath it been said by the god over all gods in the most excellent *Magghima Nikāya* in the chapter "On gifts."⁴

¹ 'The threefold robes, the Arahad-dhaga, for the suppression of all evil, worn by all the Buddhas' adds the *Sinhalese* (p. 364). Compare above, vol. i, p. 190.

² The Rishis; 'who were gaining the Swarga-moksha' adds the *Sinhalese*. (It was before the days of Arahatsip.)

³ Dhamma-dīpa, that is to reach Arahatsip, Nirvāna. Compare the *Gātaka* stanza, IV, 121, verse 3.

⁴ The *Dakkhiṇā Vibhaṅga*, No. 12 in the *Vibhaṅga Vagga*, No. 142 in the whole *Nikāya*.

“Whene’er a good man, with believing heart,
Presents what he hath earned in righteousness
To th’ unrighteous,—in full confidence
On the great fruit to follow the good act—
Such gift is, by the giver, sanctified.”’

‘Most wonderful, Nâgasena, and most strange!
We asked you a mere ordinary question, and you,
expounding it with reasons and with similes,
have filled, as it were, the hearer with the sweet
taste of the nectar (of Nirvâna¹). Just as a cook,
or a cook’s apprentice, taking a piece of ordinary
nutmeg, will, treating it with various ingredients,
prepare a dish for a king—so, Nâgasena, when
we asked you an ordinary question, have you,
expounding it with reasons and similes, filled the
hearer with the sweet taste of the nectar of Nirvâna.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the guilty recluse.]

¹ *Amata-madhuram savanûpagam akâsi. Hînaś-kum-burê* (p. 365) understands this differently, and has apparently read *amataṃ madhuram*. For he translates ‘filled the hearer with the taste of Nirvâna, and adorned the least of the people with the ear-ring of Arahatsip.’ It is difficult to see where he finds ‘the least of the people,’ and there is no authority for rendering *savanûpagam* by ‘ear-ring.’ *Amata* as an epithet of the state of mind called by Western writers *Nirvâna* (which is only one of many names applied in the Buddhist books themselves to Arahatsip) has nothing to do with immortality. As this wrong notion of the use of the word has led to much confusion, I have considered in an appendix all the passages in which the epithet occurs.

[DILEMMA THE SIXTIETH.

THE SOUL IN WATER.]

54. 'Venerable Nāgasena, this water when boiling over the fire gives forth many a sound, hissing and simmering¹. Is then, Nāgasena, the water alive? Is it shouting at play? [259] or is it crying out at the torment inflicted on it?'

'It is not alive, O king, there is no soul or being in water. It is by reason of the greatness of the shock of the heat of the fire that it gives forth sounds, hissing and simmering.'

'Now, venerable Nāgasena, there are false teachers who on the ground that the water is alive reject the use of cold water, and warming the water feed themselves on tepid foods of various kinds².

'These men find fault with you and revile you, saying: "The Sakyaputtiya Samanas do injury to the souls of one function³." Dispel, remove, get rid of this their censure and blame.'

55. 'The water is not alive, O king. Neither is there therein either soul or being. And it is the

¹ *Kikkī/āyati kīṭikī/āyati*. The English words entirely fail in representing the sound of these striking words (in which the *k* is pronounced as *ch*). They recur Mahāvagga VI, 26, 7 and Puggala Paññatti 3, 14.

² *Vekaṭika-vekaṭikam*. Hīnaś-kumburē renders this by *hunu-hunuyem*, and *hunu* is the Pāli *unha*. But the expression may be compared with *vikaṭa*, 'filth' (used for food), at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 6. On the belief of the Gains in the 'water-life,' see the Āyāraṅga Sutta I, 1, 3 (in vol. xxii of the S. B. E., p. 5).

³ *Ekindriyam gīvam*. The belief in such a soul is to be understood as held by the teachers referred to, not by Buddhists. Hīnaś-kumburē's translation implies that the one function meant is *prāṇa*. Compare the heretical opinions described in the Dīgha II, 20, and 26.

great shock of the heat of the fire that makes it sound, hissing and simmering. It is like the water in holes in the ground, in ponds and pools and lakes, in reservoirs, in crevices and chasms, in wells, in low-lying places, and in lotus-tanks¹, which before the mighty onset of the hot winds² is so deeply affected that it vanishes away. But does the water in that case, O king, give forth many a sound, hissing and simmering?’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘But, if it were alive, the water would then also make some sound. Know therefore, O king, that there is no soul, neither being, in water; and that it is the greatness of the shock of the heat of the water that makes it give forth sounds.

56. ‘And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing. If water, O king, with grains of rice in it, is put in a vessel and covered up, but not placed over the fireplace, would it then give forth sound?’

‘No, Sir. It would remain quiet and unmoved.’

‘But if you were to put the same water, just as it is in the vessel, over a fireplace³, and then light up the fire, would the water remain quiet and motionless?’

¹ This list recurs in almost identical terms below, p. 296 (of the Pāli text). See also above, II, 1, 10 (vol. 1, p. 55).

² Vātātapa, not ‘heat and wind’ as Böhtlingk-Roth understand it in their rendering of vātātapika. See ‘Vinaya Texts,’ III, 159 and *Samyutta* XXII, 12.

³ Uddhane. This word is always rendered ‘oven’ in the dictionaries. But I doubt whether there were ovens at all, in our sense, in those times, and in any case, the word certainly means a fireplace made of bits of brick between which the wood for the fire is laid. We must imagine the bricks to be laid, as a general rule, in a triangle. I have often seen both Sinhalese peasants, and Tamils from the Madras Presidency, boiling their rice in the open over such extemporised fireplaces in pots either placed on the

‘Certainly not, Sir. It would move and be agitated, become perturbed and all in commotion, waves would arise in it, it would rush up and down and in every direction [260], it would roll up and boil over¹, and a garland of foam would be formed above it.’

bricks, or more usually suspended from three sticks meeting above the centre of the space between the bricks. That this, and this only, is the sense in which the word is used in Pāli is clear from a comparison of the passages in which it is used, though of course in huts the fireplace, though of the same kind, would be a more permanent structure. I have not traced the word in the Piṭakas. In the *Gāṭaka Commentary* I, 68 we find that smoke usually rises uddhanato. This it would not do from an oven. At *Gāṭaka* I, 33 and *Dhammapada Commentary* 176 uddhane āropetvā must mean ‘lifted up on to’ not ‘put into.’ At *Gāṭaka* I, 346 the speaker says he will take the uddhana-kapallāni, and the rice with ingredients for the curry, up on to the flat roof of the house, and there cook and eat them. These are the bits of brick to make, not an oven, but a fireplace of. At *Gāṭaka* II, 133 the husband wrings the neck of the parrot (the parrot of the *Arabian Nights*, chap. 2, I may add) and throws it uddhanantaresu ‘into the space (between the bricks) of the fireplace.’ At *Gāṭaka* III, 178 and *Dhammapada Commentary* 263 we hear of meat boiled on the uddhana. In the *Rasavāhini* (quoted in the ‘*Journal of the Pāli Text Society*,’ 1884, p. 53) the context shows that a fireplace or hearth, not an oven, is meant. Finally above (p. 118 of the Pāli) we hear of a cauldron being mounted on to an uddhana, and the fire being lighted under it.

The derivation is uncertain. The Sanskrit lexicographers give various forms of the word—always with the meaning ‘oven’—uddhāna, udvāna, uddhmāna (this last probably influenced by a supposition that the word was connected with dham). The *Siṃhalese* is uduna, and though ‘fireplace’ is better than ‘oven,’ we have really no corresponding word in English. The gypsies, who are Indian in origin, should have a name for it. But I only find in their vocabularies yogongo-tan, which means simply *aggi/hāna*.

¹ Uttarati patarati. ‘Itirenneya pœtirenneya’ says the *Siṃhalese*.

‘But why so, O king, when water in its ordinary state remains quiet and motionless?’

‘It is because of the powerful impulse of the heat of the fire that the water, usually so still, gives forth many a sound, bubbling and hissing.’

‘Then thereby know, O king, that there is no soul in water, neither being; and that it is the strong heat of the fire that causes it to make sounds.

57. ‘And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing. Is there not water to be found in every house put into water-pots with their mouths closed up?’

‘Yes, Sir.’

‘Well, does that water move, is it agitated, perturbed, in commotion, does it form into waves, does it rush up and down and in every direction, does it roll up and roll over¹, is it covered with foam?’

‘No! That water is in its ordinary state. It remains still and quiet.’

‘But have you ever heard that all this is true of the water in the great ocean? and that rearing up² it breaks against the strand with a mighty roar?’

‘Yes, I have both heard of it, and have seen it myself—how the water in the great ocean lifts itself up a hundred, two hundred, cubits high, towards the sky.’

‘But why, whereas water in its ordinary state remains motionless and still, does the water in the ocean both move and roar?’

‘That is by reason of the mighty force of the

¹ Uttarati patarati, the second of which the *Siṃhalese* (p. 368) omits here. See p. 117 of the *Pāli*.

² Ussakkittvā, ‘continually pumping up,’ says the *Siṃhalese*.

onset of the wind, whereas the water in the water-jars neither moves nor makes any noise, because nothing shakes it.'

'Well, the sounds given forth by boiling water are the result, in a similar way, [261] of the great heat of the fire.'

58. 'Do not people cover over the dried-up mouth of a drum¹ with dried cow-leather?'

'Yes, they do.'

'Well, is there any soul or being, O king, in a drum?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it that a drum makes sounds?'

'By the action or effort of a woman or a man.'

'Well, just as that is why the drum sounds, so is it by the effect of the heat of the fire that the water sounds. And for this reason also you might know, O king, that there is no soul, neither being, in water; and that it is the heat of the fire which causes it to make sounds².

59. 'And I, too, O king, have something yet further to ask of you—thus shall this puzzle be thoroughly threshed out. How is it? Is it true of every kind of vessel that water heated in it makes noises, or only of some kinds of vessels?'

'Not of all, Sir. Only of some.'

'But then you have yourself, O king, abandoned the position you took up. You have come over to my side—that there is no soul, neither being, in water. For only if it made noises in whatever

¹ Bheri-pokkharam, which the Sinhalese renders bheri-mukha. Compare Vimāna Vatthu 18, 10, where pokkhara is a sort of drum.

² A similar analogy has been used above, vol. i, p. 48.

vessel it were heated could it be right to say that it had a soul. There cannot be two kinds of water—that which speaks, as it were, which is alive, and that which does not speak, and does not live. If all water were alive, then that which the great elephants, when they are in rut, suck up in their trunks, and pour out over their towering frames, or putting into their mouths take right into their stomachs—that water, too, when crushed flat between their teeth, would make a sound. And great ships, a hundred cubits long, heavily laden, full of hundreds of packages of goods, pass over the sea—the water crushed by them, too, would make sounds. [262] And mighty fish, leviathans with bodies hundreds of leagues long¹, since they dwell in the great ocean, immersed in the depths of it, must, so living in it, be constantly taking into their mouths and spouting out the ocean—and that water, too, crushed between their gills or in their stomach, would make sounds. But as, even when tormented with the grinding and crushing of all such mighty things, the water gives no sound, therefore, O king, you may take it that there is no soul, neither being, in water.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena! With fitting discrimination has the puzzle put to you² been solved. Just, Nâgasena, as a gem of inestimable value which had come into the hands of an able master goldsmith, clever and well trained, would meet with due appreciation, estimation, and praise—just as a rare pearl

¹ Their names are given. On this belief see above, III, 7, 10 (vol. i, p. 130) and *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3.

² *Desâgato*, ‘based on the teaching of the Omniscient One,’ says *Hînañi-kumburê*, who therefore apparently read *desanâgato*.

at the hands of a dealer in pearls, a fine piece of woven stuff at the hands of a cloth merchant¹, or red sandal wood at the hands of a perfumer—just so in that way has this puzzle put to you been solved with the discrimination it deserved.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the water-life.]

Here ends the Sixth Chapter².

¹ Dussika, a word only found, so far as I know, here and below at V, 4 (p. 331 of the Pāli), where see the note.

² Sakala-gana mano-mandanīyya-wû srī-saddharmâ-dâsayehi sha/wana vargaya nimiyeya, says the *Simhalese*.

BOOK IV. CHAPTER 7.

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-FIRST.

THE OBSTACLES.]

1. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Blessed One said :

"Live, O brethren, devoted to and taking delight in that which has no *Papañkas* (none of those states of mind which delay or obstruct a man in his spiritual growth ¹)."

'What is that which has no *Papañkas*?'

'The fruit of Conversion has no *Papañkas*, O king, the fruit of that stage of the Path in which those live who will be only once, or not all reborn, the fruit of Arahatsip has no *Papañkas*.'

'But if that be so, Nâgasena, [263] then why do the brethren concern themselves with recitation of, with asking questions about the discourses, and the pieces in mixed prose and verse, and the expositions, and the poems, and the outbursts of emotion, and the passages beginning "Thus he said," and the birth-stories, and the tales of wonder, and the extended treatises ²? Why do they trouble themselves about new buildings ³, about gifts and offerings to the Order?'

¹ This passage has not yet been traced in the *Piṭakas*.

² These are the well-known *navangāni*, the nine divisions into which the Scriptures are divided. See *Magghima Nikāya* I, 133; *Āṅguttara Nikāya* IV, 6, &c.

³ *Navakammena palibugganti*. The *Sinhalese* adds *khaṇḍa-phulla-paṭisaṃkharanāyena*, 'repairing dilapidations.'

2. 'They who do all these things, O king, are working towards attainment of freedom from the Papañkās, (that is of Arahats¹). For whereas, O king, all those of the brethren who are pure by nature, those upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth², can (get rid of the Papañkās, can) become Arahats, in a moment—those on the other hand whose minds are much darkened by evil³ can only become Arahats by such means as these.

3. 'Just, O king, as while one man who has sown a field and got the seed to grow can, by the exertion of his own power, and without any rampart or fence, reap the crop—whereas another man when he has got the seed to grow must go into the woods, and cut down sticks and branches and make a fence of them, and thus only reap the crop—in the same way those who are pure by nature, upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth, can, in a moment, become Arahats, like the man who gathers the crop without a fence. But those, on the other hand, whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only become Arahats by such means as these—like the man who can only reap his crop if he builds the fence.

4. 'Or just, O king, as there might be a bunch of fruits on the summit of a lofty mango tree. Then

¹ This is (very properly) added in the Sinhalese, for the two are practically identical. Hereafter it throughout renders nippapañko hoti by 'become an Arahats.'

² Vāsita-vāsanā. See above, vol. i, p. 18.

³ Mahârâgakkhâ, 'evil done both in this and in former births' is here to be understood.

whoever possesses the power of Iddhi could take those fruits¹, but whoever had not, he would have first to cut sticks and creepers and construct a ladder, and by its means climb up the tree and so get at the fruit. In the same way those who are by nature pure, and upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth, may attain, in a moment, to Arahatship, like the man getting the fruit by the power of Iddhi. But those, on the other hand, whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only become Arahats by such means as these, like the man who only gets the fruit by means of the ladder he has made.

5. [264] 'Or just, O king, as while one man who is clever in business will go alone to his lord and conclude any business he has to do, another man, rich though he may be, must by his riches bring others to his service, and by their help get the business done—and it is for the business' sake that he has to seek after them. In the same way those who are by nature pure, upon whose hearts an impression has been left by good deeds done in a former birth, may reach, in a moment, to the attainment of the Six Transcendent Qualities², like the man who does the business alone by himself. Whereas those brethren whose minds are darkened by the evil they have done can only by such means as these realise the gains of renunciation, like the man who through others' help brings his business to the desired end.

¹ By the simple process of going through the air to the top of the tree.

² Chasu abhiññāsu vastibhāvaṃ pāpuṇanti.

6. 'For recitation is of great good, O king, and asking questions, and superintending building work, and seeing to gifts and offerings is of great good—each of them to one or other of the spiritual objects which the brethren seek to obtain. Just, O king, as there might be some one of the ministers or soldiers or messengers or sentries or body-guards or attendants who was especially serviceable and useful to the king, but when he had any business given him to do they would all help him—just so are all these things of assistance when those objects have to be attained. When all men, O king, shall have become by nature pure, then will there be nothing left for a teacher¹ to accomplish. But so long as there is still need of discipleship², so long will even such a man, O king, as the Elder Sâriputta himself (though he had attained to the summit of wisdom by reason of his having been, through countless ages, deeply rooted in merit), yet find it impossible, without discipleship, to attain to Arahatsip³. Therefore is it, O king, that hearing (the Scriptures) is of use, and recitation of them, and asking questions about them. And therefore is it that those also who are addicted to

¹ 'Who is a Buddha' adds *Hīnaśi-kumburê* (p. 372).

² *Savanena*, literally 'bearing.'

³ *Āsavakkhayam*, literally 'to the destruction of the *Āsavas*;' that is, of the Great Evils, which are lust, dulness, becoming, and ignorance. Mr. Trenckner marks this passage as corrupt, but *Hīnaśi-kumburê* seems to have had the same reading before him as Mr. Trenckner has selected from his MSS., except that he has not had any mark of punctuation after the word *hoti*.

The particular occasion on which Sâriputta became finally free from the *Āsavas* is related in the *Dīgha-nakha Suttanta*, No. 74 in the *Magghima Nikāya* (vol. i, p. 50 of Mr. Trenckner's edition for the Pāli Text Society).

these things, becoming free from the obstacles thereto, attain to Arahats¹.'

'Right well have you made me understand this puzzle, Nāgasena. That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the obstacles.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-SECOND.]

THE LAY ARAHAT.]

7. 'Venerable Nāgasena, your people say :

"Whosoever has attained, as a layman, to Arahats¹, one of two conditions are possible to him, and no other—either that very day he enters the Order, or he dies away, for beyond that day he cannot last²."

[265] 'Now if, Nāgasena, he could not, on that day, procure a teacher or preceptor, or a bowl and set of robes³, would he then, being an Arahata, admit himself, or would he live over the day, or would some other Arahata suddenly appear by the power of Iddhi and admit him, or would he die away?'

'He could not, O king, because he is an Arahata, admit himself. For any one admitting himself to

¹ Literally 'therefore is it that recitation, &c., is a condition free from the obstacles, and unmade' (the Unmade being also one of the many epithets of Arahats¹).

² This passage has not yet been traced in the Piṭakas.

³ All these are necessary to one who is a candidate for admission to the Order—the teacher and preceptor being, as it were, his proposer and seconder; and no one being admitted who is not already provided with a bowl and a set of robes.

the Order is guilty of theft¹. And he could not last beyond that day. Whether another Arahat should happen, or not, to arrive, on that very day would he die away.'

'Then, Nāgasena, by whatever means attained, the holy condition of Arahatship is thereby also lost, for destruction of life is involved in it.'

8. 'It is the condition of laymanship which is at fault, O king. In that faulty condition, and by reason of the weakness of the condition itself, the layman who, as such, has attained to Arahatship must either, that very day, enter the Order or die away. That is not the fault of Arahatship, O king. It is laymanship that is at fault, through not being strong enough.

'Just, O king, as food, that guards the growth and protects the life of all beings, will, through indigestion, take away the life of one whose stomach is unequal to it, whose internal fire is low and weak—just so if a layman attains Arahatship when in that condition unequal to it, then by reason of the weakness of the condition he must, that very day, either enter the Order or die away.

'Or just, O king, as a tiny blade of grass when a heavy rock is placed upon it will, through its weakness, break off and give way—just so when a layman attains Arahatship, then, unable to support Arahatship in that condition, he must, that very day, either enter the Order or die away.

'Or just, O king, as a poor weak fellow of low birth and little ability, if he came into possession of

¹ 'Inasmuch as he would be taking a dress to which he was not entitled' is Hīnaśi-kumburē's gloss.

a great and mighty kingdom, would be unable to support the dignity of it¹—just so if a layman attains to Arahatship, then is he unable, in that condition, to support it. [266] And that is the reason why he must, on that very day, either enter the Order or die away.’

‘Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the lay Arahāt.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-THIRD.]

THE FAULTS OF THE ARAHAT.]

9. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, can an Arahāt be thoughtless²?’

‘The Arahats, O king, have put thoughtlessness far from them. They are never inadvertent.’

‘But can an Arahāt be guilty of an offence?’

‘Yes, O king.’

‘In what respect?’

‘In the construction of his cell³, or in his intercourse (with the other sex)⁴, or in imagining the wrong time (for the midday meal) to be the right

¹ We have had the same simile above, IV, 6, 30.

² Compare the note on *Kullavagga* V, 9, 5.

³ Which must not exceed certain dimensions, &c. See the 6th *Samghādisesa* (‘*Vinaya Texts*,’ I, pp. 8, 9).

⁴ *Saṅkharitte*. Perhaps only the 5th *Samghādisesa* (loc. cit.) is here referred to, but *Hīnaśi-kumburē* (p. 375) takes it in a much more extended sense, as referring to all the restrictions, as to time and place, &c., laid down for the guidance of the brethren in their relations with women.

time¹, or when he has been invited (to a meal²) forgetting the invitation, or in taking to be "left over³" food which has not been left over.'

'But, venerable Nāgasena, your people say:

"Those who commit offences do so from one of two reasons, either out of carelessness or out of ignorance⁴."

'Now, is the Arahāt careless that he commits offences?'

'No, O king.'

'Then if the Arahāt commits offences, and yet is not careless, he must be capable of thoughtlessness.'

'He is not capable of thoughtlessness, and yet the Arahāt may be guilty of offences.'

'Convince me then by a reason. What is the reason of this?'

10. 'There are two kinds of sins, O king—those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules (of the Order). And what is a breach of the ordinary moral law? The ten modes of evil action⁵ (killing, theft,

¹ It is curious that the well-known rule as to not eating solid food after sunturn at noon is not expressly stated in the Pātimokkha, or indeed anywhere in the Vinaya. But it is often implied. See, for instance, the 37th Pāṭittiya Rule; Mahāvagga VI, 19, 2; VI, 33, 2; VI, 40, 3; Kullavagga V, 25, &c.

² See the Pāṭittiya Rules, Nos. 32 and 46.

³ A Bhikkhu may not, except for certain special reasons, such as sickness, either keep or eat food which has been left over after the principal meal. See the 35th Pāṭittiya Rule. Hīnaśi-kumburē (pp. 374-376) goes at great length into the full meaning of these five technical terms of the Buddhist Canon Law, giving examples under each.

⁴ Not traced as yet. 'Ignorance of the Sikshāpadas' says the Simhalese (p. 376).

⁵ Dasa akusala-kamma-pathā. See Childers sub voce.

unchastity, lying, slander, harsh language, frivolous talk, covetousness, malice, and false doctrine). These things are against the moral law. And what is a breach of the Rules? Whatever is held in the world as unfitting and improper for Samanas, but is not wrong for laymen—things concerning which the Blessed One laid down rules for his disciples, not to be transgressed by them their lives long. Eating after sunturn, O king, is not wrong to those in the world, but is wrong to those in the religion (the Order) of the Conquerors. Doing injury to trees and shrubs is no offence in the eyes of the world, but it is wrong in the religion. The habit of sporting in the water is no offence to a layman, but it is wrong in the religion. And many other things of a similar kind, O king, are right in the world, but wrong in the religion of the Conquerors. This is what I mean by a breach of the Rules. Now the Arahāt (he in whom the Great Evils are destroyed) is incapable of sinning against whatever is moral law, but he may unawares be guilty of an offence against the rules of the Order. [267] It is not within the province of every Arahāt to know everything, nor indeed in his power. He may be ignorant of the personal or family name of some woman or some man. He may be ignorant of some road over the earth. But every Arahāt would know about emancipation, and the Arahāt gifted with the six modes of transcendental knowledge¹ would know what lies within their scope, and an omniscient Tathāgata, O king, would know all things.'

¹ Cha/abhiññā—which every Arahāt is not.

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the faults
of the Arahats.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-FOURTH.]

WHAT IS, BUT NOT IN THE WORLD.]

11. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, there are to be seen in the world Buddhas, and Paṭṭhaka-Buddhas, and disciples of the Tathâgatas, and sovran overlords, and kings over one country, and gods and men;—we find rich and poor, happy and miserable;—we find men who have become women, and women who have become men—there are good deeds and evil, and beings experiencing the result of their virtue or their vice;—we find creatures born from eggs, and in the water, and in sediment, or springing into life by the mere apparitional birth; creatures without feet, bipeds and quadrupeds, and creatures with many feet;—we find Yakkhas and Rakkhasas, and Kum-bhandas, and Asuras, and Dânavas, and Gandhabbas, and Petas and Pisâkas, and Kinnaras, and Mahoragas, and Nâgas and Supannas¹, and magicians and sorcerers;—there are elephants, and horses, and cattle, and buffaloes, and camels, and asses, and goats, and sheep, and deer, and swine, and lions, and tigers, and leopards, and bears, and wolves, and hyenas, and dogs, and jackals, and many kinds of birds;—there is gold and silver, and the pearl, and

¹ Fairies and goblins of various degrees and powers, most of them not mentioned in the Piṭakas.

the diamond, and the chauk, and rock, and coral, and the ruby, and the Masâra stone, and the cat's-eye, and crystal, and quartz, and iron ore¹, and copper, and brass², and bronze;—there is flax, and silk, and cotton, and hemp³, and wool;—there is rice, and paddy, and barley, and millet, and kudrûsa grain, and beans⁴, and wheat, and oilseed, and vetches;—there are perfumes prepared from roots, and sap, and pith, and bark, and [268] leaves, and flowers, and fruit, and of all other sorts;—we find grass, and creepers, and shrubs, and trees, and medicinal herbs, and forests, and rivers, and mountains, and seas, and fish, and tortoises,—all is in the world. Tell me, Sir, what there is, then, which is not in the world.'

12. 'There are three things, O king, which you cannot find in the world. And what are the three? That which, whether conscious or unconscious, is not subject to decay and death—that you will not find. That quality of anything, (organic or inorganic), which is not impermanent—that you will not find. And in the highest sense there is no such thing as being possessed of being⁵.'

¹ Kâ/a-loha, 'black metal' (not found in the Piṭakas).

² Va//a-loha, 'round metal.' I can only guess what this is. The Sinhalese has simply wa/aloha, which is equally unintelligible. The word occurs again below (p. 331 of the Pāli), and Hīnaśi-kumburê there renders it *toesi*, which is a particular kind of brazen vessel.

³ Two kinds are mentioned, sâṇa and bhaṅga. I don't know the difference between them. The Sinhalese has sana and baṅ-kâlpê.

⁴ Three kinds of Phaseoli are mentioned, Varaka, Mugga, and Mâsa.

⁵ Paramatthena sattûpaladdhi natthi. It is very curious

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the puzzle as to what is not in the world.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-FIFTH.

THINGS WITHOUT A CAUSE.]

13. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, there are found beings in the world who have come into existence through Karma, and others who are the result of a cause, and others produced by the seasons¹. Tell me—is there any thing that does not fall under any one of these three heads?’

‘There are two such things, O king. And what are the two? Space, O king, and Nirvâna.’

‘Now do not spoil the word of the Conquerors, Nâgasena, nor answer a question without knowing what you say!’

‘What, pray, is it I have said, O king, that you should address me thus?’

‘Venerable Nâgasena, that is right what you said in respect of space. But with hundreds of reasons

that both here, and in the analogous phrase at III, 5, 6 (p. 71 of the Pâli), Hînañ-kumburê should merely repeat the words in the text. Both of these curt summaries of the deepest Buddhist doctrine were probably as ambiguous to him as they are to us. The literal translation of the phrase here would be, ‘In the highest sense there is no acquisition of a being.’ As in Buddhism being cannot strictly be predicated of any thing, or of any god or animal or man,—each is really only becoming—the sense probably meant must be very nearly as I have ventured to render.

¹ Utu-nibbattâ; which the Sinhalese repeats. See the next dilemma on ‘Karma-born, cause-born, and season-born.’

did the Blessed One proclaim to his disciples the way to the realisation of *Nirvâna*. And yet you say that *Nirvâna* is not the result of any cause!’

‘No doubt, O king, the Blessed One gave hundreds of reasons for our entering on the way to the realisation of *Nirvâna*. But he never told us of a cause out of which *Nirvâna* could be said to be produced.’

14. ‘Now in this, *Nâgasena*, we have passed from darkness into greater darkness, [269] from a jungle into a denser jungle, from a thicket into a deeper thicket—inasmuch as you say there is a cause for the realisation of *Nirvâna*, but no cause from which it can arise. If, *Nâgasena*, there be a cause of the realisation of *Nirvâna*, then we must expect to find a cause of the origin of *Nirvâna*. Just, *Nâgasena*, as because the son has a father, therefore we ought to expect that that father had a father—or because the pupil has a teacher, therefore we ought to expect that the teacher had a teacher—or because the plant came from a seed, therefore we ought to expect that the seed too had come from a seed¹—so, *Nâgasena*, if there be a reason for the realisation of *Nirvâna*, we ought to expect that there is a reason too for its origin,—just as if we saw the top of a tree, or of a creeper, we should conclude that it had a middle part, and a root.’

‘*Nirvâna*, O king, is unproduceable, and no cause for its origin has been declared.’

‘Come now, *Nâgasena*, give me a reason for this. Convince me by argument, so that I may know how

¹ Compare the argument based above, II, 3, 2, on this and similar series.

it is that while there is a cause that will bring about the realisation of *Nirvâna*, there is no cause that will bring about *Nirvâna* itself.'

15. 'Then, O king, give ear attentively, and listen well, and I will tell you what the reason is. Could a man, O king, by his ordinary power, go up from hence to the *Himâlaya*, the king of mountains?'

'Yes, Sir, he could.'

'But could a man, by his ordinary power, bring the *Himâlaya* mountains here?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Well! therefore is it that while a cause for the realisation of *Nirvâna* can be declared, the cause of its origin can not. And could a man, O king, by his ordinary power cross over the great ocean in a ship, and so go to the further shore of it?'

'Yes, Sir, he could.'

'But could a man [270] by his ordinary power bring the further shore of the ocean here?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Well! so is it that while a cause for the realisation of *Nirvâna* can be declared, the cause of its origin can not. And why not? Because *Nirvâna* is not put together of any qualities.'

16. 'What, Sir! is it not put together?'

'No, O king. It is uncompounded, not made of anything. Of *Nirvâna*, O king, it cannot be said that it has been produced, or not been produced, or that it can be produced¹, that it is past or future or present, that it is perceptible by the eye or the ear or the nose or the tongue, or by the sense of touch.'

'But if so, *Nâgasena*, then you are only showing

¹ The *Sinhalese* is here (p. 381) expanded.

us how Nirvâna is a condition that does not exist ¹. There can be no such thing as Nirvâna.'

'Nirvâna exists, O king. And it is perceptible to the mind. By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from the obstacles ², free from low cravings, that disciple of the Noble Ones who has fully attained can see Nirvâna.'

17. 'Then what, Sir, is Nirvâna? Such a Nirvâna (I mean) as can be explained by similes ³. Convince me by argument how far the fact of its existence can be explained by similes.'

'Is there such a thing, O king, as wind?'

'Yes, of course.'

'Show it me then, I pray you, O king—whether by its colour, or its form, whether as thin or thick, or short or long!'

'But wind, Nâgasena, cannot be pointed out in that way ⁴. It is not of such a nature that it can be taken into the hand or squeezed. But it exists all the same.'

'If you can't show me the wind, then there can't be such a thing.'

'But I know there is, Nâgasena. That wind

¹ Natthidhammam nibbânam upadisatha. Compare the use of atthi-dhammam nibbânam, at p. 316 (of the Pâli). I take the compound to mean either 'has the quality (or condition) of not existing,' or 'is a condition that is not.' And the latter is more in harmony with the analogous phrase atthisattâ devâ (p. 317 of the Pâli) since that can only mean 'gods, which are beings that are.'

² Lust, malice, pride, sloth, and doubt.

³ Hīnaśi-kumburē puts the stop, not after nibbânam as Mr. Trenckner does, but after opammehi.

⁴ On the connotation of upadassayitum, see pp. 316, 347, of the Pâli.

exists I am convinced ¹, [271] though I cannot show it you.'

'Well! just so, O king, does Nirvâna exist, though it cannot be shown to you in colour or in form ².'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to Nirvâna.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-SIXTH.

MODES OF PRODUCTION.]

18. 'Venerable Nâgasena, what are they who are said, in this connection, to be "Karma-born," and "cause-born," and "season-born"? And what is it that is none of these?'

'All beings, O king, who are conscious, are Karma-born (spring into existence as the result of Karma). Fire, and all things growing out of seeds, are cause-born (the result of a pre-existing material cause). The earth, and the hills, water, and wind—all these are season-born (depend for their existence on reasons connected with weather). Space and Nirvâna exist independently alike of Karma, and cause,

¹ Me hadaye anupavi//ham, literally 'has entered into my heart.' But Hīnaś-kumburê takes vâto atthîti as dependent on gâṇâmi, and renders these three words by 'it (the wind) has entered into my heart,' and then adds, by way of gloss, 'and has struck against my body, and travels through the sky.' In another passage below, IV, 8, 65 (p. 317 of the Pâli), this same word anupavi//ham recurs in a clause the sense of which is doubtful; and there Hīnaś-kumburê explains it quite differently. It looks very much as if we had here an idiom peculiar to our author; but one cannot of course be sure on any such point till the Piṭakas are all published.

² The same simile is used below, p. 317 (of the Pâli).

and seasons. Of Nirvâṇa, O king, it cannot be said that it is Karma-born or cause-born or season-born ; that it has been, or has not been, or can be produced, that it is past or future or present, that it is perceptible by the eye or the nose or the ear or the tongue or by the sense of touch. But it is perceptible, O king, by the mind. By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from the obstacles, free from low cravings, that disciple of the Noble Ones who has fully attained can see Nirvâṇa.'

'Well has this delightful puzzle, venerable Nāgasena, been examined into, cleared of doubt, brought into certitude. My perplexity has been put an end to as soon as I consulted you, O best of the best of the leaders of schools !'

[Here ends the dilemma as to modes of
production.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-SEVENTH.

DEAD DEMONS.]

19. 'Venerable Nāgasena, are there such things as demons (Yakkhâ) in the world ?'

'Yes, O king.'

'Do they ever leave that condition' (fall out of that phase of existence) ?

'Yes, they do.'

'But, if so, why is it that the remains of those dead Yakkhas are never found, nor any odour of their corpses smelt ?'

'[272] Their remains are found, O king, and an odour does arise from their dead bodies. The remains of bad Yakkhas can be seen in the form of

worms and beetles and ants and moths and snakes and scorpions and centipedes, and birds and wild beasts.'

'Who else, O Nāgasena, could have solved this puzzle except one as wise as you!'

[Here ends the dilemma as to dead demons.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-EIGHTH.

THE METHOD OF PROMULGATING THE RULES.]

20. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those who were teachers of the doctors in times gone by—Nārada¹, and Dhammantari², and Aṅgīrasa³, and Kapila⁴, and Kandaraggisāma, and Atula, and Pubba Kaṭṭāyana⁵—all these teachers knowing thoroughly, and of themselves, and without any omission, the rise of disease and its cause and nature and progress and cure and treatment and management⁶,—each of them composed his treatise en bloc, taking time by the forelock, and pointing out that in such and such a body such and such a disease would arise. Now no one of these

¹ No doubt the celebrated Devārshi is meant, though it is odd to find him in a list of physicians.

² In Sanskrit Dhanvantarī, the physician of the gods. He is mentioned in the *Gāṭaka* IV, 496, with Bhoga and Vetaraṇī, as a well-known physician of old famous for the cure of snake-bite.

³ The connection of Aṅgīrasa with the physicians is due to the charms against disease to be found in the *Atharva-veda*.

⁴ Kapila is known in the Brahman literature as a teacher of philosophy rather than of medicine.

⁵ Probably 'the Eastern Kaṭṭāyana,' but nothing is known of these last three names. Hīnaśī-kumburē calls all seven 'Rishis.'

⁶ Siddhāsiddham, for which Hīnaśī-kumburē (p. 385), who merely repeats all the other terms, has sādhyāsādhya.

was omniscient. Why then did not the Tathâgata, who was omniscient, and who knew by his insight of a Buddha what would happen in the future, determining in advance that for such and such an occasion such and such a rule would be required, lay down the whole code of rules at once ; instead of laying them down to his disciples from time to time as each occasion arose, when the disgrace (of the wrong act) had been already noised abroad, when the evil was already wide spread and grown great, when the people were already filled with indignation¹ ?

21. 'The Tathâgata, O king, knew very well that in fulness of time the whole of the hundred and fifty Rules² would have to be laid down to those men. But the Tathâgata, O king, thought thus : "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty Rules at once the people would be filled with fear [273], those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so, saying, 'How much is there here to be observed ! how difficult a thing is it to enter religion according to the system of the Samana Gotama'—they would not trust my words, and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. As occasion arises therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down, when the evil has become manifest, each Rule."'

'A wonderful thing is it in the Buddhas, Nâgasena, and a most marvellous that the omniscience of the Tathâgata should be so great. That is just so,

¹ This question has already been discussed above, III, 6, 2 (I, 116).

² The rules of the Pâtimokkha are 227 in number, but without the Sekhiyas they are 152.

venerable Nāgasena. This matter was well understood by the Tathāgata—how that hearing that so much was to be observed, men¹ would have been so filled with fear that not a single one would have entered religion according to the system of the Conquerors. That is so, and I accept it as you say².

[Here ends the dilemma as to the method in which the Rules were laid down.]

[DILEMMA THE SIXTY-NINTH.
THE HEAT OF THE SUN.]

22. 'Venerable Nāgasena, does this sun always burn fiercely, or are there times when it shines with diminished heat?'

'It always burns fiercely, O king, never gently.'

'But if that be so, how is it that the heat of the sun is sometimes fierce, and sometimes not³?'

23. 'There are four derangements⁴, O king, which happen to the sun, and affected by one or other of these its heat is allayed. And what are the four? The clouds, O king, and fog⁵, and

¹ Sattā, literally 'beings,' but that means human beings, men and women, as no others (gods, Nāgas, animals, &c.) were admitted to the Order. See Mahāvagga I, 63; I, 76, 1; Kullavagga X, 17, 1.

² In the Introductory Stories to the Rules it is often stated, how, when a Bhikkhu had done some act, the people were indignant, the brethren heard that and reported the matter to the Blessed One, who then, and then only, laid down the Rule prohibiting that act. But these Introductory Stories are really later than the Rules.

³ Here Hīnaṣi-kumburē (pp. 386-7) goes into great details, giving instances, and quoting verses.

⁴ Rogā, literally 'diseases.'

⁵ Mahikā. Childers gives frost as the only meaning of this word.

smoke¹, and eclipses²—these are the four derangements which happen to the sun, and it is when affected by one or other of these that its heat is allayed.’

‘Most wonderful, Nāgasena, and most strange [274] that even the sun, so transcendent in glory, should suffer from derangement—how much more than other, lesser, creatures. No one else could have made this explanation except one wise like you!’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the heat
of the sun.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTIETH.
THE SEASONS.]

24. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, why is it that the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer?’

‘In the hot season, O king, dust is blown up³ into clouds, and pollen⁴ agitated by the winds rises up into the sky, and clouds multiply in the heavens, and gales blow with exceeding force. All these crowded and heaped together shut off the rays of the sun, and so in the hot season the heat of the sun is diminished. But in the cold season, O king, the earth below is at rest, the rains above are

¹ Megho, literally ‘rain-cloud.’ But clouds of smoke are meant, as is clear from the parallel passage loc. cit. which has *dhuma-rago*, but see *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 3 (from which the whole section IV, 7, 23 is derived).

² Rāhu.

³ *Anupahataṃ*. Compare Dr. Morris’s note in the ‘Journal of the Pāli Text Society,’ 1884, p. 75, on *Therā Gāthā* 625.

⁴ *Renū*. Perhaps this should again be rendered dust. See the verse at *Gātaka* I, 117 (which is nearly the same as *Divyāvadāna*, p. 491).

in reserve¹, the dust is quiet, the pollen wanders gently through the air, the sky is free from clouds, and very gently do the breezes blow. Since all these have ceased to act the rays of the sun become clear, and freed from every obstruction the sun's heat glows and burns. This, O king, is the reason why the heat of the sun is more fierce in winter than in summer.

'So it is when set free from the obstacles besetting it that the sun burns fiercely, which it cannot do when the rains and so on are present with it.'

['Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say².']

[Here ends the dilemma of the seasons³.]

Here ends the Seventh Chapter⁴.

¹ Mahā-megho upa//hito hoti, which is very ambiguous. The *Sinhalese* (p. 389) has mahā meghaya pa/an-gannā-lada wanneya.

² Inserted from Hīnaś-kumburê.

³ There is great uncertainty at present as to the views held, first in the *Piṭakas* and later in the *Commentaries*, regarding the calculation of time and the division of years into months and seasons. Our author here seems to regard the year as divided into two seasons only, Hemanta and Gimha. But Hemanta is usually supposed to last only from the 1st November (that is the middle of Kattika) to the beginning of March (that is the middle of Phagguni), Gimhāna for the next four months (March 1st–June 30th), and Vassāna the remaining four (July–October)—the year being thus divided into three equal cold, hot, and rainy seasons. At Mahāvagga VIII, 24, 3 there is a division of the year into unequal dry and wet seasons (utu and vassāna), and at Gâtaka I, 86 it is said that vasanta-samayo begins when hemanta ends at the full moon of Phagguni. As our author places the characteristic events of the rainy season in the hot season, he cannot have had the division into three seasons in his mind.

⁴ 'Of the excellent Saddharmādāsa' says the *Sinhalese*.

BOOK IV. CHAPTER 8.

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-FIRST.

VESSANTARA'S GIVING¹.]

1. 'Venerable Nâgasena, do all the Bodisats give away their wives and children, or was it only Vessantara the king who did so?'

'All of them do so, not Vessantara only.'

[275] 'Do they then give them away with their own consent?'

'The wife, O king, was a consenting party. But the children, by reason of their tender age, lamented. Had they thoroughly understood, they too would have approved.'

'A hard thing, Nâgasena, was it that the Bodisat carried out, in that he gave away his own children, his only ones, dearly beloved, into slavery to the Brahman. And this second action was harder still, that he bound his own children, his only ones, and dearly beloved, young and tender though they were, with the jungle rope, and then, when he saw them being dragged along² by the Brahman,—their hands

¹ We have seen above, IV, 1, 41 (I, 178), how Hînaśi-kumburê expanded the story of Vessantara, which had aroused also in our author a greater enthusiasm than any of the many other subjects that he treats. Here too the Sinhalese translator fairly runs riot over the 'mighty giving of the glorious king,' and expands the ten pages of the Pâli into thirty-three pages of his version (pp. 389-421), whereas usually one page of the Sinhalese covers very nearly a page of the Pâli.

² Anumaggiyante. See Mr. Trenckner's note. But the

bruised by the creeper,—yet could look on at the sight. And this third action was even harder still, that when his boy ran back to him, after loosing the bonds by his own exertion, then he bound him again with the jungle rope and again gave him away. And this fourth action was even harder still, that when the children, weeping, cried: “Father dear, this ogre is leading us away to eat us!” he should have appeased them by saying: “Don’t be afraid.” And this fifth action was even harder still, that when the prince, *Gāli*, fell weeping at his feet, and besought him, saying: “Be satisfied, father dear, only keep *Kaṇhâginâ* (his little sister). I will go away with the ogre. Let him eat me!”—that even then he would not yield. And this sixth action was even harder still, that when the boy *Gāli*, lamenting, exclaimed: “Have you a heart of stone then, father, that you can look upon us, miserable, being led away by the ogre into the dense and haunted jungle, and not call us back?”—that he still had no pity. And this seventh action was even harder still, that when his children were thus led away to nameless horrors until they passed gradually to their bitter fate¹, out of sight—that then his heart did not break, utterly break! What, pray, has the man who seeks to gain merit to do with bringing sorrow on others! Should he not rather give himself away?’

2. ‘It is because what he did, O king, was so

Siṃhalese (p. 390) has at mardanaya ko/a welannawun dœka.

¹ *Rû/arû/assa bhîmabhîmassa*. The *Siṃhalese* (p. 390) omits these words, giving other details in place of them, and as they occur only here I am not sure of their meaning.

difficult, that the sound of the fame of the Bodisat was spread abroad among gods and men through the ten thousand world systems—[276] that the gods exalt him in heaven; and the Titans in the Titan-world, and the Garuḍas in their abodes, and the Nāgas in the Nāga-world, and the Yakshas where they dwell—that through the ages the reputation of this his glory has been handed down by successive tradition—till now, to-day, it has reached to this meeting of ours, at which we sitting are, forsooth, disparaging and casting a slur on that gift¹, debating whether it were well given or ill! But that high praise, O king, shows forth the ten great qualities of the intelligent, and wise, and able, and subtle-minded Bodisats. And what are the ten? Freedom from greed, the not clinging (to any worldly aim), self-sacrifice, renunciation, the never turning back again (to the lower state), the equal delicacy and greatness, the incomprehensibility, the rarity, and the peerlessness of Buddhahood. In all these respects is it that the fame of that giving shows forth the great qualities of the Bodisats.'

3. 'What, venerable Nāgasena? he who gives gifts in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others—does that giving of his bring forth fruit in happiness, does it lead to rebirth in states of bliss?'

'Yes, O king. What can be said (to the contrary)?'

'I pray you, Nāgasena, give me a reason for this.'

'Suppose, O king, there were some virtuous Samāna or Brahman, of high character, and he were

¹ Vikittentā vikopentā. Hīnaś-kumburē (p. 410) has 'angrily finding fault with.' Compare above, vikopanā, at p. 266 (of the Pāli).

paralysed, or a cripple¹, or suffering from some disease or other, and some man desirous of merit were to have him put into a carriage, and taken to the place he wished to go to. Would happiness accrue to that man by reason thereof, would that be an act leading to rebirth in states of bliss?’

‘Yes, Sir. What can be said (to the contrary)? That man would thereby acquire a trained elephant, or a riding-horse, or a bullock-carriage, on land a land-vehicle and on water a water-vehicle, in heaven a vehicle of the gods² and on earth one that men could use,—from birth to birth there would accrue to him that which in each would be appropriate and fit,—and joys appropriate would come to him, and he would pass from state to state of bliss, and by the efficacy of that act mounting on the vehicle of Iddhi he would arrive at the longed-for goal, the city of Nirvâṇa itself.’

‘But then, O king, a gift given in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others does bring forth fruit in happiness, does lead to rebirth in states of bliss [277],—inasmuch as that man by putting the cart-bullocks to pain would attain such bliss.

4. ‘And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing. Suppose some monarch were to raise from his subjects a righteous tax, and then by the issue of a command were to bestow thereout a gift, would that monarch, O king, enjoy any happiness on that account, would that be a gift leading to rebirth in states of bliss?’

¹ Pakkha-hato vâ pīḥa-sappī vâ. See the note above on IV, 6, 22.

² Devayāna, on which compare Sutta Nipāta, verse 139 (Vasala Sutta 24).

‘Certainly, Sir. What can be said against it? On that account the monarch would receive a hundred thousandfold, he might become a king of kings, a god above the gods, or Brahmâ lord of the Brahma gods, or a chief among the Samanas, or a leader of the Brahmans, or the most excellent among the Arahats.’

‘Then, O king, a gift given in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others does bring forth fruit in happiness, does lead to rebirth in states of bliss—inasmuch as that monarch by giving as a gift what was gained by harassing his people with taxation would enjoy such exceeding fame and glory.’

5. ‘But, venerable Nâgasena, what was given by Vessantara the king was an excessive gift; in that he gave his own wife as wife to another man, and his own children, his only ones, into slavery to a Brahman. And excessive giving is by the wise in the world held worthy of censure and of blame. Just, Nâgasena, as under too much weight the axle-tree of a cart would break, or a ship would sink, as his food would disagree with him who ate too much, or the crops would be ruined by too heavy rain, or bankruptcy would follow too lavish generosity, or fever would come from too much heat, or a man would go mad from excessive lust, or become guilty of an offence through excessive anger, or fall into sin through excessive stupidity, or into the power of robbers through too much avarice, or be ruined by needless fear, or as a river would overflow through excessive inflow, or a thunderbolt fall through too much wind, or porridge boil over through too hot a fire, or a man who wandered

about too much¹ would not live long—just so, Nāgasena, is excessive giving held by the wise in the world as worthy of censure and of blame. And as king Vessantara's gift was excessive [278] no good result could be expected from it.'

6. 'Giving exceedingly², O king, is praised, applauded, and approved by the wise in the world; and they who give away anything as a gift just as it may occur to them³, acquire fame in the world as very generous givers. Just, O king, as when a man has taken hold of a wild root which by its extraordinary virtues is divine, that moment he becomes invisible even to those standing within arm's length—just as a medicinal herb by the exceeding power of its nature will utterly kill pain, and put an end to disease—just as fire burns by its exceeding heat, and water puts that fire out by its exceeding cold—just as by its exceeding purity a lotus remains undefiled by water or by mud—just as a (magic) gem by the extraordinary virtue inherent in it procures the granting of every wish—just as lightning by its marvellous quick sharpness cleaves asunder even the diamonds, pearls, and crystals—just as the earth by its exceeding size can support men, and snakes, and wild beasts, and birds, and the waters,

¹ *Atisaññārena*, which the Sinhalese merely repeats. The meaning is doubtful. The use of *saññā* at *Gâtaka* II, 112 has suggested the above rendering.

² The whole of this answer turns on the ambiguity of the prefix *ati*, which may mean either 'very much' or 'too much.'

³ *Yâdisam kîdisam*. The meaning of this idiom cannot be controlled by parallel passages, as I know of none. *Hînañ-kumburê* (pp. 412-413) construes *yâdisam* as an accusative dependent on *atidânadâyî*; 'Those who give away anything as a gift, acquire fame in the world as exceeding givers of that.'

and rocks, and hills, and trees—just as the ocean by its exceeding greatness can never be quite filled—just as Sineru by its mighty weight remains immovable, and space by the greatness of its wide extent is infinite, and the sun by its mighty glory dissipates the darkness—just as the lion in the greatness of its lineage is free from fear—just as a wrestler in the greatness of his might easily lifts up his foe—just as a king by the excellence of his justice becomes overlord, and a Bhikkhu by reason of his very righteousness becomes an object of reverence to Nāgas, and Yakshas, and men, and Māras—just as a Buddha by the excellence of his supremacy is peerless—just so, O king, is exceeding generosity praised, applauded, and approved by the wise in the world; and they who give away anything as a gift, just as it may occur to them, acquire in the world the fame of being nobly generous. And by his mighty giving Vessantara the king, O king, was praised, and lauded, and exalted, and magnified, and famous throughout the ten thousand world systems, and by reason, too, of that mighty giving is it that he, the king Vessantara, has, now in our days, become the Buddha, the chief of gods and men.

7. 'And now, O king, tell me—is there anything in the world which should be withheld as a gift, and not bestowed, when one worthy of a gift, one to whom it is one's duty to give¹, is there?'

¹ *Dakkhiṇeyya*. We have no word in English to express the full meaning of this word. It was an idea that was common ground to our Buddhist apologist, and to the Brahman opponents whom he always has in view, that there were certain people to whom gifts ought to be given, and the being worthy was one of the conditions precedent to belonging to this class. Of course the

‘There are ten sorts of gifts, Nāgasena, in the world that are commonly disapproved of as gifts. And what are the ten? Strong drink, Nāgasena, and festivals in high places¹, and women, and buffaloes, and suggestive [279] paintings², and weapons, and poison, and chains, and fowls, and swine, and false weights and measures. All these, Nāgasena, are disapproved of in the world as gifts, and those who give such presents become liable to rebirth in states of woe.’

‘I did not ask you, O king, what kinds of gifts are not approved of. But this, O king, I asked: “Is there anything in the world which ought to be withheld, and not bestowed as a gift, if one worthy of a gift were present?”’

‘No, Sir. When faith arises in their hearts some give food to those worthy of gifts, and some give clothes, and some give bedding, and some give dwellings, and some give mats or robes, and some give slave girls or slaves, and some give fields or premises, and some give bipeds or quadrupeds, and

Brahmans held that to be a Brahman was another condition, but the Buddhist, who inherited the idea from them, had discarded this part of the conception. See, for the Brahman view, Eggeling’s *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* II, 114, 344.

¹ *Samagga-dānam*. Childers under *samaggā* gives only the meaning ‘assembly,’ but it is clear from *Kullavagga* V, 26; VI, 2, 7; the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* II, 267, and *Sumaṅgala* I, 84, that the word, at least as a masculine (which it is here), has the technical sense of one of those orgies in high places which were common in so many parts of the world in very early times, and were due in India to Kolarian influences. The ‘giving’ (*dāna*) of such a *samagga* would doubtless mean the providing of the necessary food, seats, cushions, &c.

² *Kitta-kammam*. See my note on *Paṭibhāna-kittam* at ‘*Vinaya Texts*,’ III, 172.

some give a hundred¹ or a thousand or a hundred thousand, and some give the kingdom itself, and some give away even their own life.'

'But then, O king, if some give away even their own lives, why do you so violently attack² Vessantara, that king of givers, for the virtuous bestowal of his child and wife? Is there not a general practice in the world, an acknowledged custom, according to which it is allowable for a father who has fallen into debt, or lost his livelihood, to deposit³ his son in pledge, or sell him?'

'Yes, that is so.'

'Well, in accordance therewith was it that Vessantara, O king, in suffering and distress at not having obtained the insight of the Omniscient Ones, pledged and sold his wife and children for that spiritual treasure. So that he gave away what other people had given away, he did what other people had done. Why then do you, O king, so violently attack him, the king of givers?'

¹ I. e. pieces of money, which it would be against the rules for a member of the Buddhist Order to accept. But the donees in all these cases are not necessarily Buddhists.

² Paripâtesī, not in Childers; but see *Gâtaka* II, 208; and below, p. 367 (of the Pâli text). *Hînaśi-kumburê* has here *nindâ karanne*, and just below *apasâdanaya karanne*.

³ *Âvapitum*, not in Childers. Dr. Morris, in the 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society' for 1886, p. 157, compares the Sanskrit root *vyap*, but this does not help us much. *Hînaśi-kumburê* (p. 414) has 'an *tœneka œpaye hinduwanna/a*,' which means, I think, 'to deposit as a pledge in some place or other.' At all events *œpa*, the ordinary word now in use in Ceylon courts for 'bail,' may very well be actually derived from *vâpa*. And the passage at *Gâtaka* I, 321 is an exact parallel to our phrase here, for there the Bodisat, when an elephant, gives away his teeth and tusks as *vâpana* for the insight of the Omniscient Ones.

8. 'Venerable Nâgasena, I don't blame him for giving, but for not having made a barter¹ with the beggar, and given away himself rather, instead of his wife and children.'

[280] 'That, O king, would be an act of a wrong doer, to give himself when he was asked for his wife and children. For the thing asked for, whatever it is, is that which ought to be given. And such is the practice of the good. Suppose, O king, a man were to ask that water should be brought, would any one who then brought him food have done what he wanted?'

'No, Sir. The man who should have given what he first asked to be brought would have done what he wanted.'

'Just so, O king, when the Brahman asked Vessantara the king for his wife and children, it was his wife and children that he gave. If the Brahman, O king, had asked for Vessantara's body, then would Vessantara have not saved his body, he would neither have trembled nor been stained (by the love of self), but would have given away and abandoned his own body. If, O king, any one had come up to Vessantara the king, and asked of him, saying: "Become my slave," then would he have given away and abandoned his own self, and in so giving would he have felt no pain.

9. 'Now the life of king Vessantara, O king, was a good thing shared in by many—just as meats when cooked are shared in by many, or as a tree covered with fruit is shared in by many flocks of

¹ Niminitvâ, also not in Childers; but see *Gâtaka* III, 63, 221.

birds. And why so? Because he had said to himself: "Thus acting may I attain to Buddhahood." As a man in need, O king, who is wandering about in his search after wealth, will have to pass along goat-tracks, and through jungles full of stakes and sticks¹, and doing merchandise by sea and land, will devote his actions, words, and thoughts to the attainment of wealth—just so, O king, did Vessantara, the king of givers, who was longing for the treasure of Buddhahood, for the attainment of the insight of the Omniscient Ones, by offering up to any one who begged of him his property and his corn, his slave girls and his slaves, his riding animals and carriages, all that he possessed, his wife and children and himself, seek after the Supreme Enlightenment. Just, O king, as an official who is anxious for the seal², and for the office of the custody thereof [281], will exert himself to the attainment of the seal by sacrificing everything in his house—property and corn, gold and silver, everything—just so, O king, did Vessantara, the king of givers, by giving away all that he had, inside his house and out³, by giving even his life for others, seek after the Supreme Enlightenment.

10. 'And further, O king, Vessantara, the king of givers, thought thus: "It is by giving to him precisely what he asks for, that I shall be of service

¹ *Agapatham saṅkupatham vettapatham gaḁḁhati*. *Hīnaśi-kumburē*, at p. 416, repeats the words with a gloss on the two last words, which I have followed.

² *Mudda-kāmo*; *mudra-nam ganam perekkuwa*, says *Hīnaśi-kumburē*, p. 416.

³ *Bāhirabbhantaram dhanam datvā*. I am not sure that I have rightly understood this phrase, which the Sinhalese merely repeats.

to the Brahman:" and therefore did he bestow upon him his wife and children. It was not, O king, out of dislike to them that he gave them away, not because he did not care to see them more, not because he considered them an encumbrance or thought he could no longer support them, not (in annoyance) with the wish of being relieved of what was not pleasant to him—but because the jewel treasure of omniscience was dear to him, for the sake of the insight of the Omniscient Ones, did he bestow that glorious gift,—immeasurable, magnificent, unsurpassed—of what was near and dear to him, greatly beloved, cherished as his own life, his own children and his wife! For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god of gods, in the *Kariyâ Piṭaka*¹:

"'Twas not through hatred² of my children sweet,
'Twas not through hatred of my queen, Maddt,
Thraller of hearts³—not that I loved them less—
But Buddhahood more, that I renounced them all."

¹ *Kariyâ Piṭaka* I, 9, 53.

² Dessa, that is dreshya, from dvish. Compare diso, 'an enemy.' It occurs also at *Kariyâ Piṭaka* I, 4, 7; 5, 3; 8, 16 (quoted *Gâtaka* IV, 406); II, 4, 11; III, 1, 6 (quoted *Gâtaka* I, 46); III, 2, 16; 3, 10; 6, 18. The effect of the use of this rare poetical word is lost in the English version.

³ Maddt and *Kaṇhâginâ*, the names of Vessantara's wife and daughter, mean respectively 'enthraler (of men's minds),' and 'the dark conquerors (of hearts).' As Vessantara is used in the *Magghima* (I, 386, line 5) as an adjective, not a name, and is applied to the Buddha, it too must have a special meaning. But it can scarcely be connected with *Vaisya*, while we have a very famous epithet in *vaisvânara*, so often applied to the sacred fire as 'common good to all men.' The insertion of the t would explain the shortening of the â, and though there seems to be no sufficient reason for any alteration at all of the older term, this is

11. 'Now at that time, O king, Vessantara, when he had given away his wife and children, entered the leaf hut, and sat down there. And heavy grief fell upon him distressed by his exceeding love for them, and his very heart¹ became hot, and hot breath, too much to find its way through the nose, came and went through his mouth, and tears rolled in drops of blood from his eyes. Such was the grief, O king, with which Vessantara gave to the Brahman his wife and children in the thought that his practice of giving should not be broken in upon. But there were two reasons, O king, why he thus gave them away. What are those two? That his practice of giving should not be interrupted was one; the other was that as a result of his so doing his children, distressed by living with him only on wild roots and fruits, should eventually be set free by their new master. [282] For Vessantara knew, O king: "No one is capable of keeping my children as slaves. Their grandfather will ransom the children, and so they will come back to me." These are the two reasons why he gave his children away to the Brahman.

12. 'And further, O king, Vessantara knew: "This Brahman is worn out, aged, well stricken in years, weak and broken, leaning on a stick, he has drawn near the end of his days, his merit is small, he will not be capable of keeping my children as

probably the real derivation of Vessantara. And the whole legend may well be due to previous stories of the world-wide beneficence of Agni Vairvânara, or of the sun as Vairvânara.

¹ Hadaya-vatthu, 'like a broth-pot foaming over,' is Hîṇaṣṣakumburê's explanation of this phrase (pena nægena mas søeliyak men hrîdaya wastuwa, p. 417).

slaves." Would a man be able, O king, by his ordinary power, to seize the moon and the sun¹,

¹ *Kandima-suriye*. We should say 'the sun and the moon,' and I cannot think the difference of phraseology is entirely without significance. While the Brahmins put their own caste and order first, the Buddhist texts talk of '*Samanas* and Brahmins,' '*Khattiyas* and Brahmins.' This has, and no doubt rightly, been held significant of the opinion of the authors. Why should the fact of their always referring, in similar compounds, to the moon before the sun, and to women before men, be less so? Now it is almost always taken for granted that the Buddhists were reformers, as opposed to the Brahmins, who wanted to run still in the ancient grooves. But there is another side of the question that has been entirely overlooked. There is ample evidence in their literature that (at least in certain directions, more especially of religious thought) the Brahmins had been constantly progressive, and their *Brâhmanas* are really the result of reform following on reform. To use a parallel drawn from modern politics, Buddhists are to Brahmins much more like Socialists to Liberals than like Liberals to Conservatives. The Brahmins had worked out in their minds no new complete system, and when they reformed they left the roots of the old order of things in the ground. But in the momentous change from matriarchate to patriarchy they threw all their power and influence on the side of the newer conception. And when, like Kronos to Jupiter, the old gods gave place to the new, it was they who worked out the newer set of ideas—more especially heaven or sun-worship as against moon-worship and all that it involved. We must not forget that a change of dynasty, or of precedence, among the gods was of more importance to men in those times than a change of dynasty among earthly kings. And though the Buddhists it is true, as we ourselves now, cared for none of these things, and were busied with other discussions than the precedence of the sun and moon, they quite quietly and naturally, when they had to choose, adopted the form of words which did not imply an acceptance of the Brahmin position, whose system in other matters they were trying, if not to storm, at least to turn.

We are here in the midst of questions too vast to be discussed with profit in a note. But Buddhism certainly arose among those sections of the community least influenced by the reforms the Brahmins supported. And there is evidence, in the precedence the

mighty and powerful as they are, keeping them in a basket or a box, to use them, deprived of their light, as plates?’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘Neither, O king, could any one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, who were to the world like the moon and the sun in glory.

13. ‘And hear another reason, O king, for the same thing¹. That wondrous gem, O king, of a sovran overlord, bright and beautiful, with its eight facets so well cut, four cubits in thickness, and in circumference² as the nave of a cart-wheel, could no man, wrapping it up in a cloth and putting it into a basket, keep and use as a hone³ to grind his scissors⁴ upon. And neither, O king, could any one soever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, like to the jewels of the lord of the world in glory.

14. ‘And hear, O king, another reason. Just as the elephant king Uposatha⁵, gentle and handsome, eight cubits in height and nine in girth and length, showing the signs of rut in three places on his body, all white, sevenfold firm⁶, could never by any one

Buddhists gave to women and to the moon, that the older ideas had not, even then, died out.

¹ These words are repeated before each of the following similes.

² *Parināha*, which Childers is wrong in rendering ‘breadth,’ when not qualified by *āyāma* (*wa/a cettāwū*, says the *Siṃhalese*, p. 418).

³ *Nisāna*; *karagal*, says *Hīnaśi-kumburē*.

⁴ *Satthaka*, see *Kullavagga V*, 11, 1.

⁵ The mythic fairy elephant of the *Kakkavatti* (not a snake king as Prof. E. Müller has it, ‘*Journal of the Pāli Text Society*,’ 1888, p. 16). See my note at ‘*Buddhist Suttas*,’ p. 254.

⁶ *Sattappati*//*hito*. The *Siṃhalese* merely repeats this ambiguous word (compare IV, 8, 57).

be covered up with a saucer¹ or a winnowing fan¹, could never be put into a cowpen like a calf, or made use of as one [283]; just so could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, who were, in the world, like Uposatha the elephant king.

15. 'And hear, O king, another reason. Just, O king, as the mighty ocean is great in length and breadth, and deep, not to be measured, and hard to cross, impossible to fathom or to cover up, and no one could close it in and make use of it as a single ferry, just so could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, as esteemed in the world as the mighty ocean.

16. 'And hear another reason, O king. Just as the Himâlaya, the king of the mountains, five leagues high, and three thousand leagues in extent at the circumference, with its ranges of eight and forty thousand peaks, the source of five hundred rivers, the dwelling-place of multitudes of mighty creatures², the producer of manifold perfumes, enriched with hundreds of magical drugs, is seen to rise aloft, like a cloud, in the centre (of the earth); like it, O king, could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of Vessantara, as esteemed in the world as Himâlaya, the mountain king.

'And hear another reason, O king. Just as a

¹ Suppena vâ sarâvena vâ. Hînaś-kumburê renders the first of these words by kullaka, which is a winnowing-basket; and the second by malâwaka, which I do not understand. But the use of sarâva at Gâtaka I, 8, 14 and Sumaṅgala I, 298 seems to me to confirm Childers's rendering.

² Mahâbhûta: 'Yakshas' says Hînaś-kumburê, p. 419. Compare above, p. 250 (of the Pâli).

mighty bonfire burning on a mountain top would be visible afar off in the darkness and the gloom of night, so was Vessantara the king well known among men, and therefore could no one whatever keep in use, as his slaves, the children of so distinguished a man—for just as at the time of the flowering of the Nâga trees¹ in the Himâlaya mountains, when the soft winds (of spring)² are blowing, the perfume of the flowers is wafted for ten leagues, or for twelve [284], so was the sound of the fame of king Vessantara noised abroad, and the sweet perfume of his righteousness wafted along for thousands of leagues, even up to the abodes of the Akanitt $\text{\textit{h}}$ a, (the highest of all) gods, passing on its way the dwelling places of the gods and Asuras, of the Garuḍas and Gandhabbas, of the Yakshas and Râkshasas, of the Mahoragas and Kinnaras, and of Indra the monarch of the gods³! Therefore is it that no one could keep his children as slaves.

¹ Nâga-puppha-samaye. Hînaśi-kumburê says, 'at the time when the Nâ trees bloom.' The Nâ or Nâga is the Mesua ferea, whose lovely flowers, like those of the Champak, are still in special request for laying before the images of the Buddha in Buddhist temples. I am told that these so-called flowers are not flowers at all, botanically speaking, but young shoots. But it is one of the most beautiful sights in a Ceylon landscape to see this splendid forest tree, lofty and wide-spreading as it is, one mass of what look like red blossoms from crown to root. For at the 'bloom time' it casts all its green leaves, and has the appearance of a scarlet bell. No wonder that this was thought supernatural, and that the tree should be called the Nâga tree. Its timber is so valuable that in Anglo-Indian the tree is called the 'Iron-wood' tree. But it may be regretted that the commercial spirit of the European has substituted this hard name for the 'Fairy tree' of the native languages.

² Ugu-vâta, which the Sinhalese repeats.

³ Compare vol. i, pp. 38, 175.

17. 'And the young prince *Gâli*, O king, was instructed by his father, *Vessantara*, in these words : " When your grandfather, my child, shall ransom you with wealth that he gives to the Brahman, let him buy you back for a thousand ounces of gold¹, and when he ransoms your sister *Kaṇhâginâ* let him buy her back for a hundred slaves and a hundred slave girls and a hundred elephants and a hundred horses and a hundred cows and a hundred buffaloes and a hundred ounces of gold. And if, my child, your grandfather should take you out of the hands of the Brahman by word of command, or by force, paying nothing, then obey not the words of your grandfather, but remain still in subjection² to the Brahman." Such was his instruction as he sent him away. And young *Gâli* went accordingly, and when asked by his grandfather, said :

" As worth a thousand ounces, Sir,
My father gave me to this man ;
As worth a hundred elephants,
He gave the girl *Kaṇhâginâ*."

' Well has this puzzle, *Nâgasena*, been unravelled, well has the net of heresy been torn to pieces, well has the argument of the adversaries been overcome and your own doctrine been made evident, well has the letter (of the Scriptures) been maintained while

¹ *Nikkha-sahassam*. See my ' Ancient Coins and Measures,' pp. 6, 14; *Samyutta Nikâya* II, 3, 9, 9 (*Gâtaka* I, 375, IV, 97; *Ânguttara* III, 73, 3).

² *Anuyâyino*. Not found elsewhere, and not in Childers. But *anuyâyati* occurs below (p. 391 of the text) and an *ânu-yâyin* at *Sutta Nipâta* V, 7, 3, 4 and *Tela-ka-âha-gâthâ* 25 (compare 41). *Hīnaṣi-kumburē* (p. 420) has *anuwa hoesirew*.

you have thus explained its spirit! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to Vessantara's gift of his wife and children.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-SECOND.
PENANCE.]

18. 'Venerable Nâgasena, did all the Bodisats go through a period of penance, or only Gotama?'

'Not all, O king, but Gotama did.'

'Venerable Nâgasena, if that be so, it is not right that there should be a difference between Bodisat and Bodisat.'

[285] 'There are four matters, O king, in which there is such difference. And what are the four? There is a difference as to the kind of family (in which they are born¹), there is a difference as to their place in the period (which has elapsed since the succession of Buddhas began²), there

¹ Kula-vemattatâ. Those Bodisats who are to become Buddhas in their then lives may be born either in a Brahman or in a Kshatriya family, but in no other.

² Addhâna-vemattatâ, which is ambiguous, as 'period-difference' may mean different things according to the interpretation given to 'period.' Now the Bodisat theory has never been thoroughly worked out in detail. It is clear from the statements given in pp. 38-58 of my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' that the Bodisat who became Gotama the Buddha was held to have been in existence throughout the whole period in which the former twenty-four Buddhas appeared, and this is probably the 'period' intended. Hînañ-kumburê's version (p. 421) is as ambiguous as the Pâli. Spence Hardy gives at p. 87 of his 'Manual of Buddhism' what purports to be a translation of our passage. But it is only a loose paraphrase, and he interprets this 'period-difference' as simply

is a difference as to the length of their individual lives¹, there is a difference as to their individual size². In these four respects, O king, there is a difference between Bodisat and Bodisat. But there is no difference between any of the Buddhas, who are alike in bodily beauty³, in goodness of character, in power of contemplation and of reasoning, in emancipation, in the insight arising from the knowledge of emancipation, in

identical with the next one in the list, the 'length-of-life-difference'—which must be wrong.

It must be remembered that the Bodisats referred to throughout this dilemma are exclusively men—not those mentioned in the *Gâtakas* (who are all Bodisats of the historical Buddha), but only those Bodisats who became Buddhas in the same life—that is, the Buddhas themselves before they reached Buddhahood.

¹ *Âyu-vemattatâ*. This may be due to either of two causes—in the first place they may be born as creatures whose allotted period of life varies. Thus the Bodisat was twenty times Sakka, the king of the gods; and his life would then have lasted hundreds of thousands of years. But he was 106 times an animal of some kind, and then his life would have been of course much shorter. Again, in his births as a man (more than 350 times, see the table in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. ci), the average duration of men's lives will have varied, according to Buddhist theory, from many centuries down to only a few years. It is in this second sense only that (with *Hīnaśi-kumburê*) we must suppose the phrase *âyu-vemattatâ* to be used—thus excluding all the Bodisats except such as were men. But in the *Gâtaka* stories the average age of man is (with one or two exceptions) normal.

² *Pamâṇa-vemattatâ*, which we must also understand to refer only to the varying average size of mankind, which, according to Buddhist theory, is very great at the commencement, and very small at the close, of a Kalpa. For it is only the men-Bodisats, and only in each series the last man-Bodisat (just before he became 'Buddha'), concerning whom this question of penance could arise.

³ *Rûpe*, which the *Siṃhalese* repeats (p. 422), and which cannot here mean bodily form only.

the four bases of confidence¹, in the ten powers of a Tathâgata², in the sixfold special know-

¹ *Katu-vesâragge*. They are the confidence that no one—Samâsa or Brahman, God or Mâra—can reprove him by saying: (1) 'The qualities which you maintain to be those of a Buddha have not been attained by you;' or (2) 'The Great Evils which you maintain to have ceased in an Arahant have not ceased in you;' or (3) 'The qualities which you say are dangerous (in the higher life) are not really dangerous to one who practises them;' or (4) 'The aim which you held before others in preaching your Dhamma will not lead him who follows it to the destruction of sorrow.' The list will be found in the *Ânguttara Nikâya* IV, 8 (where it is probably a quotation from one of the conversational Suttas). But the punctuation in Dr. Morris's edition should be corrected by putting full stops after each *viharâmi*. Childers gives a different explanation under *vesâragga*, but his interpretation must be altered to that here given, which is the only correct one.

² These have not been found in any *Piṭaka* text, but Burnouf gives them in a note to the 'Lotus de la Bonne Loi' (p. 781) from the *Ginâlaṅkāra*. He says the expression *dasabalo* is found as applied to the Buddha 'à chaque instant dans les textes,' but this is not the case, so far at least as the older texts are concerned. In one of the old verses preserved at the *Mahāvagga* I, 22, 13, and quoted in the *Gâtaka* (vol. i, p. 84), *dasabalo* occurs as an epithet of the Buddha, but among the numerous epithets applied in the *Buddhavamsa* to the various Buddhas the term does not occur, nor have I been able to find it in the published portions of any of the great *Nikâyas*. (Ten *Nâga-balas* are ascribed to the Buddha in *Buddhavamsa*, p. 39, but these seem to be different.) Buddha-rakkhita, the author of the *Ginâlaṅkāra*, probably lived at about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., and Hardy's paraphrase of his interpretations (in the 'Manual of Buddhism,' pp. 380, 381) is throughout inaccurate. As therefore it is precisely the growth of ideas about the Buddha that is of prime importance in the history of Buddhism, I give here Buddha-rakkhita's explanation, adding the Sanskrit names as given in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, § 8:—

1. *Thānâ/hana-nâna-balam* . *Sthānasthāna-gñāna-balam* . (1)
2. *Sabbatha-gâmini-patipadâ* *Karma-vipâka* (5)
3. *Aneka-dhātu-nânâ-dhātu* . *Nânâdhimukti* (4)
4. *Sattānam nânâdhimutikatâ* *Nânâdhatu* (3)

ledge¹, in the fourteenfold knowledge of Buddha², in the eighteen characteristics of a Buddha³—in a word, in all the qualities of a Buddha. For all the Buddhas are exactly alike in all the Buddha-qualities.'

'But if, Nāgasena, that be so, what is the reason that it was only the Gotama Bodisat who carried out the penance?'

'Gotama the Bodisat had gone forth from the world, O king, when his knowledge⁴ was immature, and his wisdom was immature. And it was when he was bringing that immature knowledge to maturity that he carried out the penance.'

19. 'Why then, Nāgasena, was it that he thus went forth with knowledge and with wisdom immatured? Why did he not first mature his knowledge, and then, with his knowledge matured, renounce the world?'

'When the Bodisat, O king, saw the women of his harem all in disorder⁵, then did he become dis-

5. Vipāka-*vemattatā* . . . *Indriya-parāpara* (7)

6. *Samkilesa-vodāna-vatthu* . *Sarvatra-gāminī-pratipad* . . (2)

7. *Indriya-paropariya* . . . *Samkilesa-vyavadāna-vyutthāna* (6)

8. *Pubbe-nivāsānussate* . . *Purva-nivasānusmrīti* . . . (8)

9. *Dibba-kakkhu* *Kyut-utpatti* (9)

10. *Asava-kkhaya* *Āsava-kshaya* (10)

Some of these terms are found in the *Dharma-saṅgraha*, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. i, part 5, pp. 16, 51.

¹ *Kāśa-asādhārana-ñāna*, not yet found elsewhere.

² Possibly the above ten with four others.

³ The details of these eighteen are given by Spence Hardy in the 'Manual of Buddhism,' p. 381, but he does not mention his authority. *Hīnaśi-kumburē* (p. 422) merely repeats the Pāli.

⁴ 'Of the four Truths' is *Hīnaśi-kumburē*'s gloss.

⁵ See *Gātaka* I, 61. But the whole episode is told in the *Piṭakas*, not of the Bodisat, but of Yasa (*Mahāvagga* I, 7).

gusted, and in him thus disgusted discontent sprang up. And on perceiving that his heart was filled with discontent, a certain god of those that wait on Death (Mâra) thought: "This now is the time to dispel that discontent of his heart," and standing in the air he gave utterance to these words: "O honourable one! O fortunate one! Be not thou distressed. On the seventh day from this the heavenly treasure of the Wheel shall appear to thee, with its thousand spokes, its tire, and its nave, complete and perfect; and the other treasures, those that walk on earth and those that travel through the sky, shall come to thee of their own accord; and the words of command of thy mouth shall bear sway over the four great continents and the two thousand dependent isles; and thou shalt have above a thousand sons, heroes mighty in strength to the crushing out of the armies of the foe; and with those sons surrounding thee thou, master of the Seven Treasures, shalt rule the world!" [286] But even as if a bar of iron, heated the livelong day and glowing throughout, had entered the orifice of his ear, so was it that those words, O king, entered the ear of the Bodisat. And to the natural distress he already felt there was added, by that utterance of the god, a further emotion, anxiety, and fear. Just as a mighty fiery furnace, were fresh fuel thrown on it, would the more furiously burn—just as the broad earth, by nature moist, and already swampy through the water dripping on it from the vegetation and the grass that have arisen on it, would become more muddy still when a great rain cloud had poured out rain upon it—so to the distress that he already felt there was

added, by that utterance of the god, a further emotion, anxiety, and fear.'

20. 'But tell me, Nāgasena, if the heavenly Wheel-treasure had, on the seventh day, appeared to the Bodisat, would he, the Wheel having appeared, have been turned back from his purpose?'

'No Wheel-treasure appeared, O king, on the seventh day to the Bodisat. For rather that was a lie that was told by that god with the object of tempting him. And even had it appeared, yet would not the Bodisat have turned aside. And why not? Because the Bodisat, O king, had firmly grasped (the facts of) the impermanence (of all things, of) the suffering (inherent in existence as an individual, of) the absence of a soul (in any being made up of the five Skandhas), and had thus arrived at the destruction of the attachment (to individuality which arises from lust, or from heresy, or from dependence upon outward acts, or from delusions as to the possession of a permanent soul)¹. The water, O king, which flows into the river Ganges from the Anottata lake, and from the Ganges river into the great ocean, and from the great ocean into the openings into the

¹ Upādānakkhayam patto. Childers says that the destruction of these upādānas 'constitutes Arahatsip.' I know of no authority for this, and it is incompatible with the Buddhist theory of Arahatsip that any Arahats should go through such a period of penance as our author supposes the Bodisat to have done after he had reached this 'destruction of the upādānas.' The perception of the first of the above facts, the impermanence of all things and beings (*aniccam*), constitute indeed the 'entrance upon the path' (see above, p. 25), and of course the upādānas are destroyed in every Arahats, but that is very different from Childers's conclusion, which would make the terms convertible.

regions under the earth¹—would that water, after it had once entered that opening, turn back and flow again into the great ocean, and from the great ocean into the Ganges river, and from the Ganges river into the Anottata lake?’

[287] ‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘In the same way, O king, it was for the sake of that last existence of his that the Bodisat had matured merit through the immeasurable æons of the past. He had now reached that last birth, the knowledge of the Buddhas had grown mature in him, in six years he would become a Buddha, all-knowing, the highest being in the world. Would then the Bodisat, for the sake of the Wheel-treasure, turn back?’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘No! Though the great earth, O king, with all its peaks and mountain ranges, should turn back, yet the Bodisat would not before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the water of the Ganges should flow backwards up the stream, yet the Bodisat would not turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the mighty ocean with its immeasurable waters² should dry up like the water in the footprint of a cow³, yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though Sineru, the king of the moun-

¹ Pâtāla-mukham, which the Sinhalese repeats. There is a similar sequence in the *Samyutta* I, 5, 4.

² Aparimita-gala-dharo. *Hīnaśi-kumburē*, p. 424, has dhârī, which may either be the same in meaning as dharo, or refer to the dhârā, the streams of water.

³ Gopade; not in Childers, but compare Gopadaka, ‘puddle,’ in a similar connection at *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* I, 147 (where one MS. reads Gopade).

tains, should split up into a hundred or a thousand fragments, yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the sun and moon with all the stars should fall, like a clod, upon the ground, yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood. Though the expanse of heaven should be rolled up like a mat, yet would not the Bodisat turn back before he had attained to Buddhahood! And why not? Because he had torn asunder every bond.'

21. 'Venerable Nâgasena, how many bonds are there in the world?'

'There are these ten bonds in the world, O king, bound by which men renounce not the world, or turn back again to it. And what are the ten? A mother, O king, is often a bond, and a father, and a wife, and children, and relations, and friends, and wealth, and easy income, [288] and sovranty, and the five pleasures of sense. These are the ten bonds common in the world, bonds bound by which men renounce not the world or turn back to it. And all these bonds had the Bodisat, O king, burst through. And therefore could he not, O king, turn back.'

22. 'Venerable Nâgasena, if the Bodisat, on discontent arising in his heart at the words of the god, though his knowledge (of the four Truths) was yet imperfect, and his insight of a Buddha not mature, did nevertheless go forth into renunciation of the world, of what advantage was penance to him then? Ought he not rather, awaiting the maturity of his knowledge, to have lived in the enjoyment of all (suitable) foods?'

'There are, O king, these ten sorts of individuals who are despised and contemned in the world,

thought shameful, looked down upon, held blameworthy, treated with contumely, not loved. And what are the ten? A woman without a husband, O king, and a weak creature, and one without friends or relatives, and a glutton, and one dwelling in a disreputable family, and the friend of sinners, and he whose wealth has been dissipated, and he who has no character, and he who has no occupation¹, and he who has no means. These are the ten despised and contemned in the world, thought shameful, looked down upon, held blameworthy, treated with contumely, not loved². It was on calling these conditions to mind, O king, that this idea occurred to the Bodisat: "Let me not incur blame among gods and men as being without occupation or without means! Let me as a master in action, held in respect by reason of action, one having the supremacy which arises from action, one whose conduct is based upon action, one who carries action (into every concern of life)³, one who has his dwelling in action, be constant in earnestness⁴." That was the spirit, O king, in which the Bodisat, when he was bringing his knowledge to maturity, undertook the practice of penance.'

23. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Bodisat, when he was undergoing penance, said thus to himself:

¹ Kamma is here explained by Hīnaśī-kumburê by karmânta ('such as husbandry or merchandise').

² On this list of epithets compare above, p. 229 (of the Pâli).

³ Kamma-dhoreyyo. The latter word is not in Childers. Hīnaśī-kumburê (p. 427) has karmayama usulannâ wû. It is the Sanskrit dhaureya, and the whole might be rendered 'like a beast of burden whose load is action.'

⁴ Appamâdo—that constant theme of praise and exhortation in the early Buddhist books.

[289] "But it is not by this penance severe that I shall reach the peculiar faculty of the insight arising from the knowledge of that which is fit and noble—that insight beyond the powers of ordinary men. May there not be now some other way to the wisdom (of Buddhahood)¹?"

'Was then the Bodisat, at that time, 'confused in his mind about the way²?'

'There are twenty-five qualities, O king, which are causes of weakness of mind, weakened by which the mind cannot successfully be devoted to the destruction of the *Âsavas* (the Great Evils—lust, becoming, delusion, and ignorance)³. And what are the twenty-five? Anger, O king, and enmity, and hypocrisy⁴, and conceit⁵, and envy, and avarice, and deceit⁶,

¹ These words, already quoted above, IV, 6, 20 (p. 244 of the Pâli), are put into the mouth of the Bodisat, after the conclusion of the 'penance,' in the *Mahâ Sakkaka Sutta* (M. I, 246), which is the chief Pîṭaka text on the penance (the *Dukkha-kârikâ*). The Sinhalese version here (p. 427) has already been given in the note on the former passage.

² The way to Buddhahood (not the way to Arahatsip). This is Hînaśi-kumburê's explanation, which agrees with the context.

³ It will be noticed that (the destruction of the *Âsavas* being Arahatsip, not Buddhahood) this is really no reply.

⁴ *Makkho*, 'depreciation of the good qualities of others,' says Hînaśi-kumburê, pp. 427, 564. But the use of the word at *Gâtaka* I, 385; *Mahāvagga* I, 15, 4; *Kullavagga* III, 34, 2; *Magghima Nikâya* I, 15, shows that concealing one's own faults is rather the meaning.

⁵ *Pâlâso*; not in Childers. But see *Âṅguttara Nikâya* II, 6, 12; *Puggala Paññatti* II, 2; *Magghima Nikâya* I, 15, &c. This and the last are usually mentioned together (see for instance below, VII, 2, 18), and the contrast is 'concealing the faults one has, and laying claim to virtues one has not.'

⁶ *Mâyâ*. It is noteworthy that this famous word, which plays so great a part in the later philosophies, and which is often sup-

and treachery, and obstinacy¹, and perverseness², and pride, and vainglory, and the intoxication (of exalted ideas about birth or health or wealth), and negligence in (well-doing), and intellectual inertness or bodily sloth³, and drowsiness⁴, and idleness, and friendship with sinners, and forms, and sounds, and odours, and tastes, and sensations of touch, and hunger, and thirst⁵, and discontent⁶. These are the

posed to express a fundamental conception of the Buddhists, has not yet been traced, and will probably never be found, in the *Piṭakas*, in any other than this subordinate and purely ethical sense. So when Mr. Gough in his 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' says, p. 186, that 'pessimism, metempsychosis, and *mâyâ* (the primitive world fiction) are retained in Buddhism' he is as wrong about *mâyâ* as he is about metempsychosis. He is evidently still under the delusion that Buddhism teaches the transmigration of souls, and that it has inherited from such schoolmen as *Sāṅkarākārya* the theory of the *mâyâ*. This is as funny as the astounding blindness which makes him say (pp. 267, 268) 'there is no quest of verity, of an active law of righteousness (in Buddhism), but only a yearning after a lapse into the void' (!). The converse proposition would be nearer to the actual fact, and the Buddhist *Aviggâ* is quite different from the *Mâyâ* of the later Vedântists. How absolutely different is the world in which the thoughts of a Buddhist would move is shown by *Hīnañ-kumburê*'s gloss: 'The *mâyâ* of concealing faults one has' (*tamâge ceti aguna samgawana mâyâ*).

¹ *Thambho* (not 'stupor,' as Childers has it). 'That obstinacy of mind (*dridhawû sit ceti bawâ*) which will not bend to the exhortation of the great,' says the *Siṃhalese*.

² *Sârambho*; not merely 'clamour, angry talk,' as Childers has it. See the commentary on the word *sârambhî* at *Gâtaka* III, 259, with which *Hīnañ-kumburê* here agrees. 'Contrariness' would be perhaps a better rendering.

³ *Thīnamiddham*; so *Hīnañ-kumburê* (but he takes them as two).

⁴ *Tandî*, as *Hīnañ-kumburê* reads (for Mr. Trenckner's *nandî*).

⁵ *Khudâ pipâsâ*, which must be taken separately to make up the twenty-five. The *Siṃhalese* takes them as two.

⁶ *Aratî*, which the *Siṃhalese* (taking *thīna* and *middha* separately) omits.

twenty-five qualities, O king, which are causes of weakness of mind, weakened by which the mind cannot successfully be devoted to the destruction of the *Âsavas*. (And of these it was) hunger and thirst, O king, which had then seized hold of the body¹ of the Bodisat. And his body being thus, as it were, "possessed," his mind was not rightly devoted to the destruction of the *Âsavas*. Now the Bodisat, O king, through the immeasurable æons of the past, had followed after the perception of the Four Noble Truths through all of his successive births. Is it then possible that in his last existence, in the birth in which that perception was to arise, there should be any confusion in his mind as to the way? But nevertheless there arose, O king, in the Bodisat's mind the thought: "May there not now be some other way to the wisdom (of a Buddha)?" And already before that, O king, when he was only one month old, when his father the Sakya was at work (ploughing), the Bodisat, placed in his sacred cot for coolness under the shade of the *Gambu* tree, sat up crosslegged, and putting away passion, free from all evil conditions of heart, he entered into and remained in the first *Ghâna*—a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation, [290] and so into the second, and so into the third, and so into the fourth *Ghâna*².

¹ *Pariyâdiyimsu*; literally 'were suffused as to the body of' (*Hīnañ-kumburē* has *sarīrayehi vyāpta wū*). The passive forms of this verb are always difficult to translate. See above, p. 254, and below, pp. 296, 297 (of the Pāli), and *Kullavagga* VI, 2, 6; VII, 2, 1.

² This passage follows in the *Mahā Saṅkaka Sutta* immediately after the passage quoted above (*Magghima Nikāya* I, 246), and the

‘Very good, Nāgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say. It was whilst he was bringing his knowledge to maturity that the Bodisat underwent the penance.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the penance undergone by the Bodisat.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-THIRD.

VIRTUE STRONGER THAN VICE.]

24. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, which is the more powerful, virtue or vice?’

‘Virtue, O king¹.’

‘That is a saying, Nāgasena, which I cannot believe—that virtue is more powerful than vice. For there are to be seen here (in the world) men who destroy living creatures, who take to themselves what has not been given, who walk in evil in their lusts, who speak lies, who commit gang robberies on whole villages, who are highwaymen, sharpers, and swindlers, and these all according to their crime suffer the cutting off of their hands, or their feet, or their hands and feet, or their ears, or

incident is also related at *Gâtaka* I, 57. But in both these books there is reference only to the first—not to the second, third, and fourth *Ghânas*. As this is therefore only another instance of the difference between the *Piṭakas* and the more advanced views of our author, I have not translated the remaining *Ghânas*. As will be seen from the version of them in my ‘*Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli*’ (S. B. E., vol. xi, p. 272), the idea that a mere baby could have practised these higher meditations would only become possible after the Buddha theory had been much more developed than it is in the *Piṭakas*.

¹ *Kusalāṃ*. So it has been already laid down at III, 7, 7 (pp. 83, 84 of the *Pāli*), that merit (*puññaṃ*) is more than demerit.

their nose, or their ears and nose, or the Gruel Pot, or the Chank Crown, or the Râhu's Mouth, or the Fire Garland, or the Hand Torch, or the Snake Strips, or the Bark Dress, or the Spotted Antelope, or the Flesh Hooks, or the Penny Cuts, or the Brine Slits, or the Bar Turn, or the Straw Seat, or they are anointed with boiling oil, or eaten by dogs, or are impaled alive, or are beheaded with a sword¹. Some of them sin one night and that night experience the fruit of their sin, some sinning by night experience the next day, some sinning one day experience that day, some sinning by day experience that night, some experience when two days or three have elapsed. But all experience in this present visible world the result of their iniquity. And is there any one, Nâgasena, who from having provided a meal with all its accessories² for one, or two, or three, or four, or five, or ten, or a hundred, or a thousand (members of the Order), has enjoyed in this present visible world wealth or fame or happiness—(is there any one who) from righteousness of life, or from observance of the Uposatha, (has received bliss even in this life³)?’

25. ‘There are [291], O king, four men who by giving gifts, and by the practice of uprightness, and by the keeping of Uposatha, even in their earthly bodies attained to glory in Tidasapura (the city of the gods).’

¹ This is a repetition of the list given above (I, 276–278), where the technical terms are explained. Compare Mr. William Andrews's book, ‘Punishments in the Olden Time.’

² *Saparivâram dânam*. *Pirikara-sahita-wû mahâ dan dî*, says the *Sinhalese*, p. 430.

³ The words in brackets are supplied from *Hinasi-kumburê*.

‘And who, Sir, were they¹?’

‘Mandhâtâ the king, and Nimi the king, and Sâdhna the king, and Guttîla the musician².’

‘Venerable Nâgasena, this happened thousands of births ago, and is beyond the ken of either of us two. Give me, if you can, some examples from that period (of the world) which is now elapsing in which the Blessed One has been alive.’

‘In this present period, O king, the slave *Punnaka*, on giving a meal to Sâriputta the Elder, attained that day to the dignity of a treasurer (*Setthi*), and he is now generally known as *Punnaka the Setthi*. The queen, the mother of Gopâla, who (being the daughter of poor peasant folk) sold her hair for eight pennies, and therewith gave a meal to Mahâ *Kakkâyana* the Elder and his seven companions, became that very day the chief queen of king Udena. Suppiyâ, the believing woman, cut flesh from her own thigh to provide broth³ for a sick Bhikkhu, and on the very next day the wound closed up, and the place became cured, with skin grown over it. Mallikâ, the queen who (when a poor flower girl) gave the last night’s gruel (she had reserved for her own dinner) to the Blessed One, became that very day the chief queen of the king of Kosala⁴. Sumana, the garland maker, when he had

¹ The king himself has already mentioned them, in reverse order, above, I, 172.

² The legends will be found in full in the *Gâtaka* stories numbered respectively, in Professor Fausböll’s edition, 258, 533, 494, and 243.

³ *Paṭikkhâdaniyam*. See the note on Mahâvagga VI, 23, where this curious story is given in full.

⁴ See *Gâtaka* III, 495, 496 for this story. *Âbhidosikam* is not in Childers, but see the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, 5, 6.

presented to the Blessed One eight bunches of jessamine flowers, came that very day into great prosperity. Eka-sâtaka the Brahman, who gave to the Blessed One his only garment, received that very day the office of Sabbatthaka (Minister in general)¹. All these, O king, came into the enjoyment of wealth and glory in their then existing lives.'

'So then, Nâgasena, with all your searching and enquiry you have only found six cases²?'

'That is so, O king.'

26. 'Then it is vice, Nâgasena, and not virtue which is the more powerful. For on one day alone I have seen ten men expiating their crimes by being impaled alive, and thirty even, and forty, and fifty, [292], and a hundred, and a thousand. And further, there was Bhaddasâla, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda³, and he waged war against king Kandagutta⁴. Now in that war, Nâgasena, there were eighty Corpse Dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lac of horses, and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred koṭis of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle-field. And all the men

¹ 'Received from the king the great honour (sammâna) called sabbatthaka,' says Hīnaśī-kumburê, p. 431. But we find a particular office so called at Gâtaka II, 57. (It is true the reading there is sabbatthaka, but Mr. Trenckner's reading is doubtless preferable.)

² All these cases have already been referred to above, I, 172.

³ 'Nandagutta of the Brahman caste,' says the *Simhalese*, p. 431.

⁴ 'Descended from the Sâkya race,' adds Hīnaśī-kumburê.

thus slain came to destruction through the fruit of the Karma of their evil deeds¹. And therefore, too, do I say, Nâgasena, that vice is more powerful than virtue. And have you heard, Nâgasena, that in all this dispensation (since the time of Gotama the Buddha) the giving by the Kosala king has been unequalled?’

‘Yes, I have heard so, O king.’

‘But did he, Nâgasena, on account of his having given gifts so unequalled, receive in this present life wealth, or glory, or happiness?’

‘No, O king, he did not.’

‘Then, in that case, surely, Nâgasena, vice is more powerful than virtue?’

27. ‘Vice, O king, by reason of its meanness, dies quickly away. But virtue, by reason of its grandeur, takes a long time to die. And this can be further examined into by a metaphor. Just, O king, as in the West Country² the kind of corn called Kumuda-bhandîkâ, ripening quickly and being garnered in a month, is called Mâsalu (got in a month)³, but the rices only come to perfection in six months or five. What then is the difference, what the distinction herein between Kumuda-bhandîkâ and rice?’

‘The one is a mean plant, O king, the other a grand one. The rices are worthy of kings, meet for

¹ The Pâli being otherwise unintelligible, the above version has been expanded in accordance with the Sinhalese interpretation. Kavandha as a living headless trunk occurs already in the Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pârâgika IV, 9, 3.

² Aparante. This may mean merely the western country (as at Gâtaka I, 98), or may be a specific place name as Aparântika is in the ‘Indian Antiquary,’ VII, 263.

³ So the Sinhalese, which seems to follow a slightly different reading.

the king's table; the other is the food of servants and of slaves.

[293] 'Just so, O king, it is by reason of its meanness that vice dies quickly away. But virtue, by its grandeur, takes a long time to die.'

28. 'But, Nāgasena, it is just those things which come most quickly to their end which are in the world considered the most powerful. And so still vice must be the more powerful, not virtue. Just, Nāgasena, as the strong man who, when he enters into a terrible battle, is able the most quickly to get hold of his enemies' heads under his armpit¹, and dragging them along to bring them prisoners to his lord, that is the champion who is regarded, in the world, as the ablest hero—just as that surgeon who is able the most quickly to extract the dart, and allay the disease, is considered the most clever—just as the accountant who is able with the greatest speed to make his calculations, and with most rapidity to show the result, is considered the cleverest counter—just as the wrestler who is able the most quickly to lift his opponent up, and make him fall flat on his back, is considered the ablest hero—just so, Nāgasena, it is that one of these two things—virtue and vice—which most quickly reaches its end that is, in the world, the more powerful of the two.'

'The Karma of both the two, O king, will be made evident in future births; but vice besides that will by reason of its guilt be made evident at once, and in this present life. The rulers (Kshatriyas)

¹ Upakaṭṭhake. The word is not in the Pāli dictionaries, but I follow Hīnaś-kumburē, p. 432, who renders it Kisilla, and the context at the parallel passage, *Gātaka* I, 63 (see also *Gātaka* I, 158, and the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* II, 260).

of old, O king, established this decree : " Whosoever takes life shall be subject to a fine, and whosoever takes to himself what has not been given, and whosoever commits adultery, and whosoever speaks lies, and whosoever is a dacoit, and whosoever is a high-wayman, and whosoever cheats and swindles. Such men shall be liable to be fined or beaten or mutilated or broken¹ or executed." And in pursuance thereof they held repeated enquiry, and then adjudged one or other punishment accordingly. But, O king, has there ever been by any one a decree promulgated : " Whosoever gives gifts, or observes a virtuous life, or keeps Uposatha, to him shall wealth be given, or honours ? " And do they make continued enquiry, and bestow wealth or honours accordingly, as they do stripes or bonds upon a thief ?'

' Certainly not, Sir.'

' Well, if they did so then would virtue too be made evident even in this life. [294] But as they neither make such enquiry concerning givers, nor bestow wealth and honours upon them, therefore is virtue not manifested now. And this is the reason, O king, why vice is made known in this life, whereas he (the giver) receives the more abundantly in the lives to come. And therefore it is virtue which, through the destructions brought about by Karma, is by far the more powerful of the two².'

' Very good, Nāgasena ! Only by one wise as you could this puzzle have been so well solved.

¹ Bhettabbo, ' have their arms or legs broken.'

² In this sentence the translation follows Hīnaś-kumburē, who has apparently had a different, and fuller, reading before him.

The problem put by me in worldly sense have you in transcendental sense made clear.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to virtue and vice.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-FOURTH.

OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD.]

29. 'Venerable Nāgasena, these givers when they bestow their offerings, devote them specifically to former (relatives) now departed¹, saying: "May this gift benefit such and such." Now do they (the dead) derive any benefit therefrom?'

'Some do, O king, and some do not.'

'Which then are they that do, and which do not?'

'Those who have been reborn in purgatory, O king, do not; nor those reborn in heaven; nor those reborn as animals. And of those reborn as Pretas three kinds do not—the Vantāsikā (who feed on vomit), the Khuppipāsino (who hunger and thirst), the Nigghāma-tanhikā (who are consumed by thirst). But the Paradattūpagīvino (who live on the gifts of others) they do derive profit, and those who bear them in remembrance do so too.'

'Then, Nāgasena, offerings given by the givers have run to waste², and are fruitless, since those

¹ Petā; which are not ghosts, disembodied 'souls,' but new beings whose link of connection with the departed is, 'not soul,' but Karma.

² Vissotam, from sru. The Sinhalese, p. 434, has āsthāna gata wanneya (for asthāna).

for whose benefit they are given derive no profit therefrom.'

'No, O king. They run not to waste, neither are fruitless. The givers themselves derive profit from them.'

'Then convince me of this by a simile.'

'Suppose, O king, people were to get ready fish and meat and strong drinks and rice and cakes, and make a visit on a family related to them. If their relatives should not accept their complimentary present, would that present be wasted or fruitless?'

'No, Sir, it would go to the owners of it.'

'Well, just so the givers themselves derive the profit. Or just, O king, [295] as if a man were to enter an inner chamber, and there were no exit in front of him, how would he get out?'

'By the way he entered.'

'Well, just so the givers themselves derive the profit.'

30. 'Let that pass, Nâgasena. That is so, and I accept it as you say. We will not dispute your argument. But, venerable Nâgasena, if the offerings made by such givers do advantage certain of the departed, and they do reap the result of the gifts, then if a man who destroys living creatures and drinks blood and is of cruel heart, were after committing murder or any other dreadful act, to dedicate it to the departed, saying: "May the result of this act of mine accrue to the departed"—would it then be transferred to them?'

'No, O king.'

'But what is the reason, what is the cause, that a good deed can accrue to them, and not an evil one?'

‘This is really not a question you should ask, O king. Ask me no foolish question, O king, in the idea that an answer will be forthcoming. You will be asking me next why space is boundless, why the Ganges does not flow up stream, why men and birds are bipeds, and the animals quadrupeds!’

‘It is not to annoy you that I ask this question, Nâgasena, but for the sake of resolving a doubt. There are many people in the world who are left-handed or squint¹. I put that question to you, thinking: “Why should not also these unlucky ones have a chance² of bettering themselves?”’

‘An evil deed, O king, cannot be shared with one who has not done it, and has not consented to it. People convey water long distances by an aqueduct. But could they in the same way remove a great mountain of solid rock?’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘Well, just in that way can a good deed be shared, but a bad one cannot. And one can light a lamp with oil, but could one in the same way, O king, light it with water?’

[296] ‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘Well, so is it that a good deed can be shared, but not an evil one. And husbandmen take water from a reservoir to bring their crops to maturity, but could they for the same purpose, O king, take water from the sea?’

¹ Vâmagâhino viḷakkhukâ. Neither of these words are in the dictionaries. Hīnaī-kumburê, p. 436, says, ‘who spoil what they take hold of, and whose eyes have lost their cunning.’

² Otâra, which the Sinhalese renders awakâsaya; and in that sense the word is used at Magg'hima Nikâya I, 334.

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘So again is it that though a good deed can be shared, an evil one cannot.’

31. ‘But, venerable Nāgasena, why is that? Convince me of this by a reason. I am not blind, or unobservant. I shall understand when I have heard.’

‘Vice, O king, is a mean thing, virtue is great and grand. By its meanness vice affects¹ only the doer, but virtue by its grandeur overspreads the whole world of gods and men.’

‘Show me this by a metaphor.’

‘Were a tiny drop of water to fall on the ground, O king, would it flow on over ten leagues or twelve?’

‘Certainly not. It would only have effect² on that very spot of ground on which it fell.’

‘But why so?’

‘Because of its minuteness.’

‘Just so, O king, is vice minute. And by reason of its littleness it affects the doer only, and cannot possibly be shared. But if a mighty rain cloud were to pour out rain satisfying the surface of the earth, would that water spread round about?’

‘Certainly, Sir. That thunderstorm would fill up the depressions in the ground and the pools and ponds, and the gullies and crevices and chasms, and the lakes and reservoirs and wells and lotus-tanks, and the water would spread abroad for ten leagues or for twelve³.’

¹ Pariyâdiyati. See the note above at IV, 8, 23.

² A similar metaphor is used below, IV, 8, 55 (p. 311 of the Pāli).

³ This long list is made up of the two given above at pp. 35,

‘But why so, O king?’

‘Because of the greatness of the storm.’

‘Just so, O king, is virtue great. And by reason of its abundance it can be shared by gods and men.’

‘Venerable Nâgasena, why is it that vice is so limited, [297] and virtue so much more wide-reaching?’

‘Whosoever, O king, in this world gives gifts, and lives in righteousness, and keeps Uposatha¹, he, glad, right glad, joyful, cheerful, happy, becomes filled with a sweet sense of trust and bliss, and bliss ruling in his heart his goodness grows still more and more abundantly. Like a deep pool of clear water, O king, and into which on one side the spring pours, while on the other the water flows away; so as it flows away it comes again, and there can be no failure there—so, O king, does his goodness grow more and more abundantly. If even through a hundred years, O king, a man were to keep on transferring² to others (the merit of) any good he

259 of the Pâli (Paragraphs II, 1, 10 and IV, 6, 55 of the translation).

¹ The Buddhist Sabbath. See ‘Buddhism,’ pp. 140, 141.

² *Âvaggeya*, which the *Simhalese*, p. 437, merely repeats, is ambiguous (literally ‘cause to bend towards’). Compare *Gâtaka* I, 74, 89, 108, 171; II, 243. In most places the meaning ‘bend back or towards’ comes to have the secondary sense of ‘re-reflect.’ But throughout this discussion there is an underlying reference to a very beautiful Buddhist conception that a man can transfer to others the merit of any good deed he has done. Thus at the end of a palm-leaf manuscript the copyist often adds the pious wish: ‘May the merit of my having made this copy redound to the advantage of all men,’ or words to that effect. And the preceding metaphor would seem to show that this must be the secondary sense here attached to ‘causing to bend towards;’—the more he

had done, the more he gave it away the more would his goodness grow, and he would still be able to share it with whomsoever he would. This, O king, is the reason why virtue is so much the greater of the two.

32. 'But on doing evil, O king, a man becomes filled with remorse ¹, and the heart of him who feels remorse cannot get away (from the thought of the evil he has done), it is forcibly bent back on it, thrown back on it, obtains no peace ²; miserable, burning, abandoned of hope, he wastes away, and gaining no relief from depression ³, he is, as it were, possessed with his woe! Just, O king, as a drop of water, falling on a dry river bed with its mighty sandbanks rising and falling in undulations along its crooked and shiftty course, gains not in volume, but is swallowed up on the very spot where it fell, just so, O king, is a man, when he has done wrong, overcome with remorse, and the heart of him who feels remorse cannot get away from the thought of the evil he has done, it is forcibly bent back on it, thrown back on it, obtains no peace; miserable, burning, abandoned of hope, he wastes away, and gaining no release from his depression, he is, as it

spends (as it were) his virtue, the more remains, just as however much the water flows away from the spring, still quite as much remains, and he can still share with others that which is left. The doctrine of imputed righteousness is not confined to Buddhists, but the Buddhist theory is really quite different from the corresponding Western ideas, even from the Catholic doctrine of the transference of the righteousness of saints.

¹ So already above, III, 7, 7 (I, 128).

² *Patilīyati patiku/ati pativa//ati na sampasārīyati.* None of these words are in the dictionaries.

³ *Na parivaddhate*; literally 'is not dilated.'

were, swallowed up of his woe. This is the reason, O king, why vice is so mean.'

'Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the problem as to virtue and vice.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-FIFTH.

DREAMS.]

33. 'Venerable Nāgasena, men and women in this world see dreams pleasant and evil, things they have seen before and things they have not, things they have done before and things they have not, [298] dreams peaceful and terrible, dreams of matters near to them and distant from them, full of many shapes and innumerable colours. What is this that men call a dream, and who is it who dreams it?'

'It is a suggestion¹, O king, coming across the path of the mind which is what is called a dream. And there are six kinds of people who see dreams—the man who is of a windy humour², or of a bilious one, or of a phlegmatic one, the man who dreams dreams by the influence of a god, the man who does so by the influence of his own habits, and the man who does so in the way of prognostication³. And

¹ Nimittam, aramunuwa in the *Simhalese*, p. 438.

² Vātiko, which Childers renders wrongly rheumatic. Wāta prakṛiti wū, says the *Simhalese*, p. 438.

³ The *Simhalese* gives the different kinds of dreams seen by each of these six—the first dreams of journeys through space, the second of fire and conflagrations, the third of water, the fourth

of these, O king, only the last kind of dreams is true; all the rest are false.'

34. 'Venerable Nāgasena, when a man dreams a dream that is a prognostication, how is it? Does his own mind set out itself to seek the omen, or does the prognostication come of its own accord into the path of his mind, or does some one else come and tell him of it?'

'His own mind does not itself seek the omen, neither does any one else come and tell him of it. The prognostication comes of its own accord into his mind. It is like the case of a looking-glass, which does not go anywhere to seek for the reflection; neither does any one else come and put the reflection on to the looking-glass. But the object reflected comes from somewhere or other across the sphere over which the reflecting power of the looking-glass extends.'

35. 'Venerable Nāgasena, does the same mind which sees the dream also know: "Such and such a result, auspicious or terrible, will follow?"'

'No, that is not so, O king. After the omen has occurred he tells others, and then they explain the meaning of it.'

'Come, now, Nāgasena, give me a simile to explain this.'

'It is like the marks, O king, and pimples, and cutaneous eruptions which arise on a man's body to his profit or loss, to his fame or dishonour, to his praise or blame, to his happiness or woe. [299] Do

of good or bad things according as the god is kindly or malignant, the fifth of what he has himself seen or heard, and the last of his future gain or loss.

in that case the pimples come because they know :
 "Such and such is the event which we shall bring about?"

'Certainly not, Sir. But according to the place on which the pimples have arisen, the fortune-tellers, making their observations, give decision, saying :
 "Such and such will be the result."

'Well, in the same way, O king, it is not the same mind which dreams the dream which also knows :
 "Such and such a result, conspicuous or terrible, will follow." But after the omen has occurred he tells others, and they then explain the meaning of it.'

36. 'Venerable Nāgasena, when a man dreams a dream, is he awake or asleep?'

'Neither the one, O king, nor yet the other. But when his sleep has become light¹, and he is not yet fully conscious², in that interval it is that dreams are dreamt. When a man is in deep sleep, O king, his mind has returned home (has entered again into the Bhavaṅga)³, and a mind thus shut in does not act, and a mind hindered in its action knows not the evil and the good, and he who knows not⁴ has no dreams. It is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. Just, O king, as in the darkness and gloom, where no light is, no shadow will fall even on the most burnished mirror, so when a man is in deep sleep his mind has returned into itself, and

¹ Okkante middhe; 'like a monkey's sleep,' says Hīnaśī-kumburē.

² On bhavaṅga compare Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha III, 8.

³ 'Like a bird that has re-entered its nest' is Hīnaśī-kumburē's gloss.

⁴ Appaṭivigānantassa, 'does not know the distinctions between bliss and woe (sukha dukkha vibhāga),' says the Simhalese, p. 440.

a mind shut in does not act, and a mind inactive knows not the evil and the good, and he who knows not does not dream. For it is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. As the mirror, O king, are you to regard the body, as the darkness sleep, as the light the mind. Or again, O king, just as the glory of a sun veiled in fog is imperceptible, as its rays, though they do exist, are unable to pierce through, and as when its rays act not there is no light, so when a man is in deep sleep his mind has returned into itself, and a mind shut in does not act, and a mind inactive knows not the evil and the good, and he who knows not does not dream. For it is when the mind is active that dreams are dreamt. As the sun, O king, are you to regard the body, as the veil of fog sleep, [300] as the rays the mind.

37. 'Under two conditions, O king, is the mind inactive though the body is there—when a man being in deep sleep the mind has returned into itself, and when the man has fallen into a trance¹. The mind of a man who is awake, O king, is excited, open, clear, untrammelled, and no prognostication occurs to one whose mind is so. Just, O king, as men seeking concealment avoid the man who is open, candid, unoccupied, and unreserved,—just so is it that the divine intention is not manifested to the wakeful man, and the man who is awake therefore sees no dream. Or again, O king, just as the qualities which lead to wisdom are found not in that brother whose mode of livelihood and conduct are wrong, who is the friend of sinners, wicked, insolent, devoid

¹ Nirodha, which the *Simhalese* repeats. Probably the fourth *Ghâna* is here referred to.

of zeal,—just so is it that the divine intention is not manifested to the wakeful man, and the man who is awake, therefore, sees no dream.’

38. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, is there a beginning, a middle, and an end in sleep?’

‘Yes, O king, there is.’

‘Which then is the beginning, which the middle, and which the end?’

‘The feeling of oppression and inability¹ in the body, O king, of weakness, slackness, inertness—that is the beginning of sleep. The light “monkey’s sleep” in which a man still guards his scattered thoughts²—that is the middle of sleep. When the mind has entered into itself—that is the end of sleep. And it is in the middle stage, O king, in the “monkey’s sleep” that dreams are dreamt. Just, O king, as when a man self-restrained with collected thoughts, steadfast in the faith, unshaken in wisdom, plunges deep into the woods far from the sound of strife, and thinks over some subtle matter, he there, tranquil and at peace, will master the meaning of it—just so a man still watchful, not fallen into sleep, but dozing in a “monkey’s sleep,” will dream a dream. [301] As the sound of strife, so, O king, are you to regard wakefulness, and as the lonely wood the “monkey’s sleep.” And as that man avoiding the sound of strife, keeping out of sleep, remaining in the middle stage, will master the meaning of that subtle matter, so the still watchful man, not fallen into sleep, but dozing in a “monkey’s sleep,” will dream a dream.’

¹ Onāho pariyonāho, ‘obstruction, covering.’ See the *Tevigga Sutta*, § 58.

² *Vokinnakam saggati*. ‘Destroys sleep by scattered thoughts,’ says the *Simhalese*, p. 441.

‘Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to dreams¹.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-SIXTH.

PREMATURE DEATH.]

39. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, when beings die, do they all die in fullness of time, or do some die out of due season?’

‘There is such a thing, O king, as death at the due time, and such a thing as premature death.’

‘Then who are they whose decease is at the due time, and who are they whose decease is premature?’

‘Have you ever noticed, O king, in the case of mango trees or Gambu trees or other fruit-bearing trees, that their fruits fall both when they are ripe and when they are not ripe?’

‘Yes, I have.’

‘Well, those fallen fruits, do they all fall at the due time, or do some fall prematurely?’

‘Such of those fruits, Nāgasena, as are ripe and mature² when they fall, fall in fullness of time. But of the rest some fall because they are bored into by worms, some because they are knocked down by a

¹ It is not known whether the whole of this theory of dreams is taken from the Pi/akas, or whether it is an expansion of views there suggested. But the germs of the theory are certainly in the Pi/akas. Thus the Buddha is made at *Maggħima Nikāya* I, 249, 250 to say of himself that in his midday sleep he was neither stupefied nor the contrary (neither *sammūlho* nor *asammūlho*), which comes very near to the ‘monkey’s sleep’ referred to throughout this dilemma.

² *Vilinani, wilikun wū* says *Hīnañ-kumburē* (p. 442).

long stick, some because they are blown down by the wind, some because they have become rotten—and all these fall out of due season¹.'

'Just so, O king, those men who die of the effect of old age, they die in fullness of time. But of the rest some die of the dire effect of the Karma (of evil deeds), some of excessive journeying², some of excessive activity.'

40. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those who die of Karma, or of journeying, or of activity, or of old age, they all die in fullness of time: and even he who dies in the womb, that is his appointed time, so that he too dies in fullness of time; and so of him who dies in the birth chamber [302], or when he is a month old, or at any age up to a hundred years. It is always his appointed time, and it is in the fullness of time that he dies. So, Nâgasena, there is no such thing as death out of due season. For all who die, die at the appointed time.'

'There are seven kinds of persons, O king, who, there being still a portion of their appointed age to run, die out of time. And which are the seven? The starving man, O king, who can get no food, whose inwards are consumed³—and the thirsty man who can get no water, whose heart is dried up—and the man bitten by a snake, who, when consumed by the fierce energy of poison, can find no cure—and he who has taken poison, and when all his limbs are

¹ This simile has already been used above, IV, 3, 7 (I, 235).

² Gati-patibâ/â, gamana bâhulyatâwen says the Simhalese.

³ Upahat-abbhantaro, 'whose interior is burnt by the fierceness of the stomach fire' (ga/ha râgni-gahani), says Hīnaśi-kumburê, p. 443.

burning, is unable to procure medicine—and one fallen into fire, who when he is aflame, can find no means of putting out the fire—and he who having fallen into water can find no firm ground to stand on—and the man wounded by a dart, who in his illness can find no surgeon—all these seven, there being still a portion of their appointed time to run, die out of due season. And herein (in all these seven cases) I declare that they are all of one nature¹. In eight ways, O king, does the death of mortals take place—through excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, through the adverse union of these three, through variations in temperature, through inequality in protection, through (medical) treatment, and through the working of Karma². And of these, O king, it is only death by the working of Karma that is death at the due season, all the rest are cases of death out of due season. For it is said :

“ By hunger, thirst, by poison, and by bites,
 Burnt, drowned, or slain, men out of time do die ;
 By the three humours, and by three combined,
 By heats, by inequalities, by aids,
 By all these seven men die out of time³.”

41. [303] ‘ But there are some men, O king, who die through the working of some evil deed or other they have committed in a former birth. And of

¹ Hīnañi-kumburê had apparently a different reading (perhaps *ekamse na vadâmi*). For he translates, p. 444, ‘ In this death I do not say that there is one cause.’

² As was noticed above on p. 112 (of the Pâli), some of these medical terms are very uncertain, and the Sinhalese gives no help.

³ Not traced in the Piṭakas.

these, O king, whosoever has starved others to death, after having been himself through many hundreds of thousands of years tormented by hunger, famished, exhausted, emaciated, and withered of heart, dried up, wasted away, heated, and all on fire within, will, either as youth or man or old man, die of hunger too. And that death will be to him a death at the appointed time¹. Whosoever has put others to death by thirst, after having through many hundreds of thousands of years become a Preta consumed by thirst, thin and miserable, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of thirst. And that death will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by having them bitten by snakes, will, after wandering through many hundreds of thousands of years from existence to existence, in which he is constantly bitten by boa constrictors and black snakes, himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of snake bite. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by poison will, after existing for many hundreds of thousands of years with burning limbs and broken body, and exhaling the odour of a corpse, himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die of poison. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by fire, he having wandered from purgatory² to purgatory, from one mass of burning charcoal to

¹ Sârnâyiko, 'timely,' but Childers says 'temporary,' and we have had the word above (p. 22 of the Pâli) in the sense of 'religious.' The Sinhalese, p. 445, repeats the word.

² Yama-visaya, 'abode of the god of death.'

another, with burning and tortured limbs, for many hundreds of thousands of years, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, be burnt to death. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by drowning, he having suffered many hundreds of thousands of years as a being disabled, ruined, broken, weak in limb, and anxious in heart, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, die by drowning. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time. Whosoever has put others to death by the sword, [304] he having suffered for many hundreds of thousands of years (in repeated births as an animal) from cuts and wounds and blows and bruises, or (when born as a man) ever destroyed by weapons¹, will himself too, either as youth or man or old man, perish by the sword. And that will be to him a death at the appointed time.'

42. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the death out of due time that you also speak of—come now, tell me the reason for that.'

'As a great and mighty fire, O king, on to which dry grass and sticks and branches and leaves have been heaped, will nevertheless, when this its food has been consumed, die out by the exhaustion of the fuel. Yet such a fire is said to have gone out in fullness of time, without any calamity or accident (having happened to it). Just so, O king, the man who, when he has lived many thousands of days, when he is old and stricken in years, dies at last of

¹ Sarnâhato. Compare above, pp. 181, 254 of the Pâli, and *Magg'hima Nikâya* I, 337.

old age, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, is said to have reached death in the fullness of time. But if there were a great and mighty fire, O king, on to which dry grass and sticks and branches and leaves had been heaped, then if a mighty rain cloud were to pour out rain upon it, and it were thus to be put out, even before the fuel was consumed, could it be said, O king, that that great fire had gone out in fullness of time ?'

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein would the second fire differ, in its nature, from the first ?'

'The second one, Sir, which suffered from the onset of the rain—that fire would have gone out before its time.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

43. 'Or again, O king, it is like a mighty storm cloud which, rising up into the heavens, should pour out rain, filling the valleys and the plains. That cloud would be said to have rained without calamity or accident. Just so, O king, the man who after having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have

reached death in the fullness of time. [305] But if, O king, a mighty storm cloud were to rise up into the heavens, and as it did so were to be dissipated by a mighty wind, could it be said, O king, that that cloud had perished in due time ?'

'No, Sir, it could not.'

'But wherein would the second cloud differ, in its nature, from the first ?'

'The second one, Sir, which suffered from the onset of the whirlwind, would have been dissipated before its time.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

44. 'Or again, O king, it is like a powerful and deadly snake, which being angered should bite a man, and to him that poison, no impediment and no accident happening to it, should bring death. That poison would be said, without impediment or accident, to have reached its aim. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, he is said to have reached, unimpeded and uninterrupted, to the goal of his life, to have died in the fullness of time. But if a snake charmer were to give a drug to the man while he was suffering from

the bite, and thus get rid of the poison, could it be said that the poison was removed in the fullness of time?’

‘No, Sir, it could not.’

‘But wherein, O king, would the second poison differ, in its nature, from the first?’

‘The second one, Sir, which was acted upon by the introduction of the drug, would have been removed before its end was attained.’

‘Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one’s time.

45. ‘Or again, O king, it is like the arrow discharged by an archer. [306] If that arrow should go to the very end of the line of the path along which it was natural for it to go, then it would be said to have reached that aim, without let or hindrance. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have reached death, unimpeded and uninterrupted, in the fullness of time. But if, at the moment when the archer was discharging the arrow, some one should catch hold of it, could that arrow be said to have reached the end of the line of the path along which it was shot?’

‘No, Sir, it could not.’

‘But wherein, O king, would the second arrow differ, in its nature, from the first?’

‘By the seizure which intervened, Sir, the course of the second arrow was arrested.’

‘Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one’s time.

46. ‘Or again, O king, it is like the brazen vessel which a man should strike. And by his striking thereof a note should be produced, and sound to the very end of the line of the path along which it was its nature to sound. It would then be said to have reached that aim without let or hindrance. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have reached death, without let or hindrance, in the fullness of time. But if a man were to strike a brazen vessel, and by his striking thereof a note should be produced, but some one, before it had reached any distance, were to touch the vessel, and at his touching thereof the sound should cease, could then that sound be said to have reached the end of the line of the path along which it was its nature to sound?’

‘No, Sir, it could not.’

‘ But wherein, O king, would the second sound differ, in its nature, from the first ? ’

‘ By the touching which intervened, Sir, that sound was suppressed ¹. ’

[307] ‘ Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one’s time.

47. ‘ Or again, O king, it is like the corn seed which had sprung up well in the field, and by means of a plentiful downpour of rain had become well laden far and wide ² with many seeds, and had survived in safety to the time of standing crops, that corn would be said to have reached, without let or hindrance, to its due season. Just so, O king, the man who, having lived long, dies at last, when he is old and well stricken in years, without any calamity or accident having happened to him, of old age, is said to have reached death, without let or hindrance, in the fullness of time. But if that corn, after it had sprung up well in the field, should, deprived of water, die, could it be said to have reached its due season ? ’

¹ Uparato, for which Hīnaś-kumburē, p. 449, has upahata wīyāyē.

² Otaka-vitaka-ākīṇṇa. Ghaṇayawū pata/awū ākīṇṇa-wū says the Sinhalese.

‘No, Sir, it could not.’

‘But wherein, O king, would the second crop differ, in its nature, from the first?’

‘Oppressed by the heat which intervened, that crop, Sir, perished.’

‘Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one’s time.

48. ‘And have you ever heard, O king, of a young crop that, after it had come to ear, worms sprung up and destroyed down to the roots?’

‘We have both heard of such a thing, Sir, and have seen it, too.’

‘Well, O king, was that crop destroyed in season, or out of season?’

‘Out of season, Sir. For surely if worms had not destroyed the crop it would have survived to harvest time.’

‘What then, O king! on a disaster intervening the crop is lost, but if no injury is done it, it survives to the harvest?’

‘That is so, Sir.’

[308] ‘Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in

temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.

49. 'And have you ever heard, O king, of a crop that had grown, and was bent down by the weight of the grains of corn, the ears having duly formed¹, when a so-called Karaka rain (hail-storm)² falling on it, destroyed it?'

'We have both heard of such a thing, Sir, and have seen it, too.'

'Well, O king! would you say the crop was destroyed in season or out of season?'

'Out of season, Sir. For if the hail-storm had not come the crop would have lasted to harvest time.'

'What then, O king! on a disaster intervening the crop is lost, but if no injury is done it, it survives to the harvest?'

'That is so, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, whosoever dies before his time does so in consequence of suffering from the attack of some disease,—from excess of windy humour, or of bilious humour, or of phlegmatic humour, or from the union of the three, or from variations in temperature, or from inequality in protection, or from treatment, or from hunger, or from thirst, or from fire, or from water, or from the sword. This, O

¹ *Maṅgarita-patte*, which the *Siṃhalese* renders *karal patra cettâwû*.

² *Karaka-vassam* is *pâsâna-warsha* in the *Siṃhalese*. If *karaka* originally meant 'hard shell,' it could have reached its ordinary meaning of 'water-pot,' from the fact that an empty half of a cocoa-nut shell is the most common form of cup.

king, is the reason why there is such a thing as dying before one's time.'

50. 'Most wonderful, Nāgasena, most strange! Right well have you explained, by reason and by simile, how it is that people die before their time. That there is such a thing as premature death have you made clear and plain and evident¹. A thoughtless man even, Nāgasena, a puzzle-headed fellow, could by any one of your comparisons have come to the conclusion that premature deaths do occur;—[309] how much more an able man! I was convinced already, Sir, by the first of your similes, that such deaths happen, but nevertheless, out of the wish to hear still further and further solutions, I would not give in.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to premature deaths.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH.

WONDERS AT THE GRAVE.]

51. 'Venerable Nāgasena, are there wonders at the *Ketiyas* (the mounds raised over the ashes) of all who have passed entirely away (of all the *Arahats* deceased)²?'

'Of some, O king, but not of others.'

'But of which, Sir, is this the case, and of which not?'

¹ *Vibhūtam katam* is rendered *prasiddha karaṇa laddeya* in the *Simhalese*, p. 451.

² *Parinibbutānam*. The words in brackets are *Hīnaś-kumburē's* gloss. 'Of all who have been entirely set free' is an alternative, and perhaps a better, rendering.

‘It is by the stedfast resolve, O king, of three kinds of people, that wonders take place at the *Ketiya* of some person deceased who has been entirely set free. And who are the three? In the first place, O king, an *Arahat*, when still alive, may, out of pity for gods and men, make the resolve: “Let there be such and such wonders at my *Ketiya*¹.” Then, by reason of his resolve, wonders happen there. Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of an *Arahat* at the *Ketiya* of one entirely set free.

‘And again, O king, the gods, out of pity for men, show wonders at the *Ketiya* of one who has been entirely set free, thinking: “By this wonder may the true faith remain always established on the earth, and may mankind, believing, grow in grace!” Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of a god at the *Ketiya* of one entirely set free.

‘And again, O king, some woman or some man of believing heart, able, intelligent, wise, endowed with insight, may deliberately take perfumes, or a garland, or a cloth, and place it on the *Ketiya*, making the resolve: “May such and such a wonder take place!” Thus is it that wonders occur by the resolve of human beings at the *Ketiya* of one entirely set free.

52. ‘These, O king, are the three kinds of people by whose stedfast resolve wonders take place at the *Ketiyas* of *Arahats* deceased. And if there has been no such resolve, O king, by one of these, then

¹ Mr. Trenckner prints *evam-nâma* as qualifying *Ketiya*. The *Sinhalese*, p. 451, takes it as I have rendered.

is there no wonder at the *Ketiya* even of one whose *âsavas* had been destroyed, who had attained to the sixfold insight, who was master of himself. And if there be no such wonder, then, O king, [310] one should call to mind the purity of conduct one has seen¹, and draw in trusting faith the conclusion: "Verily, this child of the Buddhas has been entirely set free!"

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to wonders
at the grave.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH.

CONVERSION AND CONDUCT.]

53. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those who regulate their lives aright—do they all attain to insight into the Truth, or are there some of them who do not?'

'Some do, O king, and some do not.'

'Then which do, Sir, and which do not?'

'He who is born as an animal, O king, even though he regulate his life aright, will not attain to insight into the Truth, nor he who is born in

¹ These words are very ambiguous, and unfortunately the *Simhalese* (p. 452), though much expanded, is equally so. The kind of wonder referred to throughout the dilemma is also doubtful. The only one of the kind mentioned, so far as I know, in the *Piṭakas* is that referred to in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' V, 26, where the placing of garlands on a *Ketiya* produces calm in the heart. But it is difficult to believe that our author had merely a spiritual experience of this kind in his thoughts. The whole discussion points rather to the late date at which he wrote.

the Preta world, nor he who holds wrong views, nor the deceitful man, nor he who has slain his mother, or his father, or an Arahāt, nor he who has raised up a schism in the Order, nor he who has shed a Buddha's blood, nor he who has furtively attached himself to the Order¹, nor he who has become a pervert², nor he who has violated a sister of the Order, nor he who, having been guilty of one or other of the thirteen grievous offences³, has not been rehabilitated, nor a eunuch, nor an hermaphrodite—and whosoever is a human child under seven years of age, even though he regulate his life aright, will not attain to insight into the Truth. To these sixteen individuals there is no attainment of insight, O king, even though they regulate their life aright.'

54. 'Venerable Nāgasena, there may or may not be a possibility of insight to the fifteen you have first singled out for opposition⁴. But what is the reason why an infant, one under seven years of age, should not, even though he regulate his life aright, attain to insight? Therein there is still a puzzle left. For is it not admitted that in a child there is not passion, neither malice, nor dullness, nor pride, nor heresy, nor discontent, nor lustful thoughts? Being undefiled by sin, that which we call an infant is fit and ready (to the attainment

¹ Theyya-samvāsaka. See Mahāvagga I, 69, 4.

² Titthiya-pakkantaka, 'gone over to the Titthiyas.'

³ Garukāpatti, which Hīnaśi-kumburê takes to be equivalent to the Samghādisesa offences. This is doubtless correct, and the use of the phrase in that sense is a sign of our author's later date.

⁴ Viruddhā, 'placed in a class' (wœdêrum wû), says the Simhalese, p. 453. It is literally 'opposed,' and the idiom is curious.

even of Arahatsip—how much more)¹ is he worthy to penetrate at a glance into the four truths!’

‘The following is the reason, O king, for my saying [311] that an infant, even though he regulate his life aright, cannot attain to insight. If, O king, one under seven years of age could feel passion about things exciting to passion, could go wrong in things leading to iniquity, could be befooled in matters that mislead, could be maddened as to things that infatuate, could understand a heresy, could distinguish between content and discontent, could think out virtue and vice, then might insight be possible to him. But the mind of one under seven years of age, O king, is powerless and weak, mean, small, slight, obscure, and dull, whereas the essential principle of Nirvâṇa is transcendental, important, weighty, wide-reaching, and extensive. Therefore is it, O king, that the infant, with so imperfect a mind, is unable to grasp an idea so great. It is like the case of Sineru, O king, the king of the mountains, heavy and ponderous, wide-reaching and mighty as it is,—could now a man, by his ordinary strength and power and energy, root that mountain up?²’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘But why not?’

‘Because of the weakness of the man, and because of the mightiness of Sineru, the mountain king.’

¹ The words in brackets are added from the *Sinhalese*.

² Similar metaphors have already been used in the 71st Dilemma (p. 283 of the *Pāli*) and in the 74th Dilemma (p. 295 of the *Pāli*).

'Just so, O king, is the relation of the infant's mind to Nirvāṇa¹.

55. 'And again, it is like the broad earth, O king, long and wide, great in expanse and extension, large and mighty—would now a tiny drop of water be able to wet and turn to mud that broad earth²?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not, O king?'

'Because of the minuteness of the drop of water, and because of the greatness of the broad earth.'

'Just so, O king, is the relation of the infant's mind to Nirvāṇa.

[312] 56. 'Or again, O king, suppose there were weak and powerless, minute, tiny, limited, and dull fire—would it be possible, with so insignificant a fire, to overcome darkness and make light appear over the whole world of gods and men?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not, O king?'

'Because of the dullness of the fire, and because of the greatness of the world.'

'Just so, O king, the mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak, limited, insignificant, obscure, and dull; it is veiled, moreover, with the thick darkness of ignorance. Hard would it be, therefore, for it to shine forth with the light of knowledge. And that is the reason, O king, why to an infant, to one under seven years of age, even though he order his conduct aright, there can be no attainment of insight into the Truth.

¹ In the text the whole comparison is repeated.

² For a similar metaphor see above, IV, 8, 31 (p. 296 of the Pāli).

57. 'Or again, O king, suppose there were a Sâlaka¹, minute in the measure of its body, and rendered lean by disease, and it on seeing an elephant king, which showed the signs of rut in three places, and was nine cubits in length, and three in breadth, and ten in girth, and seven in height², coming to its lair, were to begin to drag the elephant towards it with the view of swallowing it—now would the Sâlaka, O king, be able to do so³?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not, O king?'

'Because of the minuteness of the Sâlaka's body, and because of the magnitude of the elephant king.'

'Just so, O king, the mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak, limited, insignificant, obscure, and dull. Grand and transcendental is the ambrosial essence of Nirvâna⁴. With that mind so powerless and weak, so limited, insignificant, obscure, and dull, he cannot penetrate into the grand and transcendental essence of Nir-

¹ It is unknown what this *kimi* (insect, vermin, small creature) is, and it is not mentioned elsewhere. Susruta mentions a *sârikâmukha* insect, and as in one rare word at least, which the Pâli translator did not sufficiently understand to restore to the ordinary Pâli form (*kalasi* for *karisi*, see above, I, xxiii), we find *la* stood in our author's dialect for *ri*, there may be some connection between the two. It would be particularly interesting to be able to determine the species and habitat of this creature, as it might throw some light on the district in which our author flourished.

² These measurements differ slightly from those given above, IV, 8, 14 (p. 282 of the Pâli), for a fine elephant.

³ Compare the tale of the frog who wanted to swallow the bull in Æsop's fables (not yet traced in the *Gâtakas*). Is the Sâlaka a kind of frog, much smaller than ours?

⁴ So *Hinâfi-kumburê*, p. 455.

vâna. And that is the reason, O king, why to an infant, one under seven years of age, even though he order his conduct aright, there can be no attainment to insight of the Truth.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma on conversion and conduct.]

[DILEMMA THE SEVENTY-NINTH.

THE PAIN OF NIRVÂNA¹.]

[313] 58. 'Venerable Nâgasena, how is it? Is Nirvâna all bliss, or is it partly pain²?'

¹ The following pages will seem only so much verbiage, and will convey no idea to a European reader, unless he realises that the Nirvâna discussed is of course not a salvation to be enjoyed by a 'soul' after death, and in some other world; but a state of mind to be realised and enjoyed by a man here, on this earth, in this life, and in this life only.

Though I had pointed this out already in 1876 the animistic interpretation of Nirvâna is still the prevalent one, and still continues to lead to endless confusion. Why is it then, the reader may ask, that our author does not contradict the Christian interpretation of the Buddhist summum bonum in so many words? Simply because it never occurred to him as possible. It was probably even as inconceivable to him as the Buddhist interpretation of it seems to be to most Western writers.

² This dilemma and the next have been translated into French in the 'Revue de l'histoire des Religions' for 1885 (vol. xi, pp. 336 and following). The author's name being given as Mr. Lewis da Sylva, of Colombo, the article as it stands is presumably a translation into French, made in Paris, of Mr. da Sylva's version in English from the Sinhalese, which may account for the fact that there is scarcely a sentence which is not misleading.

‘Nirvâṇa is all bliss, O king. There is no intermingling of pain in it.’

‘That, Sir, is a saying we cannot believe—that Nirvâṇa is all bliss. On this point, Nāgasena, we maintain that Nirvâṇa must be alloyed with pain. And there is a reason for our adopting that view. What is that reason? Those, Nāgasena, who seek after Nirvâṇa are seen to practise exertion and application both of body and of mind, restraint in standing, walking, sitting, lying, and eating, suppression of sleep, subjugation of the organs of sense, renunciation of wealth and corn, of dear relatives and friends. But all those who are joyful and happy in the world take delight in, are devoted to, the five pleasures of sense—they practise and delight their eyes in many kinds of pleasurable forms, such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their ears in many kinds of pleasurable sounds of revelry and song, such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their sense of smell with many kinds of perfumes of flowers, and fruits, and leaves, and bark, and roots, and sap, such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their tongue with many kinds of pleasurable tastes of hard foods and of soft, of syrups, drinks, and beverages, such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their sense of touch with many kinds of pleasurable feelings, tender and delicate, exquisite and soft, such as at any time they like the best—they practise and delight their minds with many sorts of conceptions and ideas, pure and impure, good and bad, such as at any time they like the best. You, on the other hand, put a stop to and destroy,

maim and mangle, put a drag on and restrain the development of your eye, and ear, and nose, and tongue, and body, and mind. Therefore is your body afflicted and your mind afflicted too, and your body being afflicted you feel bodily discomfort and pain, and your minds being afflicted you feel mental discomfort too and pain. Did not even Mâgandiya, the ascetic, find fault with the Blessed One, and say¹: [314] "The Samana Gotama is a destroyer of increase²?"

59. 'Nirvâna, O king, has no pain in it. It is bliss unalloyed. When you, O king, maintain that Nirvâna is painful, that which you call "painful" is not Nirvâna. It is the preliminary stage to the realisation of Nirvâna, it is the process of seeking after Nirvâna. Nirvâna itself is bliss pure and simple, there is no pain mixed with it. And I will give you an explanation of this. Is there such a thing, O king, as the bliss of sovereignty which kings enjoy?'

'Most certainly.'

'And is there no pain, O king, mingled with that bliss?'

'No, Sir.'

'But surely then, O king, why is it that when their frontier provinces have broken out in revolt, the kings, to the end that they may bring the inhabitants of those provinces into subjection again, leave their homes, attended by their ministers and chiefs, their

¹ In the Mâgandiya Sutta, No. 75 in the *Magghima Nikâya*, where the speech will be found at I, 502.

² *Bhûtahaṅke*. See Mr. Trenckner's valuable note. *Hînaṣ-kumburê*, p. 456, quotes the Pâli, reading *Bhûtahu*, and rendering it 'anabhiwṛiddhi-karāṇayek.

soldiers and their guards, and marching over ground even and uneven, tormented the while by gnats and mosquitoes and hot winds, engage in fierce fights, and suffer the presentiment of death ?’

‘That, venerable Nâgasena, is not what is called the bliss of sovranty. It is only the preliminary stage in the pursuit of that bliss. It is after they have thus, in pain, sought after sovranty, that they enjoy the bliss thereof. And thus that bliss, Nâgasena, is itself unmixed with pain, for the bliss of sovranty is one thing, and the pain another.’

‘Just so, O king, is Nirvâna all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. Those who are in quest of Nirvâna afflict their minds and bodies it is true, restrain themselves in standing, walking, sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvâna, that they enjoy the Nirvâna which is bliss unalloyed—as kings do the bliss of sovranty after their foes have been put down. Thus is it, O king, that Nirvâna is all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. For Nirvâna is one thing, and the pain another.

[315] 60. ‘And hear another explanation, O king, of the same thing. Is there such a thing, O king, as the bliss of knowledge which those teachers have who have passed through their course ?’

‘Yes, Sir, there is.’

‘Well, is that bliss of knowledge alloyed with pain ?’

‘No.’

‘What then, O king, is the good of their afflicting

themselves by bowing down before and standing up in the presence of their teachers; by drawing water, and sweeping out the cell, and placing tooth-sticks and washing-water ready; by living upon scraps left over; by doing service in shampooing, and bathing, and washing of the feet; by suppressing their own will, and acting according to the will of others; by sleeping in discomfort, and feeding on distasteful food?'

'That, Nâgasena, is not the bliss of knowledge, it is a preliminary stage in the pursuit thereof. It is after the teachers have, in pain, sought after knowledge, that they enjoy its bliss. Thus is it, Nâgasena, that the bliss of knowledge is unalloyed with pain. For that bliss of knowledge is one thing, and the pain another.'

'Just so, O king, is Nirvâṇa all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. Those who are in quest of Nirvâṇa afflict their minds and bodies it is true, restrain themselves in standing, walking, sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvâṇa, that they enjoy the Nirvâṇa which is bliss unalloyed—as teachers do the bliss of knowledge. Thus is it, O king, that Nirvâṇa is all bliss, and there is no pain mingled with it. For Nirvâṇa is one thing, and the pain another.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the pain of
Nirvâṇa.]

[DILEMMA THE EIGHTIETH.]

THE OUTWARD FORM OF NIRVÂNA.]

61. 'Venerable Nâgasena, this Nirvâna that you are always talking of—can you make clear by metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument, the form, or figure, or duration¹, or measure of it?'

[316] 'Nirvâna, O king, has nothing similar to it. By no metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument can its form, or figure, or duration, or measure be made clear.'

'That I cannot believe, Nâgasena,—that of Nirvâna, which really after all is a condition that exists², it should be so impossible in any way to make us understand either the form, or figure, or duration, or measure! Give me some explanation of this.'

62. 'Very well, O king, I will do so. Is there such a thing, O king, as the great ocean?'

'Yes, the ocean exists.'

'Well, suppose some one were to ask you, saying: "How much water is there, your majesty, in the sea, and how many are the creatures that dwell therein?" When that question had been put, how would you answer him?'

'I should reply thus to such a question: "My good fellow! this is an unaskable thing that you ask me. No one ought to ask such a question. It

¹ So the Pâli (*vayaṃ*). But the Sinhalese has *wâsaya*, 'dwelling-place,' throughout §§ 56 and 57.

² *Atthi-dhammassa nibbânassa*. The Sinhalese, p. 459, translates 'the form, &c., of the quality (*dharma*) of Nirvâna'—as if the Pâli were *nibbâna-dhammassa*. But see next page, note 2.

is a point that should be left alone. The physicists¹ have never examined into the ocean in that way. And no one can measure the water there, or count the creatures who dwell therein." Thus, Sir, should I make reply.'

63. 'But why, O king, would you make such a reply about the ocean which, after all, is really an existing condition of things². Ought you not rather to count and tell him, saying: "So and so much is the water in the sea, and so and so many are the creatures that dwell therein?"'

'That would be impossible, Sir. The question is beyond one's power.'

'As impossible as it is, O king, to tell the measure of the water in the sea, or the number of the creatures dwelling therein, though after all the sea exists, so impossible is it in any of the ways you suggest to tell the form, or figure, or duration, or measure of Nirvâna, though after all it is a condition that does exist. [317] And even, O king, if one of magical powers, master over mind, were to be able to count the water and the creatures in the sea, even he could not tell the form or the figure, the duration or the measure of Nirvâna.

64. 'And hear another explanation of the same thing, O king. Are there, O king, among the gods certain of them called "The Formless Ones³?"'

¹ Lokakkhâyikâ, 'those who have in former days enquired into and described the world,' says the *Sinhalese*.

² Atthidhammassa again, which Hînaśi-kumburê now renders cœti swabhawawû. 'Pourquoi répons-tu ainsi au sujet de l'état naturel du grand océan,' says the French. (Compare above, p. 270 of the Pâli.)

³ Arûpakâyikâ. It is very odd that Hînaśi-kumburê takes the word here, and in the answer, as a feminine singular, and still

‘Yes, Sir. I have heard there are such.’

‘Well, O king, can you make clear by metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument the form, or figure, or duration¹, or size of these gods, the “Formless Ones?”’

‘No, I cannot.’

‘Then, O king, there are none.’

‘The Formless Ones, Sir, do exist; and yet it is impossible in any of the ways you suggest to explain either their form or figure, either their duration or their size.’

‘As impossible as it is, O king, to tell the form or figure, the duration or the size of the gods called “Formless Ones,” though they after all are beings that exist², so impossible is it in any of the ways you suggest to explain the form or the figure, the duration or the measure of Nirvâna, though after all it is a condition that does exist.’

65. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, I will grant you that Nirvâna is bliss unalloyed, and yet that is impossible to make clear, either by simile or explanation, by reason or by argument, either its form or its figure, either its duration or its size. But is there no quality of Nirvâna which is inherent also in other

more so that the French translation takes it throughout as a masculine singular. But the *Simhalese* throughout the sequel treats it properly as a plural nominative; and there can be little doubt that the inhabitants, or some of the inhabitants, of the ‘Formless Realm,’ the *Arûpâvaṅkara* or *Arûpa-brahma-loka*, are referred to. But this name is different from those given to any of these gods in *Childers*, and I cannot trace it in the *Piṭakas* as applied to any of them.

¹ I follow the Pâli, which still has *vayam*. The *Simhalese* has here and below *winâsaya*.

² *Atthisattanam* yeva, which the *Simhalese*, p. 460, represents merely by *cettâwû*.

things¹, and is such that it can be made evident by metaphor²?’

‘Though there is nothing as to its form which can be so explained, there is something, O king, as to its qualities which can.’

[318] ‘O happy word, Nâgasena! Speak then, quickly, that I may have an explanation of even one point in the characteristics of Nirvâna. Appease the fever of my heart. Allay it by the cool sweet breezes of your words!’

‘There is one quality of the lotus, O king, inherent in Nirvâna, and two qualities of water, and three of medicine, and four of the ocean, and five of food, and ten of space, and three of the wish-conferring gem, and three of red sandal wood, and three of the froth of ghee, and five of a mountain peak.’

66. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the lotus which you said was inherent in Nirvâna,—which is that?’

‘As the lotus, O king, is untarnished by the water³, so is Nirvâna untarnished by any evil dispositions. This is the one quality of the lotus inherent in Nirvâna.’

¹ *Aññehi anupavittam*; ‘not previously explained by others,’ says Hīnaśī-kumburē. Neither rendering is altogether satisfactory. Perhaps ‘of which you have been convinced by others,’ in agreement with the use of the word above, p. 270 of the Pāli.

² In the French of Mr. da Sylva this sentence runs (p. 342): ‘Mais vénérable, n’y a-t-il pas une vertu du Nirvâna dont on puisse percevoir quelque ressemblance.’

³ That is, no drop of water adheres to the lotus, though it is surrounded by water and water may fall on it. For instances of the frequent similes drawn from this fact see below, V, 14; and Dhammapada 401; Sutta Nipâta II, 14, 17; III, 9, 32; IV, 6, 9. The French translation is: ‘de même que le lotus élève fièrement sa tête au-dessus de l’eau’ (!).

67. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those two qualities of water which you said were inherent in Nirvāṇa,—which are they?'

'As water, O king, is cool and assuages heat, so also is Nirvāṇa cool, and assuages the fever arising from all evil dispositions. This is the first quality of water inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again, O king, as water allays the thirst of men and beasts when they are exhausted and anxious, craving for drink, and tormented by thirst, so does Nirvāṇa allay the thirst of the craving after lusts, the craving after future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity¹. This is the second quality of water inherent in Nirvāṇa.'

68. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of medicine, which you said were inherent in Nirvāṇa,—which are they?'

[319] 'As medicine, O king, is the refuge of beings tormented by poison, so is Nirvāṇa the refuge of beings tormented with the poison of evil dispositions. This is the first quality of medicine inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again, O king, as medicine puts an end to diseases, so does Nirvāṇa put an end to griefs. This is the second quality of medicine inherent in Nirvāṇa. And again, O king, as medicine is ambrosia², so also is Nirvāṇa ambrosia. This is the third quality of medicine inherent in Nirvāṇa.'

¹ On these fundamental conceptions see my notes in 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 148, 149, where it is shown that the three 'cravings' which end in Nirvāṇa are pretty much the same as the lust of the flesh, theism, and materialism.

² Amata, the translation of which word by 'immortality' has given rise to so much confusion. So the French here says 'la médecine a le pouvoir de combattre la mort,' which is nearly as bad. See the Appendix.

69. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those four qualities of the ocean which you said were inherent in Nirvâna, —which are they?'

'As the ocean, O king, is free from (empty of) corpses¹, so also is Nirvâna free from (empty of) the dead bodies of all evil dispositions². This, O king, is the first quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as the ocean is mighty and boundless, and fills not with all the rivers that flow in to it; so is Nirvâna mighty and boundless, and fills not with all beings (who enter in to it). This is the second quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as the ocean is the abode of mighty creatures, so is Nirvâna the abode of great men—Arahats, in whom the Great Evils and all stains have been destroyed, endowed with power, masters of themselves. This is the third quality of the ocean inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as the ocean is all in blossom³, as it were, with the innumerable and various and fine flowers of the ripple of its waves, so is Nirvâna all in blossom, as it were, with the innumerable and

¹ See on this belief above, IV, 3, 39 (I, 259).

² The word used here for free, empty (*suñña*), has again given rise to the most odd misconceptions. As Nirvâna is hence called *Sunyatâ*, 'emptiness,' Christian writers (taking Nirvâna as a name for some kind of future life) have very naturally thought, in trying to fasten some meaning upon emptiness in a future life, that it must mean 'annihilation of a soul,' and have labelled Buddhism as Nihilism! The real meaning is really very simple, and entirely ethical (not metaphysical or animistic):

'Men may rise on stepping stones

Of their dead selves to higher things.'

See below, IV, 8, 78, for a metaphor founded on a similar idea.

³ *Samkusumito*, only found here. Compare 'garlands, *vitvam*,' I, 175, 176.

various and fine flowers of purity, of knowledge, and of emancipation. This is the fourth quality of the ocean inherent in *Nirvâna*.'

[320] 70. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of food which you said were inherent in *Nirvâna*,—which are they?'

'As food, O king, is the support of the life of all beings, so is *Nirvâna*, when it has been realised, the support of life, for it puts an end to old age and death. This is the first quality of food inherent in *Nirvâna*. And again, O king, as food increases the strength of all beings, so does *Nirvâna*, when it has been realised, increase the power of Iddhi of all beings. This is the second quality of food inherent in *Nirvâna*. And again, O king, as food is the source of the beauty of all beings, so is *Nirvâna*, when it has been realised, the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness. This is the third quality of food inherent in *Nirvâna*. And again, O king, as food puts a stop to suffering in all beings, so does *Nirvâna*, when it has been realised, put a stop in all beings to the suffering arising from every evil disposition. This is the fourth quality of food inherent in *Nirvâna*. And again, O king, as food overcomes in all beings the weakness of hunger, so does *Nirvâna*, when it has been realised, overcome in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and every sort of pain. This is the fifth quality of food inherent in *Nirvâna*.'

71. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those ten qualities of space which you said were inherent in *Nirvâna*,—which are they?'

'As space, O king, neither is born nor grows old, neither dies nor passes away nor is reborn (has

a future life to spring up into), as it is incompressible, cannot be carried off by thieves, rests on nothing, is the sphere in which birds fly, is unobstructed, and is infinite; [321] so, O king, Nirvâna is not born, neither does it grow old, it dies not, it passes not away, it has no rebirth (no future life to spring up into), it is unconquerable, thieves carry it not off, it is not attached to anything¹, it is the sphere in which Arahats move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. These are the ten qualities of space inherent in Nirvâna.'

72. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the wish-conferring gem which you said were inherent in Nirvâna,—which are they?'

'As the wishing-gem, O king, satisfies every desire, so also does Nirvâna. This is the first quality of the wishing-gem inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as the wishing-gem causes delight, so also does Nirvâna. This is the second quality of the wishing-gem inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as the wishing-gem is full of lustre, so also is Nirvâna. This is the third quality of the wishing-gem inherent in Nirvâna.'

73. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of red sandal wood which you said were inherent in Nirvâna,—which are they?'

¹ Anissitam, so below, p. 351 of the Pâli, the dhutaṅgam is said to be anissitam. The translation is difficult. In our passage here Hīnaś-kumburê (p. 464) renders it, as applied both to space and to Nirvâna, by 'having no âsra wa.' Below, as applied to the vows (dhutaṅgas), he renders it (p. 512) by 'unconnected with craving' (*trishnânisrita*). 'Self-dependent' or 'untarnished (by reliance on external things)' would suit the context in all three passages.

‘As red sandal wood, O king, is hard to get, so is Nirvâna hard to attain to. This is the first quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as red sandal wood is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume, so is Nirvâna. This is the second quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as red sandal wood is praised by all the good, so is Nirvâna praised by all the Noble Ones. This is the third quality of red sandal wood inherent in Nirvâna.’

74. [322] ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the skimmings of ghee¹ which you said were inherent in Nirvâna,—which are they?’

‘As ghee is beautiful in colour, O king, so also is Nirvâna beautiful in righteousness. This is the first quality of the ghee inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as ghee has a pleasant perfume, so also has Nirvâna the pleasant perfume of righteousness. This is the second quality of ghee inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as ghee has a pleasant taste, so also has Nirvâna. This is the third quality of ghee inherent in Nirvâna.’

75. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of a mountain peak which you said were inherent in Nirvâna,—which are they?’

‘As a mountain peak is very lofty, so also is Nirvâna very exalted. This is the first quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as a mountain peak is immovable, so also is Nirvâna. This is the second quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king,

¹ This is butter made of buffaloes’ milk, and is highly esteemed in India.

as a mountain peak is inaccessible, so also is Nirvâna inaccessible to all evil dispositions. This is the third quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as a mountain peak is a place where no plants can grow, so also is Nirvâna a condition in which no evil dispositions can grow. This is the fourth quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvâna. And again, O king, as a mountain peak is free alike from desire to please and from resentment, so also is Nirvâna. This is the fifth quality of a mountain peak inherent in Nirvâna.'

[323] 'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the problem as to the form of Nirvâna.]

[DILEMMA THE EIGHTY-FIRST.

THE TIME OF NIRVÂNA.]

76. 'Venerable Nâgasena, your people say¹:

"Nirvâna is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible²."

'In that case, Nâgasena, does the man who, having ordered his life aright, realises Nirvâna, realise something already produced, or does he himself produce it first, and then realise it?'

'Neither the one, O king, nor the other. And nevertheless, O king, that principle of Nirvâna (nibbâna-dhâtu) which he, so ordering his life aright, realises—that exists.'

¹ Not yet traced in the *Piṭakas*.

² 'By the action of Karma as a pre-existing cause' is to be understood.

‘Do not, venerable Nāgasena, clear up this puzzle by making it dark! Make it open and plain as you elucidate it. With a will, strenuous in endeavour, pour out upon it all that has been taught you. It is a point on which this people is bewildered, plunged into perplexity, lost in doubt. Dissipate this guilty uncertainty; it pierces like a dart¹!’

77. ‘That principle of Nirvāṇa, O king, so peaceful, so blissful, so delicate, exists. And it is that which he who orders his life aright, grasping the idea of all things (of the Confections, *Samkhāras*) according to the teachings of the Conquerors, realises by his wisdom—even as a pupil, by his knowledge, makes himself, according to the instruction of his teacher, master of an art.

‘And if you ask: “How is Nirvāṇa to be known?” it is by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity, by freshness².

78. ‘Just, O king, as a man being burnt in a blazing fiery furnace heaped up with many faggots of dry sticks, when he has freed himself from it by

¹ *Bhinda*’ *etam anto-dosa-sallam*; ‘break and take away the dart of the guilt (*dosa*) of that doubt which has arisen in my inmost being (*satana*),’ says *Hīnaśī-kumburē*. It is literally ‘break this dart of guilt within.’ The meaning is clear enough (except as to whether the guilt is the speaker’s or ‘this people’s’). To break a dart in a wound would be no kindness, and that cannot have been the author’s idea. To bring out the meaning one must amplify a little, and I should have followed the *Simhalese* had it not seemed preferable to leave the personality of the guilty one as ambiguous in the translation as in the text.

² *Hīnaśī-kumburē*, p. 467, does actually put these words into Nāgasena’s mouth.

³ *Sītalato*, literally ‘by cold.’ See the note above on III, 6, 6 (I, 119).

a violent effort, and escaped into a cool place, [324] would experience supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of *Nirvâna*, in which the burning heat of the threefold fire (of lust, malice, and delusion)¹ has all gone out. As the furnace, O king, so should you regard this threefold fire, as the man fallen into the fire the man who is ordering his life aright, as the cool place *Nirvâna*.

79. 'Or again, O king, as a man fallen into a pit full of the dead bodies of snakes and dogs and men, of ordure, and of refuse, when, finding himself in the midst of it entangled in the hair of the corpses, he had by a violent effort escaped into a place where no dead bodies were, would experience supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of *Nirvâna*, from which the corpses of all evil dispositions have been removed². As a corpse, O king, so should you regard the four pleasures of sense, as the man fallen among corpses the man who is ordering his life aright, as the place free from corpses *Nirvâna*.

80. 'Or again, O king, as a man (fallen among enemies with drawn swords in their hands)³, quaking with fear and terror, agitated and upset in mind, when with a violent effort he has freed himself from them, and escaped into a strong refuge, a firm place of security, experiences supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of *Nirvâna*,

¹ *Râga, dosa, moha*.

² Compare above, IV, 8, 69, and the note there.

³ The words in brackets are added from the *Simhalese*, p. 467.

in which fear and terror have been put away. As the terror, O king, so should you regard the anxiety which arises again and again on account of birth, old age, disease, and death, as the terrified man the man who is ordering his life aright, as the place of refuge *Nirvâna*.

81. 'Or again, O king, as a man fallen on a spot filthy with dirt, and slime, and mud, when with a violent effort he has got rid of the mud, and escaped to a clean and spotless place, would experience supreme bliss—just so whosoever orders his life aright, he by his careful thinking will realise the supreme bliss of *Nirvâna*, from which the stains and mud of evil dispositions have been removed. As the mud, O king, [325] so should you regard income, and honour, and praise¹, as the man fallen into the mud the man who is ordering his life aright, as the clean and spotless place *Nirvâna*.

82. 'And if again you should ask: "How does he who orders his life aright realise that *Nirvâna*?" (I should reply), He, O king, who orders his life aright grasps the truth as to the development of all things², and when he is doing so he perceives therein birth, he perceives old age, he perceives disease, he perceives death. But he perceives not therein either happiness or bliss, he perceives not therein, whether in the beginning, or the middle, or the end, anything worthy of being laid hold of (as lasting satisfaction)³. As a man, O king, if a mass of iron

¹ So also at *Gâtaka* IV, 222 (verse 48).

² *Samkhârânam parattam sammasati*. Compare *Dharma-pada*, verse 374.

³ *Gayhûpagam*; so the *Simhalese*.

had been heated the livelong day¹, and were all glowing, scorching, and red hot, would find no spot on it, whether at one end or in the middle or at the other end, fit to be taken hold of—just so, O king, he who orders his life aright grasps the truth of the development of things, and in doing so he perceives therein birth, he perceives old age, he perceives disease, he perceives death. But he perceives not therein either happiness or bliss, he perceives not therein, whether in the beginning, or in the middle, or in the end, anything fit to be taken hold of (as a lasting satisfaction).

83. 'And discontent arises in his mind when he thus finds nothing fit to be relied on as a lasting satisfaction, and a fever takes possession of his body², and without a refuge or protection, hopeless, he becomes weary of repeated lives³. As if a man had fallen into a burning and blazing mighty fiery furnace, and saw no refuge from it, no way of escape, he would, hopeless, be weary of the fire—just so, O king, discontent arises in his mind when he thus finds nothing fit to be relied on as a lasting satisfaction, and a fever takes possession of his body, and without a refuge or protection, hopeless, he becomes weary of repeated births.

84. 'And in the mind of him who thus perceives

¹ Divasa-santatta. So Hīnaś-kumburê, and compare *Magghima Nikāya* I, 453, and *Gāṭaka* IV, 118 (where the reading is *diva-santatta*). See also above, p. 46 of the Pāli.

² For *dāho okkamati*, Hīnaś-kumburê may have had a different reading. He renders *dahadiya selawenneya*, 'sweat shapes' (sic for 'forms').

³ Bhavesu; literally 'of becomings' ('in any of the three worlds,' adds the *Simhalese*).

the insecurity of transitory life, (of starting afresh in innumerable births)¹ the thought arises: "All on fire is this endless becoming, burning, and blazing! Full of pain is it, of despair! If only one could reach a state in which there were no becoming, there would there be calm, that would be sweet—the cessation of all these conditions², the getting rid of all these defects³ (of lusts, of evil, and of Karma), the end of cravings, the absence of passion, peace, Nirvâṇa!" And therewith does his mind leap forward into that state in which there is no becoming, and then has he found peace, [326] then does he exult and rejoice⁴ at the thought: "A refuge have I gained at last!" Just, O king, as a man who, venturing into a strange land, has lost his way, on becoming aware of a path, free from jungle, that will lead him home, bounds forward along it, contented in mind, exulting and rejoicing at the thought: "I have found the way at last!"—just so in him who thus perceives the insecurity of transitory births there arises the thought: "All on fire is this endless becoming, burning, and blazing! Full of pain is it, and despair! If only one could reach a state in which there were no becoming, there would there be calm, that would be sweet—the cessation of all these conditions, the getting rid of all these defects, the end of cravings, the absence of passion, peace, Nirvâṇa!" And therewith does his mind leap forward into that state in which there is no becoming,

¹ Pavatte. I have included Hīnaśī-kumburē's explanation of this word, for which there is no equivalent in English.

² Saṃkhārā, saṃkhāra-dharmayangē says the Sinhalese.

³ Upadhi; the Sinhalese (p. 470) has simply klesayan.

⁴ Pahamsīyati kuhūyati, both words only found here.

and then has he found peace, then does he exult and rejoice at the thought : " A refuge have I found at last ! " And he strives with might and main along that path, searches it out, accustoms himself thoroughly to it, to that end does he make firm his self-possession, to that end does he hold fast in effort, to that end does he remain steadfast in love (toward all beings in all the worlds), and still to that does he direct his mind again and again, until gone far beyond the transitory, he gains the Real, the highest fruit (of Arahatsip) ¹. And when he has gained that, O king, the man who has ordered his life aright has realised, (seen face to face,) Nirvâna ² !'

'Very good, Nâgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the problem as to the time
of Nirvâna ³.]

¹ Appavattam okkamati, Apravṛttiya yayi kiyana lada Arhat-phalaya/a pœminenneya, says Hīnaś-kumburē.

² This paragraph is an excellent example of the difficulty of doing anything like justice in translations to the most instructive and valuable passages in our Buddhist texts. It is in the Pāli full of eloquence, and even in the Sinhalese, though there too much expanded, it is powerful and striking. To a Buddhist it must have been inspiring and touching to the last degree, carefully led up to, as it is, with masterly skill, by our author. But it is so full of terms untranslatable into English, and with difficulty even comprehensible to minds saturated with Western ideas, that every translation must be inadequate, and any attempt to reproduce the real beauty of its style must be a failure.

³ How almost impossible it is for a reader with pre-conceived delusions to grasp the plain sense of such passages may be seen from the strange note which the French translator has added at the end of this clear and eloquent description. He says, 'La conclusion de ce Jâtaka (sic !) paraît être que le dévot bouddhiste peut

[DILEMMA THE EIGHTY-SECOND.

THE PLACE OF NIRVÂNA.]

85. 'Venerable Nâgasena, does there exist the spot—either in the direction of the East, or of the South, or of the West, or of the North, either above, or below, or on the horizon—where Nirvâna is stored up¹ ?'

'There is no spot, O king,—either in the East, or the South, or in the West, or the North, either above, or below, or on the horizon—where Nirvâna is.'

'But if so, Nâgasena, then neither can Nirvâna exist, and those who realise it, their realisation is vain. And I will give you an explanation of this. Just, Sir, as there are on the earth fields in which crops can be grown, flowers from which perfumes come, bushes on which flowers can grow, trees on which fruits can ripen, mines from which gems can be dug, so that whosoever desires any of these things can go there and get it—just so, Nâgasena, if [327] Nirvâna exists one must expect there to be some place, where it is produced². But since there is not, therefore I declare that there can be no Nirvâna, and those who realise it, their realisation is vain.'

86. 'There is no spot, O king, where Nirvâna is

atteindre Nirvâna dans cette vie même. Il est fâcheux que l'auteur ne se soit pas expliqué plus catégoriquement sur cette question intéressante' (1).

¹ Sannihitam perhaps 'is situate.' Hīnaśi-kumburē has pihi-
siye, 'can be got.'

² Ikāhitabbo. See above, p. 269 of the Pāli.

situate, and yet Nirvâna is, and he who orders his life right will, by careful attention, realise Nirvâna. Just as fire exists, and yet there is no place where fire (by itself) is stored up. But if a man rubs two sticks together the fire comes;—just so, O king, Nirvâna exists, though there is no spot where it is stored up. And he who orders his life aright will, by careful attention, realise Nirvâna.

87. 'Or again, O king, just as there are the seven treasures of the king of kings—the treasure of the wheel, and the treasure of the elephant, and the treasure of the horse, and the treasure of the gem, and the treasure of the woman, and the treasure of the finance minister, and the treasure of the adviser. But there is no spot where these treasures are laid up. When a sovran conducts himself aright they appear to him of their own accord¹—just so, O king, Nirvâna exists, though there is no place where it is stored up. And he who orders his life aright will, by careful attention, realise Nirvâna.'

88. 'Venerable Nâgasena, let it be granted that there is no place where Nirvâna is stored up. But is there any place on which a man may stand and, ordering his life aright, realise Nirvâna?'

'Yes, O king, there is such a place.'

'Which then, Nâgasena, is that place?'

'Virtue, O king, is the place. For if grounded in virtue, and careful in attention—whether in the land of the Scythians² or the Greeks, whether in China or

¹ This is stated in regard to each of the seven in the standard passage on these seven treasures, translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 251-259.

² Sakâ. Hînaî-kumburê has sadly blundered over this, to him, strange word. He actually translates it 'one's own.'

Tartary¹, whether in Alexandria² or in Nikumba, whether in Benares or in Kosala, whether in Kashmîr or in Gandhâra³, whether on a mountain top⁴ or in the highest heavens⁵—wheresoever he may be, the man who orders his life aright will realise Nirvâna. [328] Just, O king, as the man who has eyes wherever he may be—in the land of the Scythians or the Greeks, in China or in Tartary, in Alexandria, Nikumba, Benares, or Kosala, in Kashmîr or in Gandhâra, on a mountain top or in the highest heavens—will be able to behold the expanse of heaven and to see the horizon facing him—just so, O king, will he who orders his conduct aright and is careful in attention—whether in the land of the Scythians or the Greeks, whether in China or Tartary, whether in Alexandria, or Benares, or Kosala, or Nikumba, whether in Kashmîr or in Gandhâra, whether on a mountain top or in the highest heavens—wheresoever he may be, attain to the realisation of Nirvâna.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! You have preached to me of Nirvâna, and of the realisation thereof, you have set forth the advantages of virtue, you have explained the supreme attainment, you have raised aloft the standard of the Truth, you have established the eye of Truth, you have shown how right means adopted by those of high aims will be neither

¹ Vilâta, the Simhalese has Milâta.

² That is Alexandria on the Indus. See the Introduction to the first part, p. xxiii.

³ All these names are discussed, *ibid.* pp. xliii, xlv.

⁴ Naga-muddham. Hînaśi-kumburê understands this as the top of Mount Meru, Sakka's heaven.

⁵ Brahma-loke.

barren nor unfruitful. That is so, and I accept it as you say¹.

[Here ends the problem of the place of Nirvâna.]

[Here ends the Eighth Chapter ².]

¹ In the *Simhalese*, pp. 472, 473, this last paragraph is much expanded.

² The *Simhalese* has *Sakala-gana-mano-nandanîyawû me Sñi-saddharmâdâsayehi a/aweni wargaya nimiyeya*.

BOOK V.

THE PROBLEM OF INFERENCE.

[329] 1. Now Milinda the king went up to the place where Nâgasena was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when so seated he, longing to know, to hear, and to remember, and longing to make the light of knowledge arise and to break in pieces his ignorance, roused up in himself courage and zeal, and, full of self-possession and thoughtfulness, spake thus to Nâgasena :

2. 'Venerable Nâgasena, tell me, have you ever seen the Buddha¹ ?'

'No, O king.'

'Then have your teachers ever seen the Buddha?'

'No, Sire.'

'So you say, venerable Nâgasena, that you have never seen the Buddha, and that your teachers have never seen the Buddha. Therefore, Nâgasena, the Buddha did not exist. There is no clear evidence, in that case, of a Buddha.'

'But did those Kshatriyas of old exist, who were the founders of the line of kings from which you come?'

'Certainly, Sir. How can there be any doubt about that?'

'Well, O king. Have you ever seen them?'

'No, Sir.'

¹ A similar question has been already asked above, III, 5, 1 (I, 109).

‘And those who instructed you—the family chaplains, and officers of the staff, and those who lay down the law, and ministers of state—have they ever seen those Kshatriyas of old?’

‘No, Sir.’

‘If then neither have you seen them, nor your teachers, where are they? There is no clear evidence, in that case, of those Kshatriyas of old!’

3. ‘But, Nāgasena, the royal insignia they used are still to be seen—[330] the white sunshade of state, and the crown, and the slippers, and the fan with the yak’s tail, and the sword of state, and the priceless throne—and by these can we know and believe that the Kshatriyas of old lived once.’

‘Just so, O king, can we know that Blessed One and believe in him. For there is a reason for our knowledge and belief that the Blessed One was. And what is that reason?—The royal insignia used by that Blessed One, by him of knowledge and insight, the Arahats, the Buddha Supreme, are still to be seen—the four Means of keeping oneself ready and mindful, and the fourfold Great Struggle, and the four steps to Iddhi, and the five Organs of the moral sense, and the five moral Powers, and the seven forms of the wisdom of the Arahats, and the Noble Eightfold Path¹—and by these can the whole

¹ These are the famous thirty-five constituent qualities that make up Arahatsip (that is, that state of mind which, from another point of view and by another of its numerous names, is also called Nirvâṇa). They formed the subject of the last discourse delivered by Gotama before his death to his disciples (‘Book of the Great Decease,’ III, 61), and on my translation of that passage (‘Buddhist Suttas,’ pp. 60–63) I have added a note giving all the details.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that both here and twice else-

world of gods and men know and believe that that Blessed One existed once. By this reason, on this ground, by this argument, through this inference, can it be known that the Blessed One lived.

“He who, himself set free in that bless'd state
In which the Upadhis have ceased to be,
—Lusts, sin, and Karma,—has brought safe ashore,
Saved from the sea of woe, great multitudes—
Only by inference can it be known
That he, the best of men, existed once¹.”

4. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, give me an illustration.’
‘Just, O king, as the architect of a city², when he wants to build one, would first search out a pleasant spot of ground, with which no fault can be found, even, with no hills or gullies in it, free from rough ground and rocks, not open to the danger of attack. And then, when he has made plain any rough places there may still be on it, he would clear it thoroughly of all stumps and stakes, and would proceed to build there a city fine and regular, measured out into suitable quarters³, with trenches and ramparts thrown up around it⁴, with strong gateways, watch-towers, and battlements, with wide squares and open places and junctions (where two roads meet) and cross-ways (where four

where, at pp. 37, 335 (of the Pâli), our author reverses the order of Nos. 4 and 5—the five moral Powers and the five Organs (of the higher sense)—which are really only the same mental qualities looked at from two different points of view.

¹ These verses have not been traced as yet in the *Piṭakas*.

² There is another parable of the architect above, p. 34 of the Pâli (I, 53 of the translation).

³ *Bhâgaso mitam*, an expression constantly recurring.

⁴ *Ukkizna*. See *Gâtaka* IV, 106.

roads meet)¹, with cleanly and even high roads², with regular lines of open shops (bazaars), well provided with parks, and gardens, and lakes, and lotus-ponds, and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples to the gods, free from every fault. And then when the city stood there in all its glory, he would go away to some other land. And in course of time that city might become mighty and prosperous, filled with stores of food, [331] peaceful, glorious, happy, free from distress and calamity, the meeting-place of all sorts and conditions of men. Then nobles and brahmans, merchants and work-people; soldiers mounted on elephants, and on horses, and on chariots; infantry, and bowmen, and swordsmen; standard-bearers, officers, and camp-followers³; high-born warriors whose delight is in war, fighting champions, men mighty as elephants, heroes, men who fight in buckskin⁴, devoted fighting-men born of slaves in great houses or of the private in the royal army⁵; troops of professional wrestlers⁶;

¹ According to the dictionaries each of those four words (*kaṭṭhara*, *katukka*, *sandhi*, and *singhātaka*) means either a square, or a place where four roads meet. The *Siṃhalese* has *āpana-katushka-sandhi ceti*, omitting the last and certainly inexact in its rendering of the first word. *Sandhi* I have only met with here in this sense.

² *Rāga-maggam*; literally 'the king's highways,' which also only occurs here.

³ For *pinda-dāvikā Hīnaśi-kumburē* (who at p. 475 gives the *Pāli* of all this) reads *pinda-dayakā*.

⁴ *Vammino yodhino*. But both *Hīnaśi-kumburē* here, and the parallel passage in the *Samañña Phala Sutta* (D. II, 14), read *Kamma-yodhino*.

⁵ For *Bhaṭṭi-putta Hīnaśi-kumburē* reads *Bhaṭṭa-puttā*.

⁶ These two (*Bhaṭṭi-puttā* and *Malla-gaṇā*) are omitted in the *Dīgha*.

cooks and curry makers, barbers and bathing attendants, smiths and florists, workers in gold and silver and lead and tin and copper and brass¹ and iron, and jewellers; messengers; potters, salt gatherers², tanners, carriage builders, carvers in ivory³, rope makers, comb makers, cotton-thread spinners, basket makers, bow manufacturers, bow-string makers, arrow fletchers, painters, dye manufacturers, dyers, weavers, tailors, assayers of gold⁴, cloth merchants⁵, dealers in perfumes, grass cutters, hewers of wood, hired servants⁶, people who live by gathering flowers and fruits and roots in the woods, hawkers of boiled rice, sellers of cakes, fishmongers, butchers, dealers in strong drinks, play actors, dancers, acrobats⁷, conjurors, professional bards⁸, wrestlers

¹ *Vaṭṭakârâ*. See the note above on IV, 7, 11 (p. 267 of the Pâli).

² *Loṇakârâ*, 'salt makers.' But *Hīnaśi-kumburê* reads *loha-kârâ* and translates *lokuruwo*, 'workers in metal'

³ *Dantakârâ*, which in the *Siṃhalese* is simply repeated. There is no such word in Clough.

⁴ *Heraññikâ*. Childers says 'royal treasurer,' and *Hīnaśi-kumburê* 'coiners of silver *māsakas*' (*raṇ masu tanannoya*), but *Subhūti* (in his *Siṃhalese* gloss on *Abhidhāna Padīpikā*, verse 343) renders it 'judgers of gold' (*raṇ balannā*); and that this is right is shown by the context in the passage of the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* (p. 315), where the probably identical word *heraññaka* is used.

⁵ *Dussika*. *Hīnaśi-kumburê* renders this word here by *pili welendo*, 'cloth-sellers,' but above (p. 262 of the Pâli) by *sāyam kârako*, 'dice manufacturers.'

⁶ It is instructive that men working for hire are put here among the lowest sort of work-people, while the slave born in the house stands in the best company.

⁷ *Laṅghakâ*. *Pinuṃ kârāyo*, 'turners of summersets' in the *Siṃhalese*. See *Gâtaka* I, 431, and above, pp. 31, 191 of the Pâli.

⁸ *Vetâlikâ*. *Vetâliyehi maṅgalâśh/aka kiyannâwū* in

(boxers), corpse burners, casters out of rotten flowers¹, savages², wild men of the woods³, prostitutes, swingers and jumpers⁴, and the slave girls of bullies—people of many countries, people from Scythia, Bactria, China, and Vilâta; people of Uggēni, of Bhâruka~~kk~~ha, of Benares, of Kosala, and of the border lands; people from Magadha, and Sâketa, and Suratt~~h~~a, and the West; from Kotumbara and Madhura, from Alexandria, Kashmîr, and Gandhâra⁵,—all these coming to take up their residence there, and finding the new city to be regular, faultless, perfect, and pleasant, would know: “Able indeed must that architect have been by whom this city was built!”

5. ‘Just so, O king, that Blessed One, peerless, unequalled, unapproached, incomparable, admirable beyond all measure by weight or calculation, of infinite virtue, full of virtue and perfection, boundless in wisdom and glory and zeal and power, who, when he had attained to the summit of all the perfections

the *Simhalese* (Wandi-bha~~tt~~ayo according to Subhûti on Abhidhâna Padîpikâ 369).

¹ Pupp~~h~~akk~~h~~adakkâ. A well-known low caste whose duty it was to remove flowers offered on the shrines of the gods after they had faded. At Thera Gâthâ, verse 620, this is called one of the meanest of occupations.

² Venâ. Hîna~~si~~-kumburê has ‘lute makers,’ but this must be wrong.

³ The *Simhalese* says simply Weddahs (Wœddas), the well-known interesting wild men of Ceylon.

⁴ Lâsikâ, ‘those,’ says the *Simhalese*, ‘who as if intoxicated with joy jump about and leap and dance.’ But I think it is connected with the ancient usages to which the lascivious swinging of the Saivites and Vallabhâkâryas owes its origin.

⁵ On all these names see the Introduction to part I, pp. xliii, xlv. Aparântaka and Pâtheyyaka might there have been added, as well as puratthimo ganapado (from p. 42).

of the Buddhas, [332] overthrew Mâra and all his hosts,—he, bursting asunder the net of heresy, and casting aside ignorance, and causing wisdom to arise, and bearing aloft the torch of Truth, reached forward to Buddhahood itself, and so, unconquered and unconquerable in the fight, built this city of Righteousness. And the Blessed One's City of Righteousness, O king, has righteousness for its rampart, and fear of sin for its moat, and knowledge for the battlement over its city gate, and zeal for the watch-tower above that, and faith for the pillars at its base, and mindfulness for the watchman at the gate, and wisdom for the terrace above, and the Suttantas for its market-place, and the Abhidhamma for its cross-ways, and the Vinaya (the Canon Law) for its judgment hall, and constant self-possession for its chief street. And in that street, O king, these bazaars are open—a flower bazaar, and a fruit bazaar, and an antidote bazaar, and a medicine bazaar, and an ambrosia bazaar, and a bazaar for precious stones, and a bazaar for all manner of merchandise.'

6. 'But what, venerable Nâgasena, is the flower bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'There are certain subjects for meditation, O king, that have been made known by the Blessed One, by him of knowledge and insight, by the Arahât, the Buddha Supreme. And they are these. The idea of the impermanence (of every thing and of every being), the idea of the absence of any abiding principle (any soul in any thing or any being), the idea of the impurity and the idea of the danger connected with the body, the idea of getting rid of evil dispositions, the idea of freedom from passion, the idea of peace, the idea of dissatisfaction with the

things of the world, the idea of the transitory nature of all conditions, the idea of ecstatic trance, the ideas of a corpse in the various stages of decay, the ideas of a place of execution in all its various horrors, the idea of love to all beings, the idea of pity for all beings, the idea of sympathy with all beings, the idea of equanimity in all the changing circumstances of life, the idea of death, and the idea of the body¹. These, O king, are the subjects for meditation prescribed by the Blessed One. And of these, whoever, longing to be delivered from old age and death, takes any one as the subject of his meditation, by that meditation does he become set free from passion, set free from malice, set free from dullness, set free from pride, set free from wrong views, by that does he cross the ocean of *Samsâra*, and stem the torrent of cravings, and cleanse himself of the threefold stain², and destroy within himself all evil; and so, entering that glorious city, spotless and stainless, pure and white, [333] ageless and deathless, where all is security and calm and bliss—the city of *Nirvâna*—he emancipates his mind in *Arahatship*! And this, O king, is what is called “The Blessed One’s bazaar of flowers.”

“Take with you Karma as the price,
And go ye up to that bazaar,
Buy there an object for your thought,
Emancipate yourselves. Be free³!”

¹ *Hīnaśī-kumburē* devotes a paragraph to each of these subjects for meditation.

² Of *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha*.

³ This stanza has not yet been found in the *Piṭakas*. In the first line it does not seem quite clear at first sight why Karma, of all things, should be the price. That Indian word being too

7. 'And what, venerable Nāgasena, is the perfume bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'There are certain categories of virtue, O king, that have been made known by the Blessed One, and anointed by the perfume of that righteousness the children of the Blessed One fill with the fumes of the fragrant incense of the perfume of goodness the whole world of gods and men, in every direction, and to windward and to leeward, continuing to pervade it again and yet again. And which are those categories? The virtue of taking refuge¹,

full of meaning to be translateable, is necessarily retained, and hence the phrase 'taking Karma as the price' may convey no meaning at all. If so, in trying to escape Scylla the unhappy translator has fallen into Charybdis. But it must mean one of two things, either something to be abandoned, given up; or something good which the buyer possesses, and may exchange for the good he wants to buy. If our author means the first it must be Karma (as one of the Upadhis), as a basis for continued individuality, and be much the same as egoism. If he means the other, then Karma, though standing alone, must be here used in the sense of kusala-kamma, good Karma, that is, the effect of good deeds done in a former life. Now our author never elsewhere uses kamma, without any qualifying adjective, in the sense of good Karma. On pp. 7, 20, 67, 108 foll., 134, 151, 189, 302 of the Pāli the unqualified word means throughout bad Karma, the effect of bad deeds done in a former birth. In a few passages it is used of former deeds in a way that apparently includes both good and bad. See especially pp. 3, 10, 146, 268. Now a buyer, in the case put, could not give up either the bad or the good deeds he had already done in a former life—that would be beyond his power. He could only offer, in exchange for the good he wanted to buy, good Karma (that is, in the sense of good deeds) either in the present, or in the immediate future. Below, V, 21 (p. 341 of the Pāli), will be found instances given by our author himself. It is forced, no doubt, to call this 'a price,' but it is probably the sense intended, and so Hīnaś-kumburē takes it.

¹ Taking the threefold refuge in the Buddha, the Doctrine (Dharma), and the Order.

the virtue that is fivefold and eightfold and tenfold¹, and the virtue of self-restraint tabulated in the five recitations that compose the Pâtimokkha². And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of perfumes." For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

"No flower's scent can go against the wind,
Not sandal wood's, nor musk's, nor jasmine
flower's :

But the sweet perfume of the good doth go
Against the wind, and the good man pervades,
On every side, the sweetness of his life³."

"Red sandal wood, musk, and the lotus, and
jasmine—

The perfume of goodness surpasseth them all.
Abundant the sweet scent of musk and of sandal
wood—

Still stronger, the scent of the good mounts to
heaven⁴!"

8. 'And what, venerable Nâgasena, is the fruit bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?'

'Certain fruits have been made known, O king, by the Blessed One. And they are these:—The fruit of the first stage of the Excellent Way (con-

¹ These are respectively the first five, the first eight, and the whole ten, of the Precepts set out in my 'Buddhism,' p. 160.

² The whole of this text is translated in vol. xiii of the 'Sacred Books of the East.' The sîlas here enumerated are only the lower morality. The higher ethics come below in § 12.

³ From *Ânguttara Nikâya* III, 79. The verse is quoted in the *Dhammapada*, verse 54, and also in the *Gâtaka* Book, III, 291.

⁴ It is not known where these lines originally stood. But they are quoted in the *Dhammapada*, verses 55, 56, and also in the *Gâtaka* Book loc. cit., and in the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, p. 56.

version), and of the second stage, and of the third stage, and of the fourth (Arahatship)¹,—the fruit of the attainment of emptiness²,—the fruit of the attainment of the absence of the three signs (of an unconverted life, lust, malice, and dullness)—and the truth of the attainment of that state in which no low aspirations survive. [334] And whosoever desires any one of these, he gives his Karma as the price, and buys the fruit he longs for—either conversion or any other.

9. 'Just, O king, as any man who has a mango-tree bearing fruit all the year round, he does not knock down the fruits until buyers come. But when a buyer has come, and the fruit-grower has taken the price, then he says: "Come, my good man, this tree is always in bearing (it has therefore fruits in all stages of growth), take from it the kind of fruit you prefer, whether unripe, or decayed³, or hairy⁴, or sour, or ripe⁵." And the buyer, for the price paid, takes the kind he likes the best—if that be unripe fruit then he takes that, if it be decayed fruit then that, if it be hairy fruit then that, if it be sour fruit then that, if it be ripe fruit then he takes a ripe one. Just so, O king, whosoever desires any one of those other fruits, he gives his Karma as the price, and buys the fruit he longs for—

¹ The details of these 'fruits' will be found in 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-110.

² As to in respect of what, see the note above on IV, 8, 69 (p. 219 of the Pāli).

³ *Dovilaṃ*, *nilāta* says the *Simhalese*, p. 484.

⁴ *Kesika*. *Hīnaśi-kumburē* merely repeats this word.

⁵ The mango is used in all stages—when ripe for eating, and for pickles, curries, &c., in other stages.

either conversion or any other. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of fruits."

"Men give their Karma as the price,
And buy the fruit ambrosia ;
And happiness is theirs, and peace,
Who've bought the fruit ambrosia ¹."

10. 'And what, venerable Nâgasena, is the antidote bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha ?'

'Certain drugs, O king, have been made known by the Blessed One ; drugs by which the Blessed One delivers the whole world of gods and men from the poison of evil dispositions. And what are these drugs ? The four Noble Truths made known by the Blessed One, that is to say, the truth as to sorrow, and the truth as to the origin of sorrow, and the truth as to the cessation of sorrow, and the truth as to that path which leads to the cessation of sorrow ². And whosoever, longing for the highest insight (the insight of Arahatsip) ³, hear this doctrine of the four truths, they are set quite free from rebirth, [335] they are set quite free from old age, they are set quite free from death, they are set quite free from grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of antidotes."

¹ These lines have not been traced as yet in the *Piṭakas*, and are probably not meant as a quotation. 'Ambrosia' is of course the ambrosia of Arahatsip.

² For the full text of these 'Truths' see 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 148-150.

³ *Aññā*. The *Simhalese*, p. 486, has *awabodhaya*. The word is rare, but it occurs at *Gâtaka* I, 140; II, 333; and at *Dhammapada*, verses 57, 96, always in this sense.

“Of all the drugs, in all the world,
The antidotes of poison dire,
Not one equals that Doctrine sweet.
Drink that, O brethren. Drink and live!¹”

11. ‘And what, venerable Nâgasena, is the medicine bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?’

‘Certain medicines, O king, have been made known by the Blessed One, medicines by which he cures the whole world of gods and men. And they are these:—“The four Means of keeping oneself ready and mindful, and the fourfold Great Struggle, and the four Steps to Iddhi, and the five Organs of the moral sense, and the five moral Powers, and the seven Forms of the Wisdom of the Arahats, and the Noble Eightfold Path².” By these medicines the Blessed One purges men of wrong views, purges them of low aspirations, purges them of evil speaking, purges them of evil deeds, purges them of evil modes of livelihood, purges them of wrong endeavours, purges them of evil thoughts, purges them of erroneous meditation; and he gives emetics to the vomiting up of lusts, and of malice, and of dullness, and of doubt, and of self-righteousness, and of sloth of body and inertness of mind, and of shamelessness and hardness of heart, and of all evil. And this, O king, is what is called “The Blessed One’s bazaar of medicine.”

“Of all the medicines found in all the world,
Many in number, various in their powers,
Not one equals this medicine of the Truth.
Drink that, O brethren. Drink, and drinking, live!

¹ Not traced as yet.

² See the note above on V, 3 (p. 330 of the Pâli).

For having drunk that medicine of the Truth,
 Ye shall have past beyond old age and death,
 And—evil, lusts, and Karma rooted out—
 Thoughtful and seeing, ye shall be at rest¹!”

12. ‘And what, venerable Nâgasena, is the ambrosia bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha?’

‘An ambrosia, O king, has been made known by the Blessed One, that ambrosia with which he besprinkles the whole world of gods and men—as men anoint a king on his coronation day—[336] and men and gods, when sprinkled with that ambrosia, are set free from rebirths, old age, disease, and death, from grief, and lamentation, and pain, and sorrow, and despair. And what is that ambrosia? That meditation which consists in active attention to, and leads to a true grasp of, the real conditions of corporeal things². For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

“They, O brethren, feed on ambrosia who feed on active attention directed to corporeal things³.” This, O king, is what is called “The Blessed One’s ambrosia bazaar.”

¹ Nibbutâ, with allusion to the freedom and calm of Nirvâna. The verses have not been traced as yet in the Piṭakas.

² Kâya-gatâ-sati-bhavanâ, where each term really requires a long commentary.

³ It will be noticed that Nâgasena is here really going an inch beyond his text. In that text (which has not been traced) amata, ambrosia, means no doubt as elsewhere, the ambrosia of Nirvâna. And the text does not say that the active attention and the ambrosia are the same, but only that they who feed on the one feed also on the other. Even if we translate ‘are feeding’ instead of ‘feed’ (which is grammatically possible) a similar argument would hold good. But though it is impossible to say for certain, without knowing the context of the passage, the rendering above is more in accord with Pâli usage, and more likely therefore to be right.

“ He saw mankind afflicted with disease,
 He opened freely his ambrosia shop ;
 Go, then, O brethren, give your Karma for it,
 And buy, and feed on, that ambrosial food¹.”

13. ‘ And what, venerable Nāgasena, is the jewel bazaar of the Blessed One, the Buddha ? ’

‘ Certain jewels, O king, have been made known by the Blessed One, and adorned with those jewels the children of the Blessed One shine forth in splendour, illuminating the whole world of gods and men, brightening it in its heights, in its depths, from horizon to horizon, with a brilliant glory. And those jewels are these—the jewel of right conduct, and the jewel of meditation, and the jewel of knowledge, and the jewel of emancipation, and the jewel of the insight which arises from the assurance of emancipation, and the jewel of discrimination, and the jewel of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats².

14. ‘ And what, O king, is the Blessed One’s jewel of right conduct³? The right conduct which follows on self-restraint according to the rules of the Pātimokkha, the right conduct which follows on

¹ Not traced as yet. All these stanzas seem to belong together, and will doubtless be found in the same Sutta or poem.

² These seven jewels (or treasures, *ratanāni*) of the Buddha are intended of course to correspond to the seven treasures (also *ratanāni*) of the king of kings (the *akkavatti*). They are different from the seven ‘Treasures of the Noble Ones’ (*Ariya-dhanāni*) which are ethical qualities, whereas these jewels are means to the attainment of Arahatsip.

³ *Sīla*, a most difficult word to translate, as it includes so much that in English would be expressed by the varying phrases: goodness, virtue, righteousness, uprightness, morality, &c.

restraint of the bodily organs and the mind¹, the right conduct which results from a pure means of livelihood, the right conduct in relation to the four requisites of a recluse², the right conduct presented in the Short, and Middle, and Long Summonses³, the right conduct of those who are walking in the Path, and the right conduct of those who have attained each of the various fruits thereof (beginning at conversion and ending at Arahatsip)⁴. And all the beings in the world, O king, gods⁵ and men, and the Māras too (the spirits of evil), and the Brahmas (the very highest of the gods), and Samanas and Brahmans are filled with longing and desire for a man who wears, as his ornament, this jewel of right conduct. And the Bhikkhu, O king, who puts it on shines forth in glory all around, upwards and downwards, and from side to side, surpassing in lustre all the jewels to be found from the Waveless Deep⁶ below to the highest heavens above, excelling them all, overwhelming them all. Such, O king, are the jewels of right conduct set out for sale in the Blessed One's bazaar of gems. And this is what is called "The Blessed One's jewel of righteousness."

¹ Indriya; no doubt here the six organs, that is the usual five, and bhavaṅgo or mano as the sixth.

² Clothing, food, lodging, and medicine for the sick.

³ Translated in 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 189-200.

⁴ What we have here are the two higher stages of the three into which Buddhist ethics naturally falls. The morality of laymen has been included above, V, 7, where it already passes over into that of the ordinary, unconverted member of the Order. Here we begin with that, starting with the last item of the previous list, and go on, through the sīlas, to the highest ethics of Arahatsip.

⁵ The devas, those gods dwelling in Sakka's heaven, and, I think, the devatās also (fairies, nyads, dryads, &c.).

⁶ Avīṭi, the lowest of the purgatories.

“Such are the virtues sold in that bazaar,
 The shop of the Enlightened One, the Blest;
 Pay Karma as the price, O ye ill-clad!
 Buy, and put on, these lustrous Buddha-gems!”

[337] 15. ‘And what, O king, is the Blessed One’s jewel of meditation? The meditation that consists of specific conceptions, and of investigation regarding them¹;—the meditation that consists of reflection only, specific conceptions being lost sight of²;—the meditation that continues after specific conceptions and reflection on them have both ceased³;—the meditation that is void (of lusts, evil dispositions, and Karma);—the meditation from which three signs (of an unconverted life—lust, malice, and dullness) are absent;—the meditation in which no low aspirations remain⁴. And when a Bhikkhu, O king, has put on this jewel of meditation (Samâdhi), then ideas of lust, and ideas of anger, and ideas of cruelty, and all the various bad thoughts that have their basis in the evil dispositions of pride, self-righteousness, adhesion to wrong views, and doubt—all these, since they come into contact with meditation, flow off from him, disperse, and are dispelled, they stay not with him, adhere not to him. Just, O king, as when water has fallen on a lotus leaf it flows off from it, is dispersed and scattered

¹ I think the first *Ghâna* (see ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 272) is meant.

² Apparently the passage over from the first to the second *Ghâna*.

³ But insight, and the resulting bliss, remain. Compare above, II, 2, 3 (I, 67).

⁴ Compare above, V, 8, on the last three.

away, stays not on it, adheres not to it¹—so when a Bhikkhu has put on this jewel of meditation, then ideas of lust, and ideas of anger, and ideas of cruelty, and all the various bad thoughts that have their basis in the evil dispositions of pride, self-righteousness, obstinacy in wrong views, and doubt—these all, as soon as they come in contact with meditation, flow off, disperse, and are dispelled, stay not with him, adhere not to him. And why not? Because of the exceeding purity of the habit of meditation. This, O king, is what is called “The Blessed One’s jewel of meditation,” and such are the jewels of meditation set out for sale in the Blessed One’s bazaar of gems.

“Bad thoughts can ne’er arise beneath the brow
Encircled by this coronet of gems.
It charms away perplexed and wandering thought.
Make it your own, buy it, put on the crown!”

16. ‘And what, O king, is the Blessed One’s jewel of knowledge? That knowledge by which the disciple of the noble ones knows thoroughly what is virtue, and what is not; what is blameworthy, and what is not; what should be made a habit of, and what should not; what is mean, and what is exalted; [338] what is dark, and what is light, and what is both dark and light;—the knowledge by which he truly knows what sorrow is, and what the origin of sorrow is, and what the cessation of sorrow is, and what is the path that leads thereto. This, O king, is what is called “The Blessed One’s jewel of knowledge.”

¹ See the note upon IV, 8, 65.

“ He who has knowledge as his jewelled wreath,
Will not continue long in outward form ¹.
Soon will he reach Nirvâṇa, in rebirth
In any world ² no longer take delight ! ”

17. ‘ And what, O king, is the Blessed One’s jewel of emancipation ? Arahatship is called the jewel of emancipation, and the Bhikkhu who has reached Arahatship is said to have decked himself with the jewel of emancipation. And just as a man, O king, who is decorated with ornaments made of strings of pearls, of diamonds and gold and corals ; whose limbs are anointed with akalu ³, and with frankincense ⁴, and with Talis ⁵, and with red sandal wood ; who is adorned with a garland of Ironwood blossoms, and Rottleria flowers, and flowers from the Sal tree, and the Sala/a ⁶, and the champak, and yellow jasmynes ⁷, and Atimuttaka flowers ⁸, and

¹ Bhavo here equal to pañka skandha, according to Hīna/i-kumburê, p. 491.

² Bhava, here tri-widha-bhawa in the Sinhalese.

³ Akalu ; only found here. The Sinhalese has agaru kalu, and agaru according to Clough is Dalbergia.

⁴ Tagara. Agil tuwaralâ, ‘ logwood frankincense.’

⁵ Tâlîsaka. Clough says the Talis tree is Flacourtia cataphracta.

⁶ Not in the Pâli dictionaries. But it is mentioned in Buddhavaṃsa II, 51 (there spelt sa/aala). This verse is quoted at Gâtaka I, 13, verse 51, and the word is there spelt sala/a. The Sinhalese has salala, and the Sanskrit lexicons have sarala. Clough identifies it, no doubt wrongly, with the last, the Anglo-Indian Hal tree, which the botanists call the Shorea robusta.

⁷ Yûthikâ ; sînidâ, says Hīna/i-kumburê, p. 492, and Clough thinks this is oleander. But Böhrling-Roth say a sort of jasmine, Jasminum auriculatum.

⁸ Yohombu in the Sinhalese. Clough says this is a creeper called Borago Zeylanica. But does that grow in the North-West of India ? According to Böhrling-Roth, Atimuttaka is the

trumpet flowers, and lotuses, and white and Arabian jasmines¹—just as, with all this finery of garlands and perfumes and jewelry, he would outshine all other men, overwhelming them with brilliant glory and splendour—just so, O king, does he who has attained to Arahatsip, he in whom the Great Evils (lusts, and becoming, delusion, and ignorance) are rooted out, he who has put on the diadem of emancipation of heart, just so does he outshine all other Bhikkhus from the lowest in attainment up to those even who are themselves emancipated², overwhelming them in brilliant glory and splendour. And why is that so? Because, O king, there is one diadem that is the chief of all, and that is this diadem of emancipation of heart! And this, O king, is what is called “The Blessed One’s jewel of emancipation.”

“All the people that dwell in a house look up
To their Lord when he wears his crown of gems—
The wide world of the gods and of men looks up
To the wearer of Freedom’s diadem!”

18. ‘And what, O king, is the Blessed One’s jewel of the insight that follows on the assurance of emancipation? The knowledge arising out of looking back over the course³—that knowledge by

name of three plants, one of which is the *Gaertnera Racemosa*, much cultivated for the beauty and perfume of its flowers.

¹ The last four are the *Pâtali*, *Uppala*, *Vassika*, and *Mallikâ*, all of which are well known. Our author’s flora and fauna are so numerous that one ought, if one had the necessary knowledge, to be able to draw conclusions as to his own ‘habitat.’

² On the use of *upâdây’* *upâdâya* see above, p. 182, and below, p. 341 of the Pâli.

³ *Pakkavekkhana-ñânam*. That is, in looking back over the

which the disciple who is walking along the Excellent Way passes, from time to time, both the Way itself and the Fruits thereof up to Nirvâna in review, and is aware what evil dispositions he has got rid of, and what evil dispositions remain to be conquered—that is what [339] is called “The jewel of the assurance that follows on the knowledge of emancipation.”

“The knowledge by which the Noble Ones know
The stages they’ve passed, and the road yet
untrod;—

Strive, O ye sons of the Conqueror, strive
That jewel—‘Assurance’—yourselves to obtain!”

19. ‘And what, O king, is the Blessed One’s jewel of discrimination? The discrimination of the sense of, and the discrimination of the deeper truths underlying the sense of the sacred writ, and the discrimination of philological peculiarities, and the discrimination of correct and ready exposition¹. And the Bhikkhu, O king, who is adorned with these four jewels of discrimination, whatsoever company he enters into, whether of nobles, or brahmans, or merchants, or workpeople, enters it in confidence, neither put out nor shy; undaunted and undismayed, he enters the assembly without excitement or fear. Just, O king, as a warrior, a hero in the fight, when accoutred in all his harness

course he has followed along the Excellent Way, he becomes conscious of having got beyond each of the obstacles (the *Sam-yoganas*) that can beset him. It is the doctrine of ‘final assurance’ from the Buddhist point of view. Compare *ñânadassana* at *Digha* II, 83.

¹ *Paṭisambhidā*. *Hīnaṣi-kumburê* merely repeats the ambiguous technical terms of the Pāli. Childers, *sub voce*, gives the various interpretations of other authorities. Compare above, I, 29, 34, 36. The third and fourth seem to me to be doubtful.

of war¹, goes down undismayed to the battle, in the confident thought: "If the enemy should remain afar off I can knock them down with my arrows, should they come thence towards me I can hit them with my javelins, should they come yet nearer I can reach them with my spear, should they come right up I can cleave them in two with my sabre², should they come to close quarters I can pierce them through and through with my dagger³"—just so, O king, does the Bhikkhu, when he wears the fourfold jewel of discernment, enter any assembly undismayed, in the confident thought: "Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of the sense, I shall be able to explain it, comparing sense with sense, explanation with explanation, reason with reason, argument with argument⁴,—and thus shall I resolve his doubts,

¹ *Paññāvudho*; literally 'with the five weapons on.' The expression is not infrequent; compare *paññāvudha-sannaddha*, used of a hunter, at *Gātaka* III, 467; IV, 283, 437; and *sannaddha-paññāvudhā*, used of sailors fighting, at *Gātaka* IV, 160. But it is quite possible that weapons different from those here described are there meant, as they are not suited, for instance, to the hunter.

² *Hīnañ-kumburē* translates this weapon (*maṇḍalagga*) simply by *kaḍuwa*, sword; but 'bent blade' must mean a sabre.

³ *Kṣurikā*. Childers has only 'knife.' The *Simhalese*, p. 493, has *kirisaya*, which is not in Clough, but is doubtless the Malay *kreese*. These five weapons are not mentioned elsewhere, and as three of the five words are rare, are probably those in special use in the country where our author lived. In this respect it is noteworthy that the Sanskrit *kṣurikā* is only mentioned, according to Böhtlingk-Roth, in the *Rāga Taraṅginī* of Kāśmīr, and in the title of a late Upanishad. We shall therefore scarcely go far wrong if we understand by our author's *kṣurikā* the famous Afghan knife.

⁴ *Arthayen arthaya gaḥapā*, &c., says the *Simhalese*. He

dispel his perplexity, and delight him by my exposition of the problem raised. Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on discrimination of the deeper truths, I shall be able to explain it by comparing truth with truth, and the various aspects and phases of Arahatsip each with each¹, [340]—and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity, to delight him with my exposition of the problem raised. Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of philological peculiarities, I shall be able to explain it by comparing derivation with derivation², and word with word, and particle with particle, and letter with letter, and one modification of a letter by contact (sandhi) with another, and consonant with consonant, and vowel with vowel, and accent (intonation) with accent, and quantity with quantity, and rule with rule, and idiom with idiom;—and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity, to delight him with my exposition of the problem raised. Should any one put to me a puzzle turning on the discrimination of expositions, I shall be able to explain it by comparing metaphor with metaphor, and characteristic with characteristic³, and sentiment with sentiment—and thus his doubts too shall I be able to resolve, and, dispelling his perplexity, to delight him with my exposition of the

will reply by adducing parallel passages, much in the style of modern scholarship.

¹ He gives the principal ones, as set out in his previous arguments.

² Nirutti. Hīnaś-kumburê unfortunately simply repeats all these technical terms.

³ Lakkhaṇa. As for instance above, I, 51-62.

problem raised. And this, O king, is what is called
 “The Blessed One’s jewel of discrimination.”

“First buy the jewel of discrimination,

Then cut¹ it with your knowledge and your
 skill ;

So, free from all anxiety and fear,

Shall you illuminate both earth and heaven !”

20. ‘And what, O king, is the Blessed One’s
 jewel of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats? It
 is self-possession, and investigation of the system of
 doctrine, and zeal, and joy, and tranquillity, and
 contemplation, and equanimity². And the Bhikkhu,
 O king, who is adorned with this sevenfold jewel of
 the divisions of the higher wisdom³ shines forth
 over the whole world of gods and men, brightens
 it, illuminates it, and dispersing the darkness makes
 the light arise. This, O king, is what is called
 “The Blessed One’s jewel of the sevenfold wisdom.”

“The gods and men in reverence stand up

To him who wears this wisdom-diadem.

Show your good actions then,—that is the price,—

And buy, and wear, this wisdom-diadem !”’

[341] 21. ‘And what, venerable Nāgasena, is the
 bazaar for all manner of merchandise set up by the
 Blessed One, the Buddha?’

‘The Blessed One’s bazaar for all manner of

¹ Phaseyya ; literally ‘he who having bought paṭisambhidā
 shall touch it with his ñāṇa.’ The *Siṃhalese*, p. 494, has *sparsa-*
koṭa, which does not help us.

² The *Siṃhalese* again only repeats these seven technical terms,
 except the second *Dhamma-viñaya*, which it renders by *pragñā*.

³ Bodhi. Childers says, ‘the supreme knowledge of a Buddha.’
 But this is wrong, as is evident even from the context here. The
 whole exposition is of Arahatship, not Buddhahood.

merchandise, O king, is the ninefold word of the Buddha; and the relics remaining of his body, and of the things he used; and the sacred mounds (*Ketiyaṇi*, *Dāgabas*) erected over them¹; and the jewel of his Order. And in that bazaar there are set out by the Blessed One the attainment (in a future birth) of high lineage, and of wealth, and of long life, and of good health, and of beauty, and of wisdom, and of worldly glory, and of heavenly glory, and of *Nirvāṇa*. And of these all they who desire either the one or the other, give Karma as the price, and so buy whichever glory they desire. And some buy with it a vow of right conduct, and some by observance of the *Uposatha* day, and so on down to the smallest Karma-price they buy the various glories from the greatest to the least. Just, O king, as in a trader's shop, oil, seed, and peas and beans can be either taken in barter for a small quantity of rice or peas or beans, or bought for a small price decreasing in order according to requirement—just so, O king, in the Blessed One's bazaar for all manner of merchandise advantages are to be bought for Karma according to requirement. And this, O king, is what is called "The Blessed One's bazaar of all manner of merchandise."

"Long life, good health, beauty, rebirth in heaven,
High birth, *Nirvāṇa*—all are found for sale—
There to be bought for Karma, great or small—
In the great Conqueror's world-famed bazaar.
Come; show your faith, O brethren, as the price,
Buy and enjoy such goods as you prefer²!"

¹ *Hīnaṇi-kumburê*, characteristically enough for a Ceylon man, adds, 'and the Footprint and the Bo-tree.'

² The first line only of these verses is in the *Samyutta* III, 2, 7.

22. 'And the inhabitants that dwell in the Blessed One's City of Righteousness, O king, are such as these: Masters in the Suttantas, and masters in the Vinaya, and masters in the Abhidhamma; preachers of the faith; repeaters of the *Gâtakas*, and repeaters of the *Dîgha*, and repeaters of the *Magghima*, [342] and repeaters of the *Samyutta*, and repeaters of the *Ânguttara*, and repeaters of the *Khuddaka Nikâya*;—men endowed with right conduct, men accomplished in meditation, men full of knowledge, men taking delight in contemplation of the sevenfold wisdom of the Arahats, men of insight¹;—men who frequent the woods for meditation, or sit at the roots of trees, or dwell in the open air, or sleep on heaps of straw, or live near cemeteries, or lie not down to sleep,—men who have entered the Excellent Way², men who have attained one or more of the four fruits thereof, men who are still learners (have not yet reached Arahatship, but are close upon it), men enjoying the Fruits, that is, either *Sotâpannas*, or *Sakadâgâmins*, or *Anâgâmins*, or Arahats;—men of the threefold wisdom³, men of the sixfold transcendental wisdom⁴, men of the power of *Iddhi*, men who have reached perfection in knowledge, men

¹ *Vipassakâ*, not necessarily the insight of the Arahats, as Childers says. We have seen *Vipassanâ* ascribed above, p. 16 (of the *Pâli*), to a *Sotâpanno*.

² *Paṭipannakâ*; so the *Simhalese*, p. 496 (but see otherwise below, V, 21, p. 344 of the *Pâli*).

³ *Teviggâ*, having the *pubbe-nivâsânussati-ñâna*, the *ketopariya-ñâna*, and the *âsavânaṃ khaya-ñâna*. See *Dîgha Nikâya* II, 91-94 and 97.

⁴ These are the last three, and besides them the so-called Divine Eye, and Divine Ear, and also the power of *Iddhi*. See *Dîgha Nikâya* II, 87-90, 95-96.

skilled in the maintenance of constant self-possession, in the Great Struggle, in the Steps to Iddhi, in the Organs of their moral sense, in the sevenfold wisdom, in the Excellent Way, in *Ghâna*, in *Vimokkha*, and in the attainment of the exalted and tranquil bliss that is independent of form or the absence of form—yea! like a forest full of bamboos, full of reeds, that City of Righteousness has been ever crowded and frequented by such Arahats as these! For it is said¹:

(1) “Men devoid of passion, and of malice, and of dullness, men in whom the Great Evils (lust, becoming, delusion, and ignorance) are not, men who have neither craving thirst, nor grasping desires,—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(2) “Men whose home is the forest, men who have taken on themselves the extra vows, men full of joy, men who are wearing rough garments, men rejoicing in solitude, heroes—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(3) “Men who sleep sitting, or on any sleeping-place that comes, or spend their time standing or walking up and down in meditation, men who clad themselves in cast-off raiment—all these dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(4) “Men wearing the full set of three robes, tranquil, with a skin for the fourth, who rejoice in taking but one meal each day, the wise—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(5) “The earnest and prudent, heroes who feed on little and know no greed, content whether they receive an alms or receive it not—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

¹ It is not known in what text.

(6) "The meditative, delighting in *Ghâna*, heroes of tranquil minds, and steadfast, looking forward to *Nirvâna*—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(7) "Men walking in the path, and standing in the fruits thereof, those who have attained some fruits thereof but are yet learners as to the last, whose hope is directed to the utmost goal—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(8) "Those who have entered the stream, and those who, free from stains, will only be reborn once more on earth, those who will never return again, and *Arahats*—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(9) "Those skilled in the means of attaining undisturbed self-possession, and rejoicing in contemplation on the sevenfold wisdom, those who are full of insight, and bear the words of the *Dharma* in their hearts—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

[343] (10) "Those skilled in the Steps to *Iddhi*, and rejoicing in the meditations of *Samâdhi*, those who are devoted to the Great Struggle—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(11) "Those perfect in the sixfold wisdom of the *Abhiññâs*, delighting in the sphere that is theirs by rightful inheritance¹, those having the power of flying through the air—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(12) "Those of downcast eyes, and measured speech, the doors of whose senses are guarded, who

¹ *Pettike goḥare ratâ*. That is in the four *Sati-paṭṭhânas*. See the passage quoted below at VII, 1, 7, p. 368 of the *Pâli*.

are self-restrained, who are well trained according to the supreme Dhamma—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.

(13) “Those of the threefold wisdom, and of the sixfold wisdom, those who have become perfect in Iddhi and perfect in knowledge—these are they who dwell in the City of Righteousness.”

23. ‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who carry in their hearts the words of the excellent knowledge that is immeasurable, who are free from bonds, whose goodness and fame and power and glory no man can weigh, who (in imitation of their Master)¹ keep the royal chariot-wheel of the kingdom of righteousness rolling on, who have reached perfection in knowledge—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “The Commanders of the Faith in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus, who have the power of Iddhi, who have learned the discriminations², who are full of confidence, who travel through the air, who are hard to oppose, hard to overcome, who can move without support, who can shake the broad earth and the waters on which it rests, who can touch the sun and the moon, who are skilful in transforming themselves and in making steadfast resolutions and high aspirations, who are perfect in Iddhi—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “The royal chaplains in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who have taken upon themselves the extra vows,

¹ Anuppavattakâ. See below, p. 363 of the Pâli.

² See above, V, 19.

who desire little and are content, who would loathe any breach of the regulations as to the manner of seeking an alms¹, and beg straight on from hut to hut, as a bee smells flower after flower², and then go away into the loneliness of the woods, those who are indifferent as to their body and as to life, those who have attained to Arahatsip, those who place the highest value on the virtues of the practice of the extra vows—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “The judges in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are pure and stainless, in whom no evil dispositions are left, who, skilful in the knowledge of the fall and rise of beings³, have perfected themselves in the Divine Eye—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “The givers of light⁴ in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus [344] who are learned in the traditions, who hand on what has been handed down, the repeaters of the Discourses, and of the Canon Law, and of the tables of contents, those who are skilled in the exact determination of letters into surds and sonants, into

¹ Importunity, or even attracting attention in any way. See above, p. 229 of the Pāli.

² Compare Sigalovāda Sutta, p. 365, and Dhammapada, verse 49: ‘As a bee, injuring not the flower or its colour or its scent, flies away, taking the nectar, so let a sage go through the village.’

³ That is the fall of beings from one state of existence—their death in that state in other words—and their rise, their rebirth, in another.

⁴ Gotaka, as a city official, is something akin to torchbearer, lamplighter.

longs and short, as to lightness and heaviness¹, those who know by heart the ninefold word—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “The peace officers² in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are learned in the Vinaya (Rules of the Order, Canon Law), wise in the Vinaya, skilled in detecting the source of offences³, skilled in deciding whether any act is an offence or not, whether an offence is grievous or slight, whether it can be atoned for or not, skilled in deciding questions as to the rise, the acknowledgment, the absolution, or the confession of an offence⁴; as to the suspension, or the restoration, or the defence of an offender⁵, who are perfect masters in the Vinaya—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “The Rûpa-dakshas⁶ in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who wear on their brows the lotus garland of that noble Emancipation, who have attained to that

¹ These are six out of the ten divisions of *Vyañjana-vuddhi*, mentioned in the verse at *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini* I, 177. *Hīna-kumburê*, p. 501, merely repeats the words.

² *Dhamma-rakkhâ*, ‘dharmikawû âraksha-grahanayehi niyuktawû’ in the *Simhalese*.

³ *Nidâna-paṭṭhana-kusalâ*; ‘Âpatti gena hœra dœkwî-mehi dakshawû,’ says the *Simhalese*.

⁴ One word, *vuṭṭhâna*, is here doubtful.

⁵ See *Mahāvagga* IX, 4, 9. 10, &c.

⁶ Literally ‘skilled in form, shape, beauty.’ The *Simhalese* repeats this ambiguous expression, adding the qualification *amâtyayo*, ‘ministers, officials.’ One would think that these would have been the judges, but our author has already made the *Arahats* the judges in his *Dhamma-nagara*. This only leaves him some minor official post to give away to those learned in Canon Law, and he has chosen one as unintelligible in Ceylon as it is to me.

highest and best and most exceeding excellent of all conditions, who are loved and longed for by the great multitudes—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Flower-sellers in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who have penetrated to the comprehension of the four Truths, and have seen them with their eyes, who are wise in the teaching, who have passed beyond doubt as to the four fruits of Samanaship, who having attained to the bliss thereof, share those fruits with others who have entered the paths¹—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Fruit-dealers in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who, being anointed with that most excellent perfume of right conduct, are gifted with many and various virtues, and are able to dispel the bad odour of sin and evil dispositions—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Perfume dealers in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus whose delight is in the Dhamma, and whose converse is pleasant, who find exceeding joy in the higher subtleties of the Dharma and the Vinaya², who either in the forest, or at the foot of trees, or in empty

¹ *Paṣipannā*, which *Hīnaśi-kumburê* takes here to mean Arahats, but see the note above, V, 20 (p. 341 of the Pāli).

² *Abhidhamme abhivinaye*. A phrase very instructive as to the correct rendering of the much misunderstood word *abhidhamma*. As I pointed out already in the ‘Hibbert Lectures’ for 1881, it is a blunder to translate it, as is usually done, by ‘metaphysics.’ The whole context is taken from the *Saṅgīti Sutta*.

places, drink the sweet sap of the Dharma, who plunging themselves, as it were, in body, speech, and mind into the sweet juice¹ of the Dharma, excel in expounding it, in seeking and in detecting the deeper truths in the various doctrines, who—wheresoever and whensoever the discourse is of wishing for little, of contentment, of solitude, of retirement, of the exertion in zeal, of right conduct, of meditation, of knowledge, of emancipation, of the insight arising from the assurance of emancipation—[345] thither do they repair, and drink in the sweet savour of that discourse—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Thirsty and drunkards in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are addicted to the habit of wakefulness from the first watch of the night to the last, who spend day and night in sitting, standing, or walking up and down in meditation, who, addicted to the habit of contemplation, are devoted to their own advancement by the suppressing of evil dispositions—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Watchmen in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who in the spirit and in the letter, in its arguments and explanations, in its reasons and examples, teach and repeat, utter forth and recapitulate the ninefold word of the Buddha—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Lawyers (dealers in Dharma²) in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

¹ ‘The ambrosia of the Saddharma,’ says Hīnaśī-kumburē, p. 502.

² Dhammāpanikā. The Sinhalese has Dhārmikāpanikayo.

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are wealthy and rich in the wealth of the treasures of the Doctrine, in the wealth of the traditions, and the text, and the learning thereof, who comprehend the signs, and vowels, and consonants thereof, in all their details, pervading all directions with their knowledge — such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Bankers of the Dhamma¹ in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

‘And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who have penetrated to the sublimer teaching, who understand exposition and the divisions of objects of meditation to be practised, who are perfect in all the subtler points of training²—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, “Distinguished masters of law in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness.”

24. ‘Thus well planned out, O king, is the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness, thus well built, thus well appointed, thus well provisioned, thus well established, thus well guarded, thus well protected, thus impregnable by enemies or foes. And by this explanation, O king, by this argument, by this reason, you may by inference know that the Blessed One did once exist.

(1) “As when they see a pleasant city, well planned out,

Men know, by inference, how great the founder was ;

So when they see our Lord’s ‘City of Righteousness’

They know, by inference, that he did once exist.

¹ Dhamma-seṭṭhino, which the Sinhalese repeats.

² Adhisīla, adhiṣṭita, and adhipaṇṇā, says Hīnaśī-kumburē.

- [346] (2) "As men, seeing its waves, can judge, by inference,
The great extent and power of the world-embracing sea ;
So may they judge the Buddha when they see the waves
That he set rolling through the world of gods and men—
He who, unconquered in the fight, allays all griefs,
Who rooted out, in his own heart, Craving's dread power,
And set his followers free from the whirlpool of rebirths—
' Far as the waves of the Good-Law extend and roll,
So great, so mighty, must our Lord, the Buddha, be.'
- (3) "As men, seeing its mighty peaks that tower aloft,
Can judge, by inference, Himālaya's wondrous height ;
So when they see the Buddha's Mount-of-Righteousness—
Stedfast, unshaken by fierce passion's stormy blasts,
Towering aloft in wondrous heights of calm and peace,
Where lusts, evil, and Karma cannot breathe or live,—
They draw the inference: 'Great as this mountain high
That mighty Hero's power upon whose word it stands.'

- (4) "As men, seeing the footprint of an elephant king,
Can judge, by inference: 'How great his size must be!'
So when they see the footprint of the elephant of men,
Buddha, the wise, upon the path that men have trod,
They know, by inference: 'How glorious Buddha was¹!'
- (5) "As when they see all living things crouching in fear,
Men know: "'Tis the roar of the king of the beasts that frightens them.'
So, seeing other teachers break and fly in fear,
They know: "'Tis a king of the truth hath uttered words sublime!'
- (6) "Seeing the earth smiling, well watered, green with grass,
Men say: 'A great and pleasant rain hath fallen fast.'
So when they see this multitude rejoicing, peaceful, blest,
Men may infer: 'How sweet the rain that stilled their hearts!'
- (7) "Seeing the wide earth soaked, boggy, a marsh of mud,
Men say: 'Mighty the mass of waters broken loose.'

¹ It is perhaps such poetical figures as this that have afforded foundation for the legend of Buddha's footprint.

So, when they see this mighty host, that once
were dazed
With the mud of sin, swept down in Dhamma's
stream, and left
In the wide sea of the Good-Law, some here,
some there,
All, gods and men alike, plunged in ambrosial
waves,
They may infer, and say: 'How great that
Dhamma is!'

- (8) [347] "As when men, travelling, feel a glorious
perfume sweet
Pervading all the country side, and gladdening
them, infer at once,
'Surely, 'tis giant forest trees are flowering
now!'
So, conscious of this perfume sweet of righteous-
ness
That now pervades the earth and heavens,
they may infer:
'A Buddha, infinitely great, must once have
lived!'"

25. 'And it would be possible, O king, to show
forth the Buddha's greatness, by a hundred or a
thousand such examples, such reasons, such argu-
ments, such metaphors. Just, O king, as a clever
garland maker will, from one heap of all kinds of
flowers, both following the instruction of his teacher,
and also using his own individuality as a man, make
many variegated and beautiful bouquets,—just so,
O king, that Blessed One is, as it were, an infinite,
immeasurable, heap of variegated flowers of virtue.
And I now, a garland maker, as it were in the

church of the Conqueror, stringing those flowers together,—both following the path of our teachers of old, and also using such power of wisdom as in me is,—could show forth by inference the power of the Buddha in innumerable similes. But you, on the other hand, must show a desire to hear them¹.

‘Hard would it be, Nâgasena, for any other men thus to have shown by inference, drawn from such examples, the power of the Buddha. I am filled with satisfaction, venerable Nâgasena, at your so perfectly varied exposition of this problem.’

Here ends the problem of Inference².

¹ The *Simhalese* is here much expanded.

² Mr. Trenckner reads ‘*Anumâna pañham*,’ the *Simhalese* has ‘*Mahâ Anumâna Prasnayayi*.’

BOOK VI.

THE DHUTAṄGAS.

[348] 1. The king saw Bhikkhus in the forest, lone
 And far away from men, keeping hard vows.
 And then he saw too householders, at home,
 Eating the sweet fruits of the Noble Path ¹.
 Considering both of these, deep doubts he felt.
 'If laymen also realise the Truth
 Then surely vowing vows must be in vain.
 Come! let me ask that best of teachers, wise
 In the threefold basket of the Buddha's words,
 Skilled to o'erthrow the arguments of the foe.
 He will be able to resolve my doubts!'

2. Now Milinda the king went up to the place
 where Nâgasena was, and bowed down before him,
 and took his seat on one side. And when so seated,
 he said to Nâgasena: 'Venerable Nâgasena, is
 there any layman living at home, enjoying the
 pleasures of sense, occupying a dwelling encumbered
 with wife and children, enjoying the use of sandal
 wood from Benares, and of garlands, perfumes, and
 ointments, accepting gold and silver, with an em-
 broidered head-dress on, set with diamonds and
 pearls and gold—is there any such who has seen face
 to face the calm, the supreme good, Nirvâṇa?'

'Not one hundred only, O king, nor two nor

¹ 'Standing in the Fruit of the Anâgâmins.' So they had
 already reached the third stage in the Excellent Way.

three nor five nor six hundred, not a thousand only, nor a hundred thousand, nor ten millions, nor ten thousand millions, not even only a billion laymen (have seen *Nirvâṇa*)—not to speak of twenty or thirty or a hundred or a thousand who have attained to clear understanding (of the four Truths)¹. By

¹ I take this to mean, 'Not to speak of comparatively small numbers who have experienced *Abhisamaya*, an innumerable host of laymen have reached *Nirvâṇa*—that is, have reached, and during their lives remained in, the third stage of the Path, and attained *Arahatship* just before they died. *Abhisamaya* is used either absolutely or in composition. *Mânâbhisamaya* (A. IV, 38, 5=M. I, 12) certainly, and perhaps *Atthâbhisamaya*, is used of *Arahats*, but they do not occur in our author. He uses occasionally *Dhammâbhisamaya* (see pp. 255, 350, &c., of the Pâli) and *Katu-sakkâbhisamaya* (see pp. 171, 334, &c.), but more frequently *Abhisamaya* absolutely. *Dhammâbhisamaya*, 'penetration into, clear understanding of, the Dhammas or Dhamma,' may refer to the four Dhammas of *Āṅguttara* IV, 1 (= M. P. S., IV, 2, 3), or to the comprehension of the qualities (Dhammas) of things, or (what is very much the same) to the comprehension of the principal doctrine (Dhamma) of the impermanence of all things. In the last case it would be the same thing, looked at from a slightly different point of view, as the *Dhamma-kakkhu*, the Eye for the Truths (see *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini* I, 237), or as that insight (*Vipassanâ*) which is the entrance to the Path. But the four Truths (as to sorrow, &c.) are also important Dhammas, and as the expression *Katu-sakkâbhisamaya* clearly refers to them and them only, this may also be the meaning of *dhammâbhisamaya*, or at any rate of *abhisamaya* standing above. So at least I take the latter here. We know that the 'Eye for the Dhamma,' the perception of the first only of the *tīṇi lakkhaṇāni* (impermanence), implies and involves the entrance into the Path. Oddly enough there is as yet no evidence to show whether the perception of the cardinal doctrine of the four Truths necessarily does so too; or can do so alone, without the *Dhamma-kakkhu*. If the latter, then there are two gates to the Path. And this is not only quite possible, but is the inference one might fairly draw from the constant phrase 'After the exposition of the Truths had concluded so and so attained to' one or other of the *phalāni*.

what kind of exposition shall I lay before you evidence showing that I know this¹?’

‘Do you yourself tell me².’

3. ‘Then, O king, I will explain it. All those passages in the ninefold word of the Buddha that deal with holiness of life, [349] and attainment of the path, and the divisions of the excellent habit of living under vows, shall be brought to bear in this connection³. Just, O king, as water which has rained down upon a country district, with both low-lying and high places, level land and undulations, dry ground and wet, will—all of it—flow off thence and meet together in the ocean of great waters; so will all those passages meet together, and be brought into connection, here. And a manifestation of reasons out of my experience and knowledge shall be also brought to bear. Thus will this matter be thoroughly analysed, its beauty will be brought out⁴, it will be exhausted⁵, brought home

¹ Literally ‘shall I give you anuyoga,’ which the *Simhalese* renders ‘opportunity for speech’ (!). Above, at p. 10 of the *Pāli*, the rendering is quite different, ‘pāḍam dī samugena.’ The only translation that fits the context in both of these places (the only ones in which the idiom has, so far, been found) is ‘lay before you (proofs of my) mastery (over the subject),’ or something of that sort. It is a disappointing satisfaction to find that the phrase was as unintelligible in Ceylon as it is to us. In my version above I should now prefer to write instead of ‘repeated his lesson to his teacher for the last time,’ ‘gave his teacher proofs that he had understood what he had taught him.’

² *Hinañ-kumburê*, p. 508, puts these words into the mouth of *Nāgasena*.

³ Literally ‘will come into connection here.’

⁴ *Vikīitto*, which the *Simhalese* only repeats.

⁵ *Paripunnno*; literally ‘filled’ (*paripūra wanneya*).

to rest¹. It will be, O king, as when an able writing-master, on exhibiting, by request, his skill in writing, will supplement the written signs by an explanation of reasons out of his experience and knowledge, and thus that writing of his becomes finished, perfect, without defect. So will I also bring to bear a manifestation of reasons out of my experience and knowledge; and thus shall this matter be thoroughly analysed, its beauty shall be brought out, it shall be exhausted, set at rest².

4. 'In the city of Sâvatthi, O king, about fifty millions of the disciples of the Blessed One, devout men and devout women, were walking in the paths, and out of those three hundred and fifty-seven thousand³ were established in the fruit of the third path. And all of them were laity, not members of the Order. And there too, at the foot of the *Gandamba* tree, when the double miracle took place⁴, two hundred millions of living beings⁵ penetrated to an understanding (of the four Truths). And again on the delivery of the *Râhulovâda*⁶ discourse, and of the *Mahâ Mangala*⁷ discourse, and of the *Samakitta*⁸ exposition, and of the

¹ *Samânîto*, 'treated with respectful affection,' says *Hīnāṅkumburē*.

² I cannot hope to have solved all the difficulties with which the last two paragraphs bristle. But I think the general sense is clear, and the way smoothed for future translators.

³ This curious number (like others below) must have a history and a meaning.

⁴ See *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, p. 57; *Gâtaka* I, 77, 78; IV, 263-266.

⁵ Mostly gods of one sort or another.

⁶ See the note above on I, 32 (p. 20 of the *Pâli*).

⁷ In the *Sutta Nipâta* II, 4.

⁸ See the note above, *loc. cit.*

Parâbhava¹ discourse, and of the Purâbheda² discourse, and of the Kalaha-vivâda discourse, and of the Kûla-vyûha¹ discourse, and of the Mahâ-vyûha¹ discourse, and of the Tuwaṭaka¹ discourse, and of the Sâriputta¹ discourse, an innumerable number of celestial beings penetrated to knowledge (of the four Truths). In the city of Râgagaha three hundred and fifty thousand devout laymen and devout laywomen, disciples of the Blessed One, were walking in the Paths. And there again at the taming of Dhana-pâla the great elephant³ nine hundred million living beings, and again at the meeting at the Pâsânika Ketiya on the occasion of the Pârâyana discourse⁴ one hundred and forty million living beings, and again at the Indasâla cave eight hundred millions of gods, and again at Benares [350] in the deer park Isipatana at the first preaching of the Dhamma⁵ one hundred and eighty million Brahma gods and innumerable others, and again in the heaven of the Thirty-Three at the preaching of the Abhi-dhamma on the *Pandû Kambala Rock*⁶ eight hundred millions of the gods, and on the descent from the world of the gods at the gate of the city of Saṅkassa⁶, at the miracle of the manifestation to the world⁷,

¹ In the *Aṅguttara* of the Sutta Nipâta.

² Sutta Nipâta I, 6.

³ See the note above on IV, 4, 44 (p. 207 of the Pâli), also below, p. 410 of the Pâli.

⁴ Sutta Nipâta, pp. 185, 205 (of Professor Fausbøll's edition for the Pâli Text Society).

⁵ See 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 154, and the note above on I, 38.

⁶ Gâtaka IV, 265.

⁷ Loka-vivarana-pâṭihâriye, referred to at Dâḥavamsa II, 120. The exact meaning of the second word, literally 'uncovering,'

three hundred millions of believing men and deities penetrated to a knowledge (of the four Truths). And again at Kapila-vatthu among the Sakyas, at the preaching of the Buddhavamsa¹ in the Nigrodha Arâma, and again at the preaching of the Mahâ Samaya Suttanta², gods in numbers that cannot be counted penetrated to a knowledge of the Dhamma. And again at the assemblies on the occasions of Sumana the garland maker³, and of Garahadinna, and of Ânanda the rich man, and of Gambuka the naked ascetic⁴, and of Mandûka the god, and of Matta-kundali the god, and of Sulasâ the courtesan⁵, and of Sirimâ the courtesan, and of the weaver's daughter, and of Subhaddâ, and of the spectacle of the cremation of the Brahman of Sâketa, and of the Sûnâparantas, and of the problem put by Sakka⁶, and of the Tirokudda Sutta⁷, and of the Ratana Sutta⁸—at each of these eighty-four thousand penetrated to a knowledge of the Dhamma. So long, O king, as the Blessed One remained in the world, so long wheresoever in the three great divisions

is doubtful. Alwis, in another connection, renders it 'prosperity.' See his quotation from Buddhaghosa's *Papañka Sûdanî* quoted by Childers sub voce. The Sinhalese has *rûpa-kâya-sampat dakwâ dakwâ*, 'continually manifesting (to all the world) the glory of his outward form.'

¹ See the commentary on that work quoted by Dr. Morris in his edition for the Pâli Text Society, pp. viii-x.

² See the opening words of that discourse, No. 20 in the *Dîgha*, in Grimblot.

³ See above, pp. 115, 291 of the Pâli.

⁴ Compare Thera Gâthâ 283-286.

⁵ Her whole story is given, *Gâtaka* III, 435 foll.

⁶ The account of which is in the *Dîgha*, No. 21.

⁷ In the *Khuddaka Pâṭha*.

⁸ In the *Sutta Nipâta* and *Khuddaka Pâṭha*.

(of India)¹ or in the sixteen principal countries (in them)² he stayed, there, as a usual thing, two, three, four, or five hundred, or a thousand, or a hundred thousand, both gods and men, saw face to face the calm, the supreme good, *Nirvâna*. And all of those who were gods, O king, were laymen. They had not entered the Order. So these and many other billions of gods, O king,—even while they were yet laymen, living at home, enjoying the pleasures of sense,—saw face to face (realised in themselves) the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, *Nirvâna* ³.

5. 'If so, venerable *Nâgasena*,—if laymen, living at home and enjoying the pleasures of sense, can see *Nirvâna*,—what purpose then do these extra vows serve? That being so, rather must [351] the vows be workers of mischief. For, *Nâgasena*, if diseases would abate without medicine, what would be the advantage of weakening the body by emetics, by purges, and other like remedies?—if one's enemies could be subdued with one's fists only, where would be the need of swords and spears, of javelins and bows and cross-bows, of maces and of clubs?—if trees could be climbed by clambering up them with the aid of the knots and of the crooked and hollow places in them, of the thorny excrescences and creepers and branches growing on them, what would be the need of going in quest of ladders long and strong?—if sleeping on the bare ground gave

¹ That is, *Pâtâna*, *Avanti*, and *Dakkhiṇâpatha* (say the East, the Upper Ganges Valley, and the Dekkan).

² The full list is given in the note at 'Vinâya Texts,' II, 146.

³ This Buddhist way of looking on the gods as laymen has been already referred to above in the note on p. 20 of the *Pâli*, I, 32 of the translation.

ease to the limbs¹, why should one seek after fine large beds, soft to the touch?—if one could cross the desert alone, inaccessible though it be, and full of danger and fear, why need one wait for a grand caravan, well armed and well equipped?—if a man were able by his own arms to cross a flowing river, what need he care for firm dykes or boats?—if he could provide board and lodging for himself out of his own property, why should he trouble to do service to others, to flatter with sweet words, to run to and fro?—when he can get water from a natural pool, why should he dig wells and tanks and artificial ponds? And just so, venerable Nâgasena, if laymen, living at home and enjoying the pleasures of sense, can realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvâna, what is the need of taking upon oneself these vows?’

6. ‘There are, O king, these twenty-eight good qualities in the vows, virtues really inherent in them; and on account of these all the Buddhas alike have longed for them and held them dear. And what are the twenty-eight? The keeping of the vows, O king, implies a mode of livelihood without evil, it has a blissful calm as its fruit, it avoids blame, it works no harm to others, it is free from danger, it brings no trouble on others, it is certain to bring with it growth in goodness, it wastes not away, it deludes not, it is in itself a protection², it works the satisfaction of desires and the taming of all beings, it is good for self-

¹ Dhâtu-samatâ, for which Hīnaśī-kumburê (p. 511) has Dhâtu-samanaya.

² Hīnaśī-kumburê, p. 512, takes ārakkhâ-patthitadadam as one compound.

control, it is appropriate¹, (he who keeps the vows) is self-dependent², is emancipated³, the keeping of them is the destruction of lust, and of malice, and of dullness; it is the pulling away of pride, the cutting off of evil thoughts, the removal of doubts, the suppression of sloth, the putting away of discontent; it is long-suffering, its merit is beyond weight, and its virtue beyond measure, and it is the path that leads to the end of every grief. These, O king, are the twenty-eight good qualities in the vows; [352] and it is on account of these that all the Buddhas alike have longed for them and held them dear.

7. 'And whosoever, O king, thoroughly carry out the vows, they become completely endowed with eighteen good qualities. What are these eighteen? Their walk is pure, their path is accomplished, well guarded are they in deed and word, altogether pure are they in manners and in mind, their zeal flags not, all their fears are allayed, all delusions (as to the permanence and as to the degree) of their individuality have been put away, anger has died away while love (to all beings)⁴ has arisen in their hearts, in taking nourishment they eat it with the three right views regarding food⁵, they are honoured of

¹ *Paśirûpam*, probably 'to the life of a recluse,' but the *Simhalese* takes it to mean 'to the doctrine' (*sâsana*).

² *Anissitam*. See the note above on the translation of p. 321 of the *Pâli*. 'Independent of craving' (*trishnâ*), says the *Simhalese*.

³ *Vippamuttam*. Of *trishnâ*, says the *Simhalese* again.

⁴ *Mettâ*, which always has the connotation. *Hînañ-kumburê* accordingly renders it *sakala-satwayan kerehi maitreya*.

⁵ *Âhâro pariññâto*. The three right views are, 1 as to its nature, 2 as to its impurity, 3 as to the lust of taste.

all men, they are temperate in eating, they are full of watchfulness, they need no home, wheresoever is a pleasant spot there do they dwell, they loathe to do ill, they take delight in solitude, they are in earnest always. These, O king, are the good qualities with which they who carry out the vows are completely endowed.

8. 'And these ten, O king, are the individuals worthy of those advantages inherent in the vows—the man full of faith, ashamed to do wrong, full of courage, void of hypocrisy, master of himself, not unstable¹, desirous to learn, glad to undertake the task that is hard, not easy to take offence, of a loving heart. These, O king, are the ten individuals worthy of those advantages inherent in the vows.

9. 'And all they, O king, who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvāṇa,—all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now, even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvāṇa. Just, O king, as a clever archer first in regular succession teaches his pupils at the training ground the different kinds of bows, the manner of holding the bow up, and of keeping it in a firm grasp, and of bending the fingers, and of planting the feet, and of taking up the arrow, and of placing it on

¹ Alolo, 'not greedy after the four requisites of a recluse,' says the *Siṃhalese*, p. 514.

the string, and of drawing it back, and of restraining it, and of aiming at the mark, and thus of hitting¹ a man of straw, or targets made of the *Khanaka* plant², or of grass, or of straw, or of masses of clay, or of shields³—and after that, introducing them to the service of the king, he gains the reward of high-bred chargers and chariots and elephants and horses and money and corn and red gold and slave girls and slaves and wives and lands. [353] Just so, O king, all they who as laymen, living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, *Nirvâna*,—all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now, even as laymen, and living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, *Nirvâna*.

10. 'And there is no realisation of Arahatsip, O king, in one single life, without a previous keeping of the vows. Only on the utmost zeal and the most devoted practice of righteousness, and with the aid of a suitable teacher, is the realisation of Arahatsip attained. Just, O king, as a doctor or surgeon first procures for himself a teacher, either by the payment of a fee or by the performance of service, and then

¹ Vedhe. I follow Mr. Trenckner, but the *Sinhalese* translation is based on the reading *Vede*.

² The *Sinhalese* takes this word in composition with the following *tina* and spells it *Ganakaya*. Compare *Kanaka*, 'a chick pea.'

³ *Phalaka*. But *Hīnaś-kumburê*, p. 514, takes it in the technical sense of a kind of rough roller, made of the wood apple tree (*dimbul porû*), and used for levelling rice-fields.

thoroughly trains himself in holding the lancet, in cutting, marking, or piercing with it, in extracting darts, in cleansing wounds, in causing them to dry up, in the application of ointments, in the administration of emetics and purges and oily enemias, and only when he has thus gone through training, served his apprenticeship, made himself skilful, does he visit the sick to heal them. Just so, O king, all they who as laymen, living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvâna,—all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now, even as laymen, and living at home in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvâna.

11. 'And there is no perception of the truth to those who are not purified by the virtues that depend on the keeping of the vows. Just as without water no seed will grow, so can there be no perception of the truth to those not purified by the practice of the vows. Just as there is no rebirth in bliss to those who have done no meritorious actions, no beautiful deeds, so is there no perception of the truth for those not purified by the practice of the vows.

12. 'Like the broad earth, O king, is the character resulting from the keeping of the vows, to serve as a basis to those who desire to be pure¹. Like water is it, O king, to wash away the stain of all things

¹ Visuddhi-kâmaṇaṃ, which Hīnaś-kumburê characteristically renders, 'who desire to attain to Nirvâna' (p. 516).

evil in those who desire to be pure. Like the fire is it, O king, to burn out the lust of all evil in those who desire to be pure [354]. Like the wind is it, O king, to carry away the dust of all evil in those desiring to be pure. Like medicine is it, O king, to allay the disease of evil in those desiring to be pure. Like ambrosia is it, O king, to act as an antidote to the poison of evil in those desiring to be pure. Like arable land is it, O king, on which to grow the crop of all the virtues of renunciation to those desiring to be pure. Like a wishing-gem¹ is it, O king, for conferring all the high attainments they long and crave for upon those who desire to be pure. Like a boat is it, O king, for carrying to the further shore of the mighty ocean of transmigration all those who desire to be pure. Like a place of refuge is it, O king, where those who desire to be pure can be safe from the fear of old age and death. Like a mother is it, O king, to comfort those who desire to be pure when afflicted with the sorrows of sin. Like a father is it, O king, to raise up in those who desire to be pure and to increase in goodness all the good qualities of those who have renounced the world. Like a friend is it, O king, in not disappointing those who desire to be pure in their search after the good qualities of those who have renounced the world. Like a lotus flower, O king, is it, in not being tarnished by the stain of evil. Like costly perfume (of saffron and of jasmine and the Turkish incense and the Greek)²

¹ Manoharo. Childers does not give this meaning to the word, but it is confirmed by the passages above and below, pp. 118, 358 of the Pāli, and by the Sinhalese.

² *Katu-gātiya-gandho*. The two last are Yavana and Tarukkha. Böhtlingk-Roth explain both as *Olibanum*. Our

is it, O king, for counteracting the bad odour of evil for those who desire to be pure. Like a lofty mountain range is it, O king, for protecting those who desire to be pure from the onslaught of the winds of the eight conditions to which men are subject in this world (gain and loss, and fame and dishonour, and praise and blame, and happiness and woe)¹. Like the space of heaven is it, O king, in the freedom from all obstruction, in the magnitude, in the great expanse and breadth it gives to those who desire to be pure. Like a stream is it, O king, in washing away for those who desire to be pure the stain of all evil. Like a guide is it, O king, in bringing safe out of the desert of rebirths, out of the jungle of lusts and sins, those who desire to be pure. Like a mighty caravan is it, O king, for bringing those who desire to be pure safe into that most blessed city of Nirvâṇa, peaceful and calm, where no fear dwells. [355] Like a well-polished spotless mirror is it, O king, for showing to those who desire to be pure the true nature of the constituent elements of all beings. Like a shield is it, O king, for warding off from those who desire to be pure the clubs and the arrows and the swords of evil dispositions. Like a sunshade is it, O king, for warding off from those who desire to be pure the scorching heat of the threefold fire². Like

author does not give the details, but it is unlikely that he meant other perfumes than those usually comprised in the term 'perfume of four kinds.' The expression is not found in the Piṭakas, though it occurs in Buddhaghosa; and its use by our author may help to settle his date when we know its history, and the exact composition of the two foreign perfumes it includes.

¹ The eight Loka-dhammas.

² That is, of lust, malice, and dullness—that fire the 'going out' of which (in one's heart) is Nirvâṇa.

the moon is it, O king, as being longed and hoped for by those who desire to be pure. Like the sun is it, O king, as dispelling the blackness of the darkness of ignorance for those who desire to be pure. Like the ocean is it, O king, as causing to arise in those desiring to be pure the costly treasures of the virtues of those who have renounced the world, and by reason too of its immensity, of its being beyond measure and beyond count.

13. 'Thus is it, O king, of great service to those desiring to be pure, a remover of all sorrow and lamentation, an antidote to discontent; it puts an end to fear, and individuality, and imperviousness of mind; to evil, and to grief, and to pain, and to lust, and to malice, and to dullness, and to pride, and to heresy, and to all wrong dispositions; it brings with it honour and advantage and bliss; it fills them with ease and with love and with peace of mind; it is free from blame; it has happiness here as its fruit; it is a mine and treasure of goodness that is beyond measure and beyond count, costly above all things, and precious.

14. 'Just, O king, as men for nourishment seek after food, for health medicine, for assistance a friend, for crossing water a boat, for pleasant odours a perfume, for security a place of refuge, for support the earth, for instruction a teacher, for honours a king, and for whatever they desire a wishing-gem—just so, O king, do the Arahats seek after the virtues of the keeping of the vows for the attainment of all the advantages of renunciation of the world.

15. 'And what water is for the growth of seeds, [356] what fire is for burning, what food is for giving strength, what a creeper is for tying things up, what

a sword is for cutting, what water is for allaying thirst, what a treasure is for giving confidence, what a boat is for crossing to the further shore, what medicine is for allaying disease, what a carriage is for journeying at ease, what a place of refuge is for appeasing fear, what a king is for protection, what a shield is for warding off the blows of sticks and stakes, of clubs, of arrows, and of darts, what a teacher is for instruction, what a mother is for nourishing, what a mirror is for seeing, what a jewel is for ornament, what a dress is for clothing, what a ladder is for mounting up, what a pair of scales is for comparison¹, what a charm is for repetition, what a weapon is for warding off scorn, what a lamp is for dissipating darkness, what a breeze is for allaying fever, what knowledge of an art is for the accomplishment of business, what medicinal drugs are for the preservation of life, what a mine is for the production of jewels, what a gem is for ornament, what a command is for preventing transgression, what sovereignty is for dominion—all that, O king, is the character-that-comes-of-keeping-the-vows for the good growth of the seed of renunciation, for the burning out of the stains of evil, for giving the strength of Iddhi, for tying up one's self in self-control and presence of mind, for the complete cutting off of doubt and mistrust, for allaying the thirst of craving, for giving confidence as to perception of the truth, for crossing to the further shore of the fourfold stream (of sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance), for allaying the disease of evil dis-

¹ Nikkhepana; not in Childers, but compare *Samyutta Nikāya* XX, 22, 6,

positions, for attaining to the bliss of Nirvāṇa, for appeasing the fears that arise from birth, old age, decay and death, grief, pain, lamentation, woe, and despair, for being protected in the possession of the advantages of renunciation, for warding off discontent and evil thoughts, for instruction in all the good involved in the life of those who have renounced the world, for nourishment therein, for explaining to men quietude and insight, and the path and the fruits thereof and Nirvāṇa, for bestowing upon men a costly ornament high in the praise and admiration of the world, for closing the doors of all evil states, for mounting up to the peaks of the mountain heights of renunciation, for distinguishing crooked and cunning and evil intentions in others, for the proper recitation of those qualities which ought to be practised and those which ought not, for warding off as one's enemies all evil dispositions, for dissipating the darkness of ignorance, for allaying the fever arising from the scorching of the threefold fire, for the accomplishment of the attainment of the Condition of Peace—so gentle and so subtle,—for the protection of the virtues of the life of a recluse, for the production of the precious jewels of the sevenfold wisdom—self-possession, investigation of the truth, energy, joy, calm contemplation, and serenity,—for the adornment of the recluses, for the prevention of any transgression against that blameless, abstruse, delicate bliss [357] that comes of peace, for dominion over all the qualities that recluses and Arahats affect. Thus, O king, is it that keeping the vows is one and the same thing as attaining to all these qualities. And the advantage thereof, O king, cannot be weighed, neither measured; it has no equal, no rival, no

superior, great is it and glorious, extensive and abundant, deep and broad, and large and wide, full of weight and worth and might.

16. 'And whosoever, O king, having evil cravings in his heart, being hypocritical, greedy, a slave to his stomach¹, seeking after material gain or worldly fame and glory, unfit (for the outward signs of Arahatsip), not having reached the attainments, whose conduct is inconsistent (with membership in the Order), unworthy of it, inappropriate to it—who-soever being such shall take upon himself the vows, he shall incur a twofold punishment, suffering the loss of the good that may be in him. For in this world he shall receive disgrace, and scorn², and blame, and ridicule, and suspension, and excommunication³, and expulsion, and he shall be outcast, rejected, dismissed; and in his next life he shall suffer torment in the great *Avīḷi* purgatory that is a hundred leagues in depth, and covered, as with a garland, with hot and scorching, fierce and fiery blazing flames; therein shall he rise and fall for myriads of years, upwards and downwards and across,—a foam-bubble, as it were, cast up and thrown from side to side in a boiling sea⁴. And, when released from thence, then as a mighty Preta (ghost), in the outward form of a monk, but with

¹ Odarika; not in Childers, and only found as yet at this passage and at the Thera Gāthā, verse 101. It is the Sanskrit audarika. 'Who enters the Order for the sake of his stomach' says the *Simhalese*, p. 521.

² *Khī/anam*. Compare *khī/ito* above, pp. 229, 288 of the Pāli.

³ Compare the rules at *Kullavagga* I, 25, 1, &c.

⁴ On *Phen-uddehakam* compare *Gātaka* III, 46; on *sam-parivattakam* above, p. 253 of the Pāli.

body and limbs lean and rugged and dark, with head swollen¹, bloated, and full of holes, hungry and thirsty, odd and dreadful in colour and form, his ears all torn, and his eyes ever winking, his limbs a mass of mortifying sores², his whole body the prey of maggots, his stomach all scorching and hot like a fiery furnace blazing in the breeze, yet with a mouth no larger than a needle so that his thirst can never cease, with no place of refuge to fly to, no protector to help him, groaning and weeping and crying out for mercy, shall he wander wailing o'er the earth!

17. 'Just, O king, as whosoever, being unfit for royalty, without having properly attained to it, being inappropriate to it, unworthy of it, unsuitable for it, a low-born man and base in lineage, should receive the consecration of a king, he would suffer mutilation, having his hands or his feet, or his hands and feet cut off, or his ears or his nose, or his ears and nose cut off, [358] or he would be tortured, being subjected to the Gruel Pot, or to the Chank Crown, or to the Rāhu's Mouth, or to the Fire Garland, or to the Hand Torch, or to the Snake Strips, or to the Bark Dress, or to the Spotted Antelope, or to the Flesh Hooks, or to the Pennies, or to the Brine Slits, or to the Bar Turn, or to the Straw Seat³, or he would be anointed with boiling oil, or be eaten by dogs, or be impaled alive, or be beheaded, or be subjected to punishments of various kinds. And why? Because he being unfit for it, without having properly attained to it, being inappropriate to it, unworthy of it, unsuitable for it, a low-born man

¹ Sūna (for sūna). See *Kullavagga* X, 1, 2, 3.

² Aru-gatto pakka-gatto. See *Magghima Nikāya* I, 506.

³ On all these see the notes above, I, 276, 277.

and base in lineage, he had placed himself in the seat of sovereignty, and thus transgressed beyond his right limits. Just so, O king, whosoever having evil cravings in his heart, being hypocritical, greedy, a slave to his stomach, seeking after material gain or worldly fame and glory, unfit (for the outward signs of Arahatsip), not having reached the attainments, whose conduct is inconsistent (with membership in the Order), unworthy of it, inappropriate to it—whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows, he shall incur a twofold punishment, suffering the loss of the good that may be in him. For in this world he shall receive disgrace, and scorn, and blame, and ridicule, and suspension, and excommunication, and expulsion, and he shall be outcast, rejected, dismissed; and in his next life he shall suffer torment in the great *Avīkī* purgatory that is a hundred leagues in depth, and covered, as with a garland, with hot and scorching, fierce and fiery blazing flames; therein shall he rise and fall for myriads of years, upwards and downwards and across,—a foam-bubble, as it were, cast up and thrown from side to side in a boiling sea. And, when released from thence, then as a mighty Preta (ghost), in the outward form of a monk, but with body and limbs lean and rugged and dark, with head swollen, bloated, and full of holes, hungry and thirsty, odd and dreadful in colour and form, his ears all torn, and his eyes ever winking, his limbs a mass of mortifying sores, his whole body the prey of maggots, his stomach all scorching and hot like a fiery furnace blazing in the breeze, yet with a mouth no larger than a needle so that his thirst can never cease, with no place of refuge to fly

to, no protector to help him, groaning and weeping and crying out for mercy, shall he wander wailing o'er the earth!

18. 'But whosoever, O king, is fit, who has reached the attainments, whose conduct is consistent with membership in the Order, who is worthy of it, appropriate to it, who desires little and is content, given to seclusion, not fond of society, alert in zeal, resolute of heart, without guile, without deceit, not a slave to his stomach, seeking neither material gain nor worldly fame or glory, full of faith, who has entered the Order from belief (in the doctrine, and not from worldly motives), and is full of desire for release from old age and death—whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows with the idea of upholding the faith, he is deserving of twofold honour. For he is near and dear to, loved and longed for by both gods and men, dear as rare jasmine flowers to the man bathed and anointed, as sweet food to the hungry, as cool, clear, fragrant water to the thirsty, as a healing drug to a poisoned man, as a costly chariot drawn by high-bred steeds to the hurrying traveller, as a wishing-gem to the greedy for gain, as the pure white sunshade of sovranty to one ambitious for a throne, as the blessed attainment of the fruits of Arahatship to the seeker after holiness. It is he who attains to the fullest mastery over the four Earnest Meditations, the fourfold Great Struggle, the four Roads to Saintship, the five Organs of the moral sense, the five moral Powers, the seven forms of Wisdom, and the Noble Eightfold Path¹, quietude and insight reign in his heart, attainment

¹ For the details of these constituent elements of Arahatship, see my note in 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 60-63.

through study becomes easy to him, and the four fruits of the life of a recluse¹, [359] the four kinds of Discrimination², the threefold Knowledge³, the six-fold higher Wisdom⁴, in a word, the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own, an anointed king is he, and over him is borne the pure white sunshade of emancipation!

19. 'Just, O king, as all the citizens and country folk in the land, the soldiers and the peons (royal messengers), wait in service upon a Kshatriya king, born to the purple, and on both sides of lineage high, when he has been consecrated with the inauguration ceremonies of the Kshatriyas⁵; the thirty-eight divisions of the royal retinue, and the dancing men, and acrobats, and the soothsayers⁶,

¹ These are the four stages of the path to Arahatsip.

² *Paṭisambhidā*—in worldly things, and in religion, in intuitive knowledge, and in exposition.

³ *Tisso Viggā*. One explanation of this term is the knowledge of the three limitations of individuality,—its impermanence, the pain involved in the struggle to maintain it, and the absence of any permanent principle (any soul) in any individual. But it is also explained in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* III, 58, as meaning the knowledge firstly of one's own former births, secondly of other people's former births, and thirdly of the nature, the origin, and the right method of subduing sorrow and the *āsava*s (that is, lust, individuality, delusion, and ignorance). The first triplet is identical with the three *lakkhaṇa*s, the second with the last three of the *Dasabalas*, the ten powers of a Buddha. So in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* (*Pārāgika* I, 1-8) the last of these three is called *tatīyā viggā*. Compare also 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 162.

⁴ The *Abhiññā*s.

⁵ Some details of this are given in the *Siṃhalese*, p. 524.

⁶ *Mukha-maṅgalikā*, which the *Siṃhalese* repeats, and which apparently means 'panegyrists.' The exact connotation of both these terms has yet to be settled. *Soḷḷhi vāḷakā* may correspond with the people who throw rice after a departing wedding pair;

and the heralds¹, and Samanas and Brahmans, and the followers of every sect, frequent his court, and he becomes the lord of every seaport, and treasure-mine, and town, and custom-house²—giving instructions as to the fate of every foreigner and criminal³—just so, O king, whoever is fit, who has reached the attainments, whose conduct is consistent with membership in the Order, who is worthy of it, appropriate to it, who desires little and is content, given to seclusion, not fond of society, alert in zeal, resolute of heart, without guile, without deceit, not a slave to his stomach, seeking neither material gain nor worldly fame or glory, full of faith, who has entered the Order from belief (in the doctrine, and not from worldly motives), and is full of desire for release from old age and

and Mukha-maṅgalikâ may be those who prophesy the lucky days on which a thing is to be commenced. But this is the only passage in which the phrases occur in Pāli, and in Sanskrit we have only much later authorities. See the Commentary on Sakuntalâ, quoted in the note on p. 152 of Sir M. Monier-Williams's edition, and Wilson's explanation in his Sanskrit Dictionary of swasti-vakânâ.

¹ *Soṭṭhi-vâṭakâ*, 'utterers of blessing.' The Sinhalese has *sôbhana-vâṭanikayo* (perhaps 'augurs').

² *Suṅkaṭṭhâna*, 'taxing-place.' But the Sinhalese, p. 524, has only *samasthâna*.

³ I can only guess at the meaning of this enigmatical phrase, which the Sinhalese again merely repeats, but a precisely similar passage occurs in the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, p. 246; and though the exact course of proceedings in the ancient law courts of India is still, in many details, uncertain, it is yet clear that the actual apportionment of punishment (as well as the execution of it) was always held to be the sole prerogative of the king. This was more especially the case where mutilation or a death sentence was concerned. Minor punishments the judges could, no doubt, order without reference to the king. See Jolly, 'Beiträge zur indischen Rechts-geschichte,' in the 'Zeitschrift der deutschen morg. Gesellschaft,' 1890, pp. 344 foll.

death—whosoever being such shall take upon himself the vows with the idea of upholding the faith, he is deserving of twofold honour. For he is near and dear to, loved and longed for by both gods and men, dear as rare jasmine flowers to the man bathed and anointed, as sweet food to the hungry, as cool, clear, fragrant water to the thirsty, as a healing drug to a poisoned man, as a costly chariot drawn by high-bred steeds to the hurrying traveller, as a wishing-gem to the greedy for gain, as the pure white sunshade of sovereignty to one ambitious for a throne, as the blessed attainment of the fruits of Arahatsip to the seeker after holiness. It is he who attains to the fullest mastery over the four Earnest Meditations, the fourfold Great Struggle, the four Roads to Saintship, the five Organs of the moral sense, the five moral Powers, the seven forms of Wisdom, and the Noble Eightfold Path, quietude and insight reign in his heart, attainment through study becomes easy to him, and the four fruits of the life of a recluse, the four kinds of Discrimination, the threefold Knowledge, the sixfold higher Wisdom, in a word, the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own, an anointed king is he, and over him is borne the pure white sunshade of emancipation!

20. 'Such, O king, are the thirteen vows purified by which a man shall bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvâna, and there indulge himself, as one sporting in the waves, with the manifold delights of religion, he shall addict himself to the eight modes of transcendental ecstasy, he shall acquire the powers of Iddhi, distant sounds, human and divine, shall greet his ear, he shall divine the thoughts of others, he

shall be able to call to mind his own previous births, and to watch the rise and fall from birth to birth of others, and he shall perceive the real nature and the origin of, he shall perceive the means of escape from sorrow, and from lust, individuality, delusion, and ignorance, the stains of life !

‘ And what are these thirteen ? Wearing raiment made up of pieces taken from a dust-heap—Wearing three robes, and three robes only—Living on food received by begging—Begging straight on from house to house—Eating only once a day, at one sitting—Eating from one vessel only—Refusing food in excess of the regulations—Dwelling in the woods—Dwelling at the root of a tree—Dwelling in the open air—Dwelling in or near a cemetery—Not altering the mat or bed when it has once been spread out to sleep on—and sleeping in a sitting posture. It is he, O king, who, in former births, has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed, framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse, and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own ¹.

¹ The *Simhalese*, pp. 525–531, goes at great length into the details of all these vows, each of which it divides into stages of greater or less severity, specifying the practice to be followed in each stage. As a matter of fact the members of the Buddhist Order have not observed them in any completeness. Like the Buddha himself, the majority have undertaken only the second of the thirteen—the wearing of three robes ; and the others have only been occasionally practised, and then usually only one or more at a time, by isolated members. It is true that the *Gâtaka Commentary* (Fausböll, vol. ii, p. 449) says that Upasena Vanganta-putta kept the whole thirteen of the Dhutaṅgas. But this is at variance with the older text (in the *Vinaya*, Nissaggiya, No. XV) giving that account of the same episode on which the story in the

21. 'Just, O king, as a shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to Vanga, or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or Further India, or any other place where ships do congregate—just so, O king, [360] it is he who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed, framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse, and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own.

22. 'And just, O king, as a husbandman will first remove the defects in the soil—weeds, and thorns, and stones—and then by ploughing, and sowing,

Gâtaka Commentary is based. The thirteen vows are not referred to at all in the rules of the Order, as translated in the three volumes of the Vinaya Texts, nor are they mentioned as a whole in any Piṭaka text yet published. But the thirteen names are given together in a different order in a passage twice repeated in the Parivâra, a late book, probably written in Ceylon (pp. 131, 193). It is there declared of each of the thirteen vows that five sorts of people undertake them—those who do so from stupidity, those who do so from vain desire, those who are mad, those who do so because the vows have been exalted by the Buddhas and their followers, those who do so from high motives. It is clear therefore that our author's doctrine of the thirteen Dhutaṅgas is at variance with primitive Buddhism. It would require, however, a separate note on each of the thirteen to show the exact degree of this variance. The basis on which each of these observances rests can be found in the older teaching, and nearly all of them have been praised or followed, in a greater or less degree, from very early times,—not indeed as general rules binding on all members of the Order, but as supplementary or extra vows, conducive, but subsidiary to the ethical self-culture of the Arahat.

and irrigating, and fencing, and watching, and reaping, and grinding, will become the owner of much flour, and so the lord of whosoever are poor and needy, reduced to beggary and misery—just so, O king, it is he who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed, framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse, and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own.

23. 'And again, O king, just as an anointed monarch is master over the treatment of outlaws, is an independent ruler and lord, and does whatsoever he desires, and all the broad earth is subject to him—just so, O king, is he who has undertaken, practised, and fulfilled in former births these vows, master, ruler, and lord in the religion of the Conquerors, and all the virtues of the Samanas are his.

24. 'And was not Upasena, the Elder, he of the sons of the Vangantas¹, from his having thoroughly practised all the purifying merits of the vows, able to neglect the agreement arrived at by the members of the Order resident at Sāvatti, and to visit with his attendant brethren the Subduer of men, then retired into solitude, and when he had bowed down before him, to take his seat respectfully aside? And when the Blessed One saw how well trained his retinue was, then, delighted and glad and exalted in heart, he greeted them with courteous words, and said in his unbroken beautiful voice :

"Most pleasant, Upasena, is the deportment of

¹ According to the Sinhalese this was a Brahman clan. But the derivation suggests the borders of Bengal, where it is somewhat strange to find Brahmans so early.

these brethren waiting upon you. How have you managed thus to train your followers?"

'And he, when so questioned by the omniscient Buddha, the god over all gods, spake thus to the Blessed One as to the real reason for the goodness of their nature: "Whosoever, Lord, may come to me to ask for admission to the Order or to become my disciple, to him do I say [361]: 'I, Sir, am a frequenter of the woods, who gain my food by begging, and wear but this robe pieced together from cast-off rags. If you will be the same, I can admit you to the Order and make you my disciple.' Then, if he agree thereto with joy, and abase himself¹, I thereupon admit him to the Order and to the company of my pupils. But if not, then neither do I admit him to the one nor to the other. Thus is it, Lord, that I train them²." And thus is it, O king, that he who has taken upon himself the vows becomes master, ruler, and lord in the religion of the Conquerors; and all its ecstasy of peace and bliss becomes his very own.

25. 'Just, O king, as a lotus flower of glorious, pure, and high descent and origin is glossy, soft, desirable, sweet-smelling, longed for, loved, and praised, untarnished by the water or the mud, graced with tiny petals and filaments and pericarps, the resort of many bees, a child of the clear cold

¹ Oramati. See *Gâtaka* I, 492, where it is also used intransitively in the sense of 'abase oneself'; and *Gâtaka* I, 498, where it is transitive, 'to lower' (the water in the ocean). But *Hinañ-kumburê*, p. 533, has simply *celêda*, 'and adheres thereto.'

² As remarked in the note, p. 268, this episode is taken from the introduction to the 15th *Nissaggiya*.

stream—just so is that disciple of the Noble Ones who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed and framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, endowed with the thirty graces. And what are the thirty? His heart is full of affectionate, soft, and tender love, evil is killed, destroyed, cast out from within him, pride and self-righteousness are put an end to and cast down, stable and strong and established and undeviating is his faith, he enters into the enjoyment of the heart's refreshment, the highly praised and desirable peace and bliss of the ecstasies of contemplation fully felt, he exhales the most excellent and unequalled sweet savour of righteousness of life, near is he and dear to gods and men alike, exalted by the best of beings the Arahats Noble Ones themselves, gods and men delight to honour him, the enlightened, wise, and learned approve, esteem, appreciate, and praise him, untarnished is he by the love either of this world or the next¹, he sees the danger in the smallest tiniest offence, rich is he in the best of wealth—the wealth that is the fruit of the Path, the wealth of those who are seeking the highest of the attainments,—he is partaker of the best of the four requisites of a recluse that may be obtained by asking, he lives without a home addicted to that best austerity that is dependent on the meditation of the *Ghânas*, [362] he has unravelled the whole net of evil, he has broken and burst through, doubled up and utterly destroyed both the possibility of rebirth in any of the five future states, and the five obstacles to the

¹ Compare 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 10, and the note there.

higher life in this one (lust, malice, sloth, pride, and doubt), unalterable in character, excellent in conduct¹, transgressing none of the rules as to the four requisites of a recluse, he is set free from rebirths, he has passed beyond all perplexity, his mind is set upon complete emancipation, he has seen the truth², the sure and steadfast place of refuge from all fear has he gained, the seven evil inclinations (to lust, and malice, and heresy, and doubt, and pride, and desire for future life, and ignorance) are rooted out in him, he has reached the end of the Great Evils (lust, individuality, delusion, and ignorance), he abounds in the peace and the bliss of the ecstasies of contemplation, he is endowed with all the virtues a recluse should have. These, O king, are the thirty graces he is adorned withal.

26. 'And was not Sâriputta, the Elder, O king, the best man in the whole ten thousand world systems, the Teacher of the world himself alone excepted? And he who through endless ages had heaped up merit, and had been reborn in a Brahman family, relinquished all the delights of the pleasures of sense, and gave up boundless wealth³, to enter the Order according to the teaching of the Conqueror, and having restrained his actions, words, and thoughts by these thirteen vows, became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling on the royal chariot-

¹ Abhinîta-vâso, 'having the ten ariya-vâsas,' says the *Simhalese*.

² *Diṭṭha-dhammo*, 'seen the Four Truths,' says the *Simhalese*, p. 535.

³ For *saṅkha Hinaṅ-kumburê has saḥassa*.

wheel of the kingdom of righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One. So that this was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in that most excellent collection, the Aṅguttara Nikāya¹:

“I know, O brethren, of no other man who in succession to me sets rolling on the glorious chariot-wheel of the kingdom of righteousness so well as Sâriputta. Sâriputta, O brethren, sets rolling that wheel the best of all.”

‘Most excellent, Nâgasena! The whole ninefold word of the Buddha, the most exalted conduct, the highest and best of the attainments to be gained in the world,—all these are wrapped up together in the virtues that result from the keeping of the vows.’

Here ends the Ninth Chapter².

Here ends the Solving of Puzzles.

¹ Aṅguttara I, 13, 7.

² The ninth, because the numbering of the Vaggas is carried on from the last book. But according to the divisions enumerated at the beginning of the work (translated at p. 4 of the previous volume) it is one of the principal divisions of the book that is here closed, and the chapters ought not to run on.

BOOK VII.

OPAMMA-KATHÂ-PAÑHO.

THE SIMILES.

CHAPTER 1.

1. [363] 'Venerable Nāgasena, with how many qualities must a member of the Order (a Bhikshu) be endowed to realise Arahatsip ?'

'The brother, O king, who wishes to attain Arahatsip must take :—

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. One quality of the ass . . . | VII, 1, 2 |
| 2. And five of the cock . . . | 3 |
| 3. And one of the squirrel . . . | 8 |
| 4. And one of the female panther . . . | 9 |
| 5. And two of the male panther . . . | 10 |
| 6. And five of the tortoise . . . | 12 |
| 7. And one of the bamboo . . . | 17 |
| 8. And one of the bow . . . | 18 |
| 9. And two of the crow . . . | 19 |
| 10. And two of the monkey . . . | 21 |
| 11. And one of the gourd . . . | VII, 2, 1 |
| 12. And three of the lotus . . . | 2 |
| 13. And two of seed . . . | 5 |
| 14. And one of the Sal-tree . . . | 7 |
| 15. And three of a ship . . . | 8 |
| 16. And two of the anchor . . . | 11 |
| 17. And one of the mast . . . | 13 |
| 18. And three of the pilot . . . | 14 |
| 19. And one of the sailor . . . | 17 |
| 20. And five of the ocean . . . | 18 |
| 21. And five of the earth . . . | VII, 3, 1 |

22. And five of water VII, 3, 6
23. And five of fire 11
24. And five of wind 16
25. And five of rock 21
26. And five of space 26
27. And five of the moon 31
28. And seven of the sun 36
29. And three of Sakka 43
30. And four of a sovran overlord 46
31. And one of the white ant . . VII, 4, 1
32. And two of the cat 2
33. And one of the rat 4
34. And one of the scorpion 5
35. And one of the mungoose 6
36. [364] And two of the old jackal 7
37. And three of the deer 9
38. And four of the bull 12
39. And two of the boar 16
40. And five of the elephant 18
41. And seven of the lion . . . VII, 5, 1
42. And three of the *Kakravâka* bird 8
43. And two of the *Penâhikâ* bird 11
44. And one of the house-pigeon 13
45. And two of the owl 14
46. And one of the crane 16
47. And two of the bat 17
48. And one of the leech 19
49. And three of the serpent 20
50. And one of the rock-snake 23
51. And one of the road spider . . VII, 6, 1
52. And one of the child at the breast 2
53. And one of the land tortoise 3
54. And five of the mountain height 4
55. And three of the tree 9

56. And five of the rain-cloud	.	VII, 6, 12
57. And three of the jewel	. . .	17
58. And four of the hunter	. . .	20
59. And two of the fisherman	. . .	24
60. And two of the carpenter	. . .	26
61. And one of the waterpot	. . VII, 7, 1	
62. And two of iron	. . .	2
63. And three of a sunshade	. . .	4
64. And three of a rice field	. . .	7
65. And two of medicine	. . .	10
66. And three of food	. . .	12
67. And four of the archer ¹	. . .	15
And four of the king.		
And two of the doorkeeper.		
And one of a grindstone.		
And two of a lamp.		
And two of the peacock.		
And two of the steed.		
And two of the publican.		
And two of a threshold.		
And one of a balance.		
And two of a sword.		
And two of a fish.		
[365] And one of a borrower.		
And two of a sick man.		
And two of a corpse.		
And two of a river.		
And one of a buffalo.		
And two of a road.		
And one of a tax-gatherer.		
And three of a thief.		

¹ The published text carries the details of these similes no further than this. See the remarks in the Introduction, pp. xxiv, xxv.

And one of the hawk.
 And one of the dog.
 And three of the physician.
 And two of a woman with child.
 And one of the yak cow.
 And two of the hen.
 And three of the dove.
 And two of the one-eyed man.
 And three of the husbandman.
 And one of the female jackal ¹.
 And two of the dyers' straining-cloth ².
 And one of a spoon.
 And one of the negotiator of a loan.
 And one of a collector.
 And two of a charioteer.
 And two of a village headman.
 And one of a tailor.
 And one of a helmsman.
 And two of a bee.'

Here ends the Table of Contents.

¹ *Gambuka-sigâliyâ*. In *Gâtaka*, No. 294, of Fausböll, the jackal is male. The reference therefore here is to a kind of jackal named after the *Gambu* fruit.

² *Kaṅgavâarakassa*. See *Magghima Nikâya* I, 142-4, and *Gâtaka* V, 186, in both of which passages the Burmese MSS. read *kaṅka-*. The *Sinhalese*, p. 540, has *perahan kaḍḍe*.

I. THE ASS.

2. 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the harsh-voiced ass which you say he ought to take, which is that?'

'Just, O king, as the ass, wheresoever he may lie down—whether on a dust heap, or in the open space where four roads meet, or three ¹, or at the entrance to a village, or on a heap of straw—[366]—nowhere is he given to resting long; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort ², wheresoever he may spread out his mat for repose—whether on strewed grass, or leaves, or on a bed of thorns, or on the bare earth—nowhere should he be given to sloth. This is the one quality of the ass he ought to have. For this has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

“Sleeping on pillows of chaff, my disciples, O brethren,

Keep themselves earnest and ardent in strenuous fight ³.”

¹ *Katukke* and *siṅghâṭake*. I follow Hinaśi-kumburê in the distinction he makes between the meaning of these terms—*satara* and *tun maṃ sandhiyehi* (p. 540).

² *Yogî yogavaḥaro*. The rendering of these words is quite inadequate, and has given me much trouble. Neither 'yogee' nor 'devotee' can be used, for they both have acquired connotations contradictory to what was in our author's mind. He means the Buddhist Bhikshu belonging to that class among the Bhikshus (by no means the majority) who had devoted themselves to a life of systematic effort according to the Buddhist scheme of self-training. But I have found it impossible to put into any English phrase sufficiently short for the constant repetition of the two Pâli words any full and accurate representation of all that they imply. See the note above on p. 43 of the Pâli, and *Gâtaka*, vol. i, p. 303.

³ Not traced as yet. Mr. Trenckner prints the passage as

‘And this too, O king, was said by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

“If it but raineth not knee-deep on him
When sitting in high meditations plunged—
What cares the man on Arahatsip intent for
ease¹!”

2. THE COCK.

3. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of the cock which you say he ought to take, what are they?’

‘Just, O king, as a cock goes early and betimes to roost ; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, early and betimes sweep out the open space around the Dâgaba, and having got ready² the drinking-water for the day’s use, and dressed himself³, and taken his bath, he should bow

prose, but it is clearly two verses with a slight corruption in the first line. The point of the verses lies in the untranslatable pun of the words upadhâna, ‘pillow,’ and padhâna, ‘strenuous fight.’ The word etarahi seems to me suspect, and some such reading as kaṭṭharopadhânâ va would restore the metre, and at the same time bring the play on the words more into prominence.

¹ This verse is found in the Thera Gâthâ, No. 985. Hīnaṣ-kumburê takes the na in the first line as a negative to abhivassati, and translates, ‘So long as it does not rain knee-deep on him, when sitting in meditation, what cares the Bhikshu, who is bent on attaining Nirvâṇa, for ease!’—and this is, I think, preferable to Mr. Trenckner’s division of the words.

² That is, ‘filtered;’ perahâ nagâ tabâ, says the Sinhalese, p. 541.

³ Sarfram paṣiḡaggitvâ, ‘rested a little to remove the weariness of his body,’ says the Sinhalese here, but adds below, § 4, siwuru hœnda.

down in reverence before the Dâgaba, and then pay visits to the senior Bhikshus, and, on his return, enter in due time into the chamber of solitude. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the cock he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as a cock rises early and betimes; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rise early and betimes to sweep out the open space around the Dâgaba, and get ready the drinking-water for the day's use, and dress himself, and pay his daily reverence to the Dâgaba, and enter into the chamber of solitude. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the cock he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, as the cock is unremitting in scratching the earth to pick up what he can find to eat; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, practise continual self-examination and circumspection in taking any nourishment he may find to eat, reminding himself: [367] "I eat this, seeking not after pleasure, nor after excitement, nor after beauty of body, nor after elegance of form, but merely for the preservation of my body, to keep myself alive, as a means of appeasing the pain of hunger, and of assisting me in the practice of the higher life. Thus shall I put an end to all former sorrow, and give no cause for future sorrow to arise; therein shall I be free from blame, and dwell at ease." This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the cock he ought to have. For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"Like child's flesh in the desert wild,
Or smearing grease upon the wheel,

Solely to keep himself alive,
Does he, when feeling faint, take food ¹."

6. ' And again, O king, as the cock, though it has eyes, is blind by night; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, though he is not blind, be as one blind. Whether in the woods, or on his daily walk for alms in search of food, blind should he be and deaf and dumb to all delights of form, or sound, or taste, or smell, or touch, should not make them the objects of his thought, should pay no special, detailed, attention to them ². This, O king, is the fourth of the qualities of the cock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Mahā Kakkāyana, the Elder :

" Let him with eyes be as one blind,
And he who hears be as the deaf,

¹ Not traced as yet. The verse is a riddle based on two parables. Of these the first is already published in the *Samyutta Nikāya* XII, 63, 5-8. It tells of a father and mother who in the desert (and of course only with the object of keeping themselves alive) ate their only child. The other is not yet published; but Mr. Trenckner points out that it occurs in the 34th *Samyutta*. Oiling wheels is done solely to keep the cart going. Compare the dying Buddha's comparison of himself to a worn-out cart, which can only with difficulty be made to move along. Like that, the body of the Tathāgata can only with difficulty be kept a little longer going ('Buddhist Suttas,' p. 37).

As to the last word, I take it, with *Hīnaśi-kumburê*, p. 542, to be *muḥḥito*, and not *amuḥḥito* as is printed in the text. That is also the reading adopted by Fausbøll at *Gāṭaka* II, 294, where the verses are quoted.

² *Na nimittam gahetabbam nānubyañganam gahetabbam*. On these common expressions compare *Āṅguttara* I, 2, 6, &c.; *Puggala Paññatti* II, 17, IV, 24, &c.; *Dīgha* II, 64, &c.; and Buddhaghosa as quoted in 'Vinaya Texts,' II, 9. *Hīnaśi-kumburê* only repeats the first, but explains the second by *nœwata nœwata wimasīmem*.

He who can speak be as the dumb,
 The man of strength as were he weak.
 As each new object rises to his ken,
 On the sweet couch of blest Nirvâna's peace
 Let him lie down and rest¹."

7. ' And again, O king, as the cock, even though persecuted² with clods and sticks and clubs³ and cudgels, will not desert his home ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort,—whether he be engaged in robemaking or in building-work, or in any of his daily duties, or in teaching, or in receiving instruction⁴—never give up his presence of mind. For that, O king—his presence of mind—is the home in which he dwells. This, O king, is the fifth of the qualities of the cock he ought to have. [368] And this, O king, has been said by the Blessed One, the god over all gods⁵ :

" And which, O Bhikshu, is the Bhikshu's resort, the realm which is his own by right?—it is this, the four modes of being mindful and thoughtful⁶."

¹ From Thera Gâthâ 501. The Sinhalese supports Mr. Trenckner in reading *givhâv* in line three, but on the other hand has (twice) *mana-sâyikam* for *mata-sâyikam*. For the last line, of which a literal translation is impossible, it says, 'Let him make his couch on, fix his attention on, that Nirvâna which is *mana-sâyika-kitta*.' I think *mata* is the right reading, and that very possibly a riddle or pun is intended on the two meanings of that word.

² *Paripâtīyanto*. See above, p. 279 of the Pâli, and *Gâtaka* II, 208. The Sinhalese, p. 543, has *he/anu labanneya*.

³ *Laku/a*. See above, pp. 255, 301 of the Pâli, and compare the Hindî.

⁴ *Hîna/i-kumburê* expands all these details.

⁵ In the *Samyutta Nikâya* XLVI, 7. See Mr. Trenckner's note.

⁶ The four *Satipa/sâhânas*. Compare above, p. 343 of the Pâli.

‘ And this too, O king, has been said by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

“ The elephant distinguishes good food
From bad, he knows what gives him sustenance,
And even when asleep he guards his trunk ¹—
So let each Buddha’s son, earnest in zeal,
Never do violence to the Conqueror’s word,
Nor injury to his self-possession, best of gifts². ”

3. THE SQUIRREL.

8. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the squirrel which you say he ought to take, which is that ? ’

‘ Just as the squirrel, O king, when an enemy falls upon him, beats his tail on the ground till it swells, and then with his own tail as a cudgel drives off the foe ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when his enemy, sin, falls upon him, beat the cudgel of his self-possession till it swells, and then by the cudgel of self-possession drive all evil inclinations off. This, O king, is the one quality of the squirrel which he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Kulla Panthaka, the Elder :

“ When sins, those fell destroyers of the gains
Gained by the life of recluse, fall on us,
They should be slain, again and yet again,
By resolute self-possession as a club ³. ”

¹ As he does in war, according to *Magg'hima* I, 415.

² Not traced as yet. It is not included in the collection of Sâriputta’s verses preserved in the *Thera Gâthâ*.

³ Not in the published texts.

4. THE PANTHER (FEMALE)¹.

9. 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the female of the panther which you say he ought to take, which is that?'

'Just, O king, as the female of the panther conceives only once, and does not resort again and again to the male²; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort,—seeing how future conceptions and births involve a period of gestation and a fall from each state as it is reached, and dissolution and death and destruction, seeing the horrors of transmigration and of rebirths in evil states, the annoyance of them, the torment of them,—he should stedfastly resolve never to enter upon any future life. [369] This, O king, is the one quality of the female panther which he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipâta, in the Sutta of Dhaniya the cowherd :

"Like a strong bull who's burst the bonds that bound him,
Or elephant who's forced his way through jungle,
Thus shall I never more enter the womb—
And now, if it so please you, god, rain on³!"

5. THE PANTHER (MALE).

10. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the panther which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

¹ Dîpinî, perhaps 'leopardess.' The *Simhalese* has 'tigress,' which is certainly wrong.

² Because it realises the pains and sorrows of cub-bearing, says the *Simhalese*.

³ Sutta Nipâta I, 2, 12.

‘Just, O king, as the panther, lying in ambush in wild places, behind a thicket of long grass or brush-wood, or among the rocks, catches the deer; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, resort to solitary places in the woods, at the foot of a tree, on mountain heights, in caves and grottoes, in cemeteries, in forests, under the open sky, on beds of straw, in quiet, noiseless spots, free from strong winds, and hid from the haunts of men. For the strenuous Bhikshu, O king, earnest in effort, who frequents such solitudes, will soon become master of the six forms of transcendent insight. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the panther he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Elders who collected the scriptures :

“As the panther by lying in ambush catches the deer,

So the sons of the Buddha, with insight and earnestness armed,

By resorting to solitudes gain that Fruit which is best¹.”

II. ‘And again, O king, as the panther, whatever may be the beast he has killed, will never eat it if it has fallen on the left side; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, not partake of any food that has been procured by gifts of bamboos, or palms’ leaves, or flowers, or fruits, or baths², or chunam, or tooth-sticks, [370] or water for washing; or by flattery, or by gaining the laity over by sugared

¹ That is, of course, Arahatsip. The lines are not to be found in the published texts.

² Sinâna-dânenâ; omitted by the Sutta Vibhaṅga and by Hīnaśī-kumburê (who quotes the Pāli of this passage).

words (literally by pea-soup-talk), suppressing the truth and suggesting the false¹, or by petting their children², or by taking messages as he walks from house to house³, or by doctoring them, or by acting as a go-between, or as a messenger on matters of business or ceremony⁴, or by exchanging with them things he has received as alms, or by giving back again to them as bribes robes or food once given to him⁵, or by giving them hints as to lucky sites, or lucky days, or lucky signs (on their children's bodies at birth), or by any other of those wrong modes of obtaining a livelihood that have been condemned by the Buddha⁶—no food so procured should he eat, as the panther will not eat any prey that has fallen on its left side. This is the second of the qualities of the panther he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

“ This food, so sweet, has been procured
Through intimation given by speech.
Were I, then, to partake thereof,
My mode of livelihood would be blamed.

¹ *Muggasuppatâ*. So *Hīnañ-kumburê*, p. 546. The *Sutta Vibhaṅga* omits both this word and the next.

² *Pāribhaṭṭakā*.

³ *Gaṅgha-pesaniyena*. The *Sutta Vibhaṅga* I, 185, on which our whole paragraph here is based, reads *-pesanikena*. I have differentiated the three sorts of messages according to the *Simhalese*.

⁴ *Hīnañ-kumburê*, both in his transcription of the Pāli (p. 546) and in his translation (p. 547), reads *pahīna-gamana*.

⁵ *Anuppadāna*. Compare *Gāṭaka* III, 205. At *Sigālovāda Sutta*, p. 307, and *Milinda*, p. 315, it means simply providing a person with things he wants. Childers's rendering, 'giving,' is inadequate in all the passages.

⁶ Referring to the *Sīlas*.

Now though by hunger dire oppressed
 My stomach seem to rise, to go,
 Ne'er will I break my rule of life,
 Not though my life I sacrifice¹."

6. THE TORTOISE.

12. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the tortoise which you say he ought to take, what are they?'

'Just, O king, as the tortoise, which is a water animal, keeps to the water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, let his heart go out over the whole wide world with pity and with love—mighty, abounding, beyond measure, free from every feeling of hatred or of malice—towards all creatures that have life². This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, just as the tortoise, when, as he swims on the water and raises his head, he catches sight of any one, that moment sinks, and dives into the depths, lest they should see him again; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when evil inclinations fall upon him, sink into the waters of meditation, dive down into the deeps thereof, lest those evil inclinations should catch sight of him again. This, O king, is the

¹ Not traced as yet. Hīnaśī-kumburê gives a long account of the circumstances under which these verses were spoken. Sâriputta was ill. Moggallâna asked him what would be good for him to take. Sâriputta told him. His friend then, by intervention of the king of the gods, procured it. But Sâriputta refused to make use of it.

² The Brahma-vihâras (Nos. 1 and 2). See 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 201.

second of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have.

14. [371] 'And again, O king, just as the tortoise gets up out of the water, and suns himself; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he rouses himself (withdraws his mind) out of meditation,—whether taken sitting, or lying down, or standing, or walking up and down,—sun his mind in the Great Struggle against evil dispositions. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, just as the tortoise, digging a hole in the ground, dwells alone; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, giving up worldly gain and honour and praise, take up his abode alone, plunging into the solitudes of empty lonely places in the groves and woods and hills, in caves and grottoes, noiseless and quiet. This, O king, is the fourth of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena, the Elder, of the sons of the Vaṅgantas:

"Lonely and quiet places, haunts
Of the deer, and of wild beasts,
Should the Bhikshu seek as his abode,
For solitude's sweet sake¹."

16. 'And again, O king, as the tortoise, when on his rounds he sees any one, draws in at once all his head and limbs into his shell, and hiding them there, keeps still in silence to save himself; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, wheresoever forms, or sounds, or odours, or tastes,

¹ Thera Gāthā 577.

or feelings strike upon him, shut to the gate of self-restraint at the six doors of his senses, cover up his mind in self-control, and continue constant in mindfulness and thoughtfulness to save his Samāṇa-ship. This, O king, is the fifth of the qualities of the tortoise he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikāya*, in the Sutta of the parable of the tortoise :

“As the tortoise withdraws his limbs in his shell,
Let the Bhikshu bury the thoughts of his mind,
Himself Independent, injuring none,
Set free himself, speaking evil of none ¹.”

7. THE BAMBOO.

17. [372] ‘Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the bamboo which you say he ought to take, which is it?’

‘Just, O king, as the bamboo, whithersoever the gale blows, to that quarter does it bend accordingly, pursuing no other way of its own ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, conduct himself in accordance with the ninefold teaching of the Master, the word of the Buddha, the Blessed One, and steadfastly keeping to all things lawful and blameless, he should seek after the qualities of the Samāṇa-ship itself. This, O king, is the one quality of the bamboo he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Rāhula, the Elder :

¹ The parable is in the 46th *Samyutta*. The verses are already published at vol. i, p. 7 of M. Feer’s edition for the Pāli Text Society.

“In accord alway with Buddha’s ninefold word
And steadfast in all lawful, blameless acts,
I have passed beyond rebirth in evil states ¹.”

8. THE BOW.

18. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the bow which you say he ought to have, which is it?’

‘Just, O king, as a well-made and balanced bow bends equally from end to end, and does not resist stiffly, like a post; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, bend easily in accord with all his brethren—whether elders, juniors, of medium seniority, or of like standing with himself—and not repel them. This, O king, is the one quality of the bow he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Vidhura *Punnaka Gâtaka* :

“Let the wise bend as the bow, yield as the reed,
Not be contrary. He shall dwell in the home of
kings ².”

9. THE CROW.

19. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the crow that you say he ought to take, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as the crow goes about full of apprehension and suspicion, [373] always on watch and guard; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, go about full of apprehension and suspicion, always on watch and guard,

¹ Not traced as yet. *Hīnaśi-kumburê* reads *samuttarim*.

² *Gâtaka*, No. 545, verse 159.

in full self-possession, with his senses under control. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the crow he ought to have.

20. 'And again, O king, as the crow, whatever food he catches sight of, eats it, sharing with his kind; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never omit to share with virtuous co-religionists, and that without distinction of person or deliberation as to quantity¹, whatever lawful gifts he may have lawfully received, down even to the contents of his begging-bowl. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the crow he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Whate'er they may present to me, austere in life,
All that, just as it comes, do I divide
With all, and I myself then take my food²."

10. THE MONKEY.

21. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the monkey which you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the monkey, when about to take up his abode does so in some such place as a mighty tree, in a lonely place covered all over with branches, a sure place of refuge; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, choose as the teacher under whom to live a man modest, amiable, righteous, of beauty of character, learned in tradition and in the scriptures, lovable, venerable, worthy of

¹ So Hīnaśī-kumburē understands this, his version agreeing with the quotation given by Mr. Trenckner from Buddhaghosa.

² Not traced as yet.

reverence, a speaker of profitable things, meek, clever in admonition, in instruction, and in education, able to arouse, to incite, to gladden¹—such a friend should he choose as teacher. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the monkey he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, as the monkey wanders about, and stands and sits, always on trees, and, if he goes to sleep, spends the night on them; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, stand and walk up and down thinking, [374] and lie down, and sleep, in the forest, and there enjoy the sense of self-possession. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the monkey he ought to have. For it has been said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

“Walking, or standing, sitting, lying down,
'Tis in the forest that the Bhikshu shines.
To dwell in wildernesses far remote
Has been exalted by the Buddhas all².”

Here ends the First Chapter³.

¹ For the last six words, none of which are in Childers, see *Magghima Nikâya* I, 145, 6, and below, VII, 2, 20.

² Not traced as yet.

³ The Kambojan MS., in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, ends here.

BOOK VII. CHAPTER 2.

THE SIMILES (continued).

II. THE GOURD.

1. 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the gourd which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the gourd, climbing up with its tendrils¹ on to some other plant—whether a grass, or a thorn, or a creeper—grows all over it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, who desires to grow up into Arahatsip, do so by climbing up with his mind over the ideas that present themselves (as subjects for the *Kammatahâna* meditations). This, O king, is the one quality of the gourd which he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"As the gourd, clambering up with its tendrils,
grows
O'er the grass, or the thorn-bush, or creeper wide-spread,
So the son of the Buddha on Ar'hatship bent,
Climbs up o'er ideas, to perfection and peace²."

¹ *Sondikâhi*, which must mean here the tentacles or feelers of the gourd-creeper. The *Simhalese* has simply *Sondim*. I have only found the word elsewhere in the connection *Sondikâ kilaṅgâ* at *Magghima* I, 228 and *Samyutta* IV, 1, 6, 4.

² Not traced as yet. The last line is literally, 'By climbing up on the *ârammanas* should grow in the Fruit of those who have nothing left to learn' (that is, in Arahatsip).

12. THE LOTUS.

2. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the lotus which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

[375] 'Just, O king, as the lotus, though it is born in the water, and grows up in the water, yet remains undefiled by the water (for no water adheres to it); just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain undefiled by the support that he receives, or by the following of disciples that he obtains, or by fame, or by honour, or by veneration, or by the abundance of the requisites that he enjoys. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the lotus that he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the lotus remains lifted up far above the water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain far above all worldly things. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the lotus that he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as the lotus trembles when blown upon by the slightest breeze; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, exercise self-control in respect of the least of the evil dispositions, perceiving the danger (in the least offence). This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the lotus he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods:

"Seeing danger in the least offence, he takes upon himself, trains himself in, the precepts¹."

¹ See *Magghima Nikâya* I, 33; *Digha* II, 42, &c.

13. THE SEED.

5. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those two qualities of seed which you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as seed, tiny though it be, yet if sown in good soil, and if the god rains aright, will give abundant fruit; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, so conduct himself aright that the righteousness of his life may give abundantly of the fruits of Samānaship. This, O king, is the first quality of seed which he ought to have.

6. 'And again, O king, as seed planted in well-weeded soil comes quickly to maturity; just so, O king, will his mind, when well-mastered¹, and well-purified in solitude, if it be cast by the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, into the excellent field of self-possession, come quickly to maturity. This, O king, is the second quality of seed which he ought to have. [376] For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder :

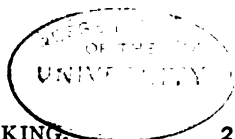
" If seed be sown on a well-weeded field,
Its fruit, abounding, will rejoice the sower.
So the recluse's heart, in solitude made pure,
Matures full fast in self-possession's field². "

14. THE SAL-TREE.

7. 'Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the Sal-tree which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

¹ Supariggahītam, which the Sinhalese, p. 553, omits.

² Not in the published texts.



‘Just, O king, as the Sal-tree grows within the ground to the depth of a hundred cubits or more ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, perfect in solitude the four Fruits of Samanaship, the four Discriminations, the six forms of transcendental Insight, and all the qualities befitting a recluse. This, O king, is the one quality of the Sal-tree he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Râhula, the Elder :

“ The tree that’s called the Sal-tree grows above the earth,
And shoots beneath, a hundred cubits deep.
As in the fullness of time, and at its highest growth
That tree shoots in one day¹ a hundred cubits high,
Just so do I, O Buddha, like the Sal,
Increase, in solitude, in inward good.”

15. THE SHIP.

8. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the ship that you say he ought to take, which are they ?’

‘Just, O king, as a ship, by the combination of the quantity of the different kinds of timber of which it is composed, conveys many folk across ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cross the whole world of existence, whether in heaven, or on earth, by the combination of a number of qualities arising out of good conduct, righteousness, virtue, and the performance of duty.

¹ Ekâham. I follow the Sinhalese (*eka divasim*), but confess myself very doubtful as to this being the meaning intended by the author.

This, O king, is the first of the qualities of a ship he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, just as a ship [377] can bear the onslaught of various thundering waves and of far-reaching whirlpools; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be able to bear the onslaught of the waves of various evil inclinations, and the onslaught of the waves of varied evils—veneration and contempt, support and honour, praise and exaltation, offerings and homage, blame and commendation in families not his own. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the ship he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as the ship journeys over the great ocean, immeasurable and infinite though it be, without a further shore, unshaken in its depths, roaring with a mighty noise, and filled with crowds of fish and monsters and dragons of all sorts; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make his mind journey through to penetration into the four Truths in their triple order, in their twelvefold form¹. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the ship he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta* Nikâya, in the *Samyutta* on the Truths²:

"Whenever you are thinking, O Bhikkhus, you should think: 'Such is sorrow,'—you should think: 'Such is the origin of sorrow,'—you should think: 'Such is the end of sorrow,'—you should think: 'Such is the path that leads to the end of sorrow.'"

¹ See 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 150-152, and especially § 21, from which the expressions here used are taken.

² This is the 55th *Samyutta*.

16. THE ANCHOR.

11. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those two qualities of the anchor which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the anchor, even in the mighty sea, in the expanse of waters agitated by the crowding of ever-varying waves, will fasten the ship, and keep it still, not letting the sea take it in one direction or another; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep his mind steadfast in the mighty struggle of thoughts, in the waters of the waves of lust and malice and dullness, not letting them divert it in one direction or another. This, O king, is the first quality of the anchor he ought to have.

12. 'And again, O king, as the anchor floats not, but sinks down, and even in water a hundred cubits deep holds the ship fast, brings it to rest; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he receives support, and fame, and honour, and veneration, and reverence, and offerings, and praise, [378] be not lifted up on the summit of the support or the fame, but keep his mind fixed on the idea of merely keeping his body alive. This, O king, is the second quality of the anchor he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sāriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"As the anchor floats not, but sinks down beneath the waves,
So be abased, not lifted up, by praise or gifts¹."

¹ Not traced as yet.

17. THE MAST.

13. 'Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the mast which you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the mast carries ropes and braces and sails¹; just so should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, always have mindfulness and self-possession—when going out or coming back, when looking ahead or looking round, when stretching forth his arm or bending it back, when wearing clothes or carrying his bowl, when eating or drinking or swallowing or tasting, when easing himself or walking or standing or sitting, when asleep or awake, when talking and when silent, never should he lose his mindfulness and self-possession. This, O king, is the one quality of the mast he ought to have². For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

"Mindful, my brethren, should the Bhikshu remain, and self-possessed. This is my instruction to you³."

18. THE PILOT.

14. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of the pilot which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the pilot, day and night, with

¹ Lakāra. Childers says 'a part of a ship,' Dr. Morris ('Journal of the Pāli Text Society,' 1884, p. 101, note) says 'a chain attached to a well.' I follow the Sinhalese, p. 556, which has ruwala. See *Gāṭaka* II, 112, and compare IV, 21.

² The Sinhalese has here a page of matter not found in the Pāli.

³ *Dīgha Nikāya* XVI, 2, 12.

continuous and unceasing zeal and effort, navigates¹ his ship; just so, O king, does the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when regulating his mind, continue night and day unceasingly zealous and earnest in regulating his mind by careful thought. This, O king, is the one quality of the pilot he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Dhammapada (the Collection of scripture verses):

“Be full of zeal, watch over your own thoughts;
 Raise yourselves up out of the slough of endless
 births,
 As the strong elephant engulfed in depths of
 mud².”

[379] 15. ‘And again, O king, as the pilot knows all that is in the sea, whether good or bad; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, know good from evil, and what is an offence from what is not, and what is mean from what is exalted, and what is dark from what is light. This, O king, is the second quality of the pilot he ought to have.

16. ‘And again, O king, as the pilot puts a seal on the steering apparatus³ lest any one should touch it; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, put the seal of self-control on his heart, lest any evil or wrong thoughts should arise within it. This is the third quality of the pilot he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the

¹ Sâreti, ‘makes go.’ Not in Childers, but see *Anguttara Nikâya* III, 35, 4, and compare *Kullavagga* V, 11, 2.

² Dhammapada, verse 327.

³ Yanta, which the *Simhalese* renders *yantra* (p. 559).

Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikāya* :

“Think, O Bhikshus, no evil or wrong thoughts, such as thoughts of lust, or of malice, or of delusion¹.”

19. THE SAILOR².

17. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the sailor which you say he ought to take, which is it?’

‘Just as the sailor on board ship, O king, thinks thus: “I am a hireling, and am working for my wage on board this ship. By means of this ship is it that I get food and clothing. I must not be lazy, but zealously navigate the ship;” just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, think thus: “Gaining a thorough knowledge of this body of mine, put together of the four elements, continuously and unceasingly will I be self-possessed in mindfulness and thoughtfulness, and tranquil and peaceful will exert myself to be set free from births, old age, disease, and death, grief, lamentation, sorrow, suffering, and despair.” This, O king, is the one quality of the sailor he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sāriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

“Understand what the body is, realise that again and again,

Seeing the nature of the body, put an end to grief³.”

¹ *Samyutta* LV, 7.

² *Kammakaro*. *Hīnañ-kumburē* translates this ‘handyman, artisan, ship’s carpenter.’

³ Not traced as yet.

20. THE SEA.

18. [380] 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the sea you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the sea brooks no contact with a corpse¹; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, brook no association with the stains of evil—lust and malice and dullness and pride and delusion, concealing the faults one has and claiming virtues one has not², envy and avarice, deceit and treachery and trickiness, wickedness and sinfulness of life. This, O king, is the first quality of the sea he ought to have.

19. 'And again, O king, just as the sea carries within it stores of all kinds of gems—pearls and diamonds and cat's-eyes, and chank shells, and quartz³, and coral, and crystal, but conceals them all; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, though he have attained to the various gems of character—the Path, and the Fruits

¹ This curious belief has been made use of above, I, 259 of the translation. See also *Divyāvadāna*, p. 234.

² *Makkho* and *pālāso*, 'hypocrisy and conceit.' See the notes above on IV, 8, 23.

³ *Silā*. Mr. Trenckner prints the passage as if *saṅkhasilā* were to be taken together. But the use of the nominatives *saṅkho silā* in the corresponding list at *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3, 4 shows that by *silā*, 'rock,' some kind of gem is meant. And that our author does not intend to deviate from the earlier authority is clear from his own work (above, p. 267 of the *Pāli*), where he also gives the two nominatives in a similar, though longer, list of gems. What may be the particular gem referred to under the name 'rock' is doubtful. *Hīnaśi-kumburê*, p. 561, merely repeats the word *silā*; and Clough, besides 'rock,' gives as special meaning only 'arsenic.' At *Kullavagga* ('*Vinaya Texts*,' III, 304) I have rendered it 'rock,' but 'quartz' now seems to me preferable.

thereof, and the four *Ghānas*, and the eight *Vimokkhas*, and *Samādhi*, and the five Attainments (forms of ecstatic contemplation and Insight), and the six forms of Transcendental Knowledge¹—conceal them and not bring them to the light. This, O king, is the second quality of the sea he ought to have.

20. 'And again, O king, just as the sea associates with mighty creatures; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, associate himself with a fellow-disciple who desires little and is contented, who is pure in speech², whose conduct is directed to the eradication of evil, who is given to righteousness, modest, amiable, dignified, venerable, a speaker of profitable words, meek, one who will point out his associate's faults, and blame him when he does wrong, clever in admonition, in instruction, and in education, able to arouse, to incite, and to gladden—with such a man as a friend, in righteousness should he dwell. This, O king, is the third quality of the sea he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, as the sea, though filled with the fresh water brought down by the Ganges, and the Jumna, and the *Akīravatī*, and the *Sarabhū*, and the *Mahī*, and by other rivers a hundred thousand in number, and by the rains of heaven, yet

¹ It is very characteristic of our author that his interpretation of the gems into ethical conceptions is quite different from that of the *Kullavagga*, and much more mystic. In the older passage they are translated into the seven constituent characteristics of *Arahatsip*. (See 'Vinaya Texts,' loc. cit., p. 305.) Compare also *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 115, 229.

² *Dhuta-vādo*, not in Childers, and only found here. Perhaps 'who inculcates the keeping of the extra vows.' *Dhutaṅga-wādiwū*, says *Hīnaśī-kumburē*, p. 561.

never overflows its shore ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never consciously transgress the precepts for the sake of support, or fame, or praise, or salutations, or reverence, or honour—no ! not even for his life. This, O king, is the fourth of the qualities of the sea he ought to have. [381] For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods¹ :

“Just, O king, as the great ocean has fixity as its characteristic, and never overflows its shores ; just so, O king, should my disciples never overstep the regulations I have laid down for them—no ! not even to save themselves alive².”

22. ‘And again, O king, as the sea is not filled even by all the rivers—the Ganges, and the Jumna, and the Aśiravattī, and the Sarabhū, and the Maht—nor by the rains from heaven ; just so, O king, should

¹ Devāṭidevena. It is not known when this epithet, which our author so constantly applies to the Buddha, first came into use. It is not found in the *Piṭakas*, and the *Milinda* is the oldest book in which it has been traced. It is given in the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, page 1, as a recognised epithet, but not in the corresponding Pāli list of epithets in the *Abhidhāna Padīpikā* (though *deva-deva* occurs there). The origin of the appellation is solemnly explained in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 391. It is there said to have been first bestowed on the Buddha (when, as a child, he was presented in the temple), because all the gods bowed down before him. There is nothing about this in the corresponding passage of the *Lalitā Vistara*, pp. 136–138. The epithet is used of the Buddha in an inscription of Toramāna Shāhi (‘*Epigraphia Indica*’ for October, 1889). It occurs also in a verse preserved in the commentaries on the *Dhammapada* and the *Gāthaka* (*Gāthaka* IV, 158 = *Dhammapada* 148)—a verse not found in the *Piṭaka* versions of the same episode—and is used in a kind of pun in the *Mahāvamsa*, chap. i, verse 56. But these three passages are all of the fifth century A.D.

² Not traced as yet. A similar parable is used at the passage already quoted from the *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3, 4.

the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never be satisfied with receiving instruction, with asking and answering questions, with listening to the word, and learning it by heart, and examining into it, with hearing the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya, and the deep sayings of the Suttas, with analysis of forms, with learning the rules of right composition, conjunction, and grammatical construction¹, with listening to the ninefold teaching of the Conqueror. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the sea he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutasoma Gâtaka²:

“Just as the fire, in burning grass and sticks,
Is never satisfied, nor the great sea
Filled with the waters of all streams that flow—
So are these students wise, O king of kings,
Listening, ne’er sated with the words of truth³.”

Here ends the Second Chapter.

¹ The translation is here doubtful. The *Simhalese* apparently takes *viggaha* as qualifying *pada*, though it renders the whole by ‘learning the rules of resolving words into their elements, and of building them up into compounds, and of Sandhi, and of conjugation, and of declension.’

² Not reached as yet in Professor Fausböll’s edition. Mr. Trenckner says the verse quoted is No. 47 in the 537th Gâtaka.

³ The *Simhalese* reads *Evam hi me* for *Evam h’ ime*, and renders ‘listening to me.’ Mr. Trenckner points out that the Gâtaka MSS. read *Evam pi te*.

BOOK VII. CHAPTER 3.

THE SIMILES (continued).

21. THE EARTH.

1. [382] 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the earth which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the earth remains just the same whether one scatter upon it desirable things or the reverse—whether camphor and aloes and jasmine and sandal-wood and saffron, or whether bile and phlegm and pus and blood and sweat and fat and saliva and mucus and the fluid which lubricates the joints and urine and faeces—still it is the same; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain the same, unmoved at support or neglect, at fame or dishonour, at blame or praise, in happiness or in woe. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the earth he ought to have.

2. 'And again, O king, as the earth has no adornment, no garlands, but is suffused with the odour of itself; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, wear no finery, but rather be set round with the sweet savour of his own righteousness of life. This, O king, is the second quality of the earth he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the earth is solid, without holes or interstices, thick, dense, and spreads itself out on every side; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be endowed with an unbroken righteousness of life with no gaps

or cracks in it, thick, dense, and spreading itself out on every side. This, O king, is the third quality of the earth he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as the earth is never weary, though it bears up the villages and towns and cities and countries, the trees and hills and rivers and ponds and lakes, the wild creatures and birds and men, multitudes of men and women; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be never weary in giving exhortation and admonition and instruction and education, in rousing and inciting and gladdening, and at the expositions of the faith. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the earth he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, as the earth is free alike from fawning and from ill-will¹; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, continue in spirit, like the earth, free alike from fawning upon any man, from ill-will to any man. This is the fifth quality of the earth he ought to have. [383] For it was said, O king, by the devoted woman, Kulla Subhaddâ, when she was exalting the recluses of her own sect²:

¹ This simile has already occurred above, I, 258, 259 (of the translation).

² The *Simhalese* (pp. 563, 564) gives the whole story. She was the daughter of Anâthapindîka (Sudatta), the famous supporter of the Buddha, and builder of the Getavana at Sâvatthi. On her marriage to a rich merchant at Sâketa (Audh) named Kâlaka, he invited the Brahman naked ascetics of his sect, the Âgîvakas, and asked her to go and entertain 'the Arahats.' Hearing the word Arahats she went quickly and full of delight to do so; and was shocked beyond measure to find a number of disorderly fakîrs, with neither modesty in their hearts, nor decency in their outward behaviour. So she fled from the hall, and on her husband remonstrating, was indignant. He then asked her what the recluses

“ Were one, enraged, to cut their one arm with an
axe,
Another, pleased, to anoint the other with sweet
scent,
No ill-will would they bear the one, nor love the
other.
Their hearts are like the earth, unmoved are my
recluses¹. ”

22. WATER.

6. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, the five qualities of water which you say he ought to take, which are they ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as water is firmly fixed (in pools, wells, &c.), shakes not, and (in its ordinary state) is not disturbed, and is pure by nature ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, putting away hypocrisy, and whining, and intimating their wants, and improper influences of all sorts, be fixed, unshaken, undisturbed, and pure in nature. This, O king, is the first quality of water he ought to have.

7. ‘ And again, O king, as water is always of a refreshing nature ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be full of pity, and love, and kindness to all beings, seeking the good of all, in mercy to all. This, O king, is the second quality of water he ought to have.

8. ‘ And again, O king, as water makes the dirty clean ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu,

of her sect were like, and she told him. Another verse from her description is quoted below, p. 387 of the Pâli. The above story has been often repeated.

¹ Not traced. Hînañ-kumburê reads *ekañ ke bâham* (twice) and *mânaso, pamodito*; and he is no doubt right,

earnest in effort, be in all places, whether in the village or in the forest, free from disputes with, free from offence against his teachers, his masters, or those standing towards him like a teacher. This, O king, is the third quality of water he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, as water is desired of all men; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, wishing for little, content, given to solitude and retirement, be always an object of desire to all the world. This, O king, is the fourth quality of water he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as water works no harm to any man; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never do any wrong, whether in deed or word or thought, which would produce in others either strife, or quarrel, or contention, or dispute, or a feeling of emptiness, or anger¹, or discontent. [384] This, O king, is the fifth quality of water he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the *Kaṇha Gâtaka*²:

"If you would grant a boon to me,
O Sakka, lord of every creature,—
Let none, Sakka, on my account,
Be harmed, whether in mind or body,
At any time or place. This, Sakka,
This would I choose as boon of boons³."

¹ *Rittagghâna*, which *Hinasi-kumburê* renders *siswa kipîma*.

² These words are in the original ascribed, not to the Buddha himself, but to *Kaṇha-kumâro*, the then Bodisat.

³ *Gâtaka* IV, 14. Professor Fausbøll reads *mam kate*, but the Sinhalese (pp. 566, 567) confirms Mr. Trenckner's reading, *mam kâna, mam nissâya, mam anatta-kâmatâya*.

23. FIRE.

11. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of fire which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as fire burns grass, and sticks, and branches, and leaves; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, burn out in the fire of wisdom all evil dispositions which feed on objects of thought, whether subjective or objective, whether desirable or the reverse. This, O king, is the first quality of fire he ought to have.

12. 'And again, O king, as fire has no pity, neither mercy; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, show no pity, neither mercy, to any evil dispositions. This, O king, is the second quality of fire he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, as fire destroys cold; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, lighting up in his heart the burning fire of zeal, destroy all evil dispositions therein. This, O king, is the third quality of fire he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, as fire, seeking no favour of any man, bearing no ill-will to any man, makes heat for all; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, dwell in spirit like the fire, fawning on none, bearing ill-will to none. This, O king, is the fourth quality of fire he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, as fire dispels darkness, and makes the light appear; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, dispel the

darkness of ignorance, and make the light of knowledge to appear. This is the fifth quality of fire he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in his exhortation to Râhula, his son :

[385] " Practise thyself, Râhula, in that meditation which acts like fire. Thereby shall no wrong dispositions, which have not yet arisen, arise within thee, nor shall they that have arisen bear sway over thy heart ¹."

24. WIND.

16. ' Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of wind which you say he ought to take, which are they ? '

' Just, O king, as wind pervades the spaces in the woods and groves in flowering time ; so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice in the groves of meditation that are all in blossom with the sweet flowers of emancipation. This, O king, is the first quality of wind he ought to have.

17. ' And again, O king, as wind sets all the trees that grow upon the earth in agitation, bends them

¹ Not traced as yet exactly in these words. But the passage at *Magghima Nikâya* I, 424, lines 3-6, agrees with it throughout, except that for *akusalâ dhammâ* here we have there *manâpâ-manâpâ phassâ*, which comes to much the same thing. As the words are there addressed to Râhula, and as our passage here is introduced with the same formula as the quotation below (p. 388 of the Pâli) which is certainly taken from the same page of the *Magghima*, I think the above (M. I, 424, lines 3-6) is most probably the passage our author now intended to quote. If so, we have here a real case of difference in reading.

down; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, retiring into the midst of the woods, there examining into the true nature of all existing things (all phenomena, *Samkhâras*), beat down all evil dispositions. This, O king, is the second quality of wind he ought to have.

18. 'And again, O king, as the wind wanders through the sky; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, accustom his mind to wander among transcendental things. This is the third quality of wind he ought to have.

19. 'And again, O king, as wind carries perfume along; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, carry along with him alway the fragrant perfume of his own righteousness of life. This, O king, is the fourth quality of wind he ought to have.

20. 'And again, O king, as wind has no house, no home to dwell in; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, remain alway without a house, without a home to dwell in, not addicted to society, set free in mind. This, O king, is the fifth quality of wind he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipâta :

"In friendship of the world anxiety is born,
In household life distraction's dust lies thick;
The state set free from home and friendship's
ties—

That, and that only, is the recluse's aim¹."

¹ Sutta Nipâta I, 12, 1. It has been already quoted above, IV, 5, 1 (p. 211 of the Pâli), where see the note.

25. THE ROCK.

21. 'Venerable Nāgasena, the five qualities of the rock that you say he ought to have, which are they?'

[386] 'Just, O king, as rock is firm, unshaken, immoveable; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never be excited by alluring things—forms, or sounds, or scents, or tastes, or touch—by veneration or contempt, by support or by neglect, by reverence or its absence, by honour or dishonour, by praise or blame, nor should he be offended by things that give offence, nor bewildered on occasions of bewilderment, neither should he quake nor tremble, but like a rock should he be firm. This, O king, is the first quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

"The solid rock's not shaken by the wind,
Just so the wise man falters not, nor shakes,
At praise or blame¹."

22. 'And again, O king, as a rock is firm, unmixed with extraneous things; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be firm and independent, given to association with none. This, O king, is the second quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

"The man who mixes not with householders,
Nor with the homeless, but who wanders lone,
Without a home, and touched by few desires,—
That is the man I call a Brāhmaṇa²."

¹ Dhammapada 81. The first line recurs at Mahāvagga V, 1, 27.

² From the Sutta Nipāta III, 9, 35. It is also included in the Dhammapada collection of Scripture verses (No. 404).

23. 'And again, O king, as on the rock no seed will take root ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never permit evil dispositions to take root in his mind. This, O king, is the third quality of rock that he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Subhûti, the Elder :

"When lustful thoughts arise within my heart,
Examining myself, alone I beat them down.
Thou who'rt by lust excited, who by things
That give offence, allowest of offence,
Feeling bewildered when strange things occur,
Thou shouldst retire far from the lonely woods.
For they're the dwelling-place of men made pure,
Austere in life, free from the stains of sin.
Defile not that pure place. Leave thou the
woods¹."

24. [387] 'And again, just as the rock rises aloft, just so should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rise aloft through knowledge. This is the fourth quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

"When the wise man by earnestness has driven
Vanity far away, the terraced heights
Of wisdom doth he climb, and, free from care,
Looks over the vain world, the careworn crowd—
As he who standing on the mountain top
Can watch his fellow-men still toiling on the
plain²."

25. 'And again, O king, just as the rock cannot

¹ Not traced as yet.

² This verse, not traced elsewhere as yet, is included in the Dhammapada collection as verse 28.

be lifted up nor bent down ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be neither lifted up nor depressed. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the rock he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the devout woman, *Kulla Subhaddâ*, when she was exalting the recluses of her own sect :

“The world is lifted up by gain, depressed by loss.

My Samanas remain alike in gain or loss.”

26. SPACE.

26. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of space which you say he ought to have, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as space is everywhere impossible to grasp ; just so, O king, should it be impossible for the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, to be anywhere taken hold of by evil dispositions. This, O king, is the first quality of space he ought to have.

27. ‘And again, O king, as space is the familiar resort of *Rishis*, and ascetics, and gods¹, and flocks of birds ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make his mind wander easily over all things with the knowledge that each individual (*Samkhâra*) is impermanent, born to sorrow, and without any abiding principle (any soul). This, O king, is the second quality of space he ought to have.

¹ *Bhûta*, which the *Simhalese*, p. 572, renders *yaksha*. I think it means all kinds of gods (except the highest), demigods, fairies, superhuman beings, &c.

28. 'And again, O king, as space inspires terror ; just so, O king [388], should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, train his mind to be in terror of rebirths in any kind of existence. To seek no happiness therein. This, O king, is the third quality of space he ought to have.

29. 'And again, O king, as space is infinite, boundless, immeasurable ; just so, O king, should the righteousness of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, know no limit, and his knowledge be beyond measure. This, O king, is the fourth quality of space he ought to have.

30. 'And again, O king, as space does not hang on to anything, does not cling to anything, does not rest on anything, is not stopped by anything ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, neither in any way depend on, nor cling to, nor rest on, nor be hindered by either the families that minister to him, or the pupils who resort to him, or the support he receives, or the dwelling he occupies, or any obstacles to the religious life, or any requisites that he may want, or any kind of evil inclination. This, O king, is the fifth quality of space he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in his exhortation to Râhula, his son :

"Just, Râhula, as space rests nowhere on anything, so shouldst thou practise thyself in that meditation which is like space. Thereby shall neither pleasant nor unpleasant sensations, as they severally arise, bear sway over thy heart¹."

¹ *Magghima Nikâya* I, 424. See the note above on VII, 3, 15.

27. THE MOON.

31. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of the moon which you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the moon, rising in the bright fortnight, waxes more and more; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, grow more and more in good conduct and righteousness and virtue and the constant performance of duty, and in knowledge of the scriptures and study¹, and in the habit of retirement, and in self-possession, and in keeping the doors of his senses guarded, and in moderation in food, and in the practice of vigils. This, O king, is the first quality of the moon he ought to have.

32. 'And again, O king, as the moon is a mighty lord²; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be a mighty lord over his own will.

¹ Âgamâdhigame. These are two, not one. Âgama adhi-gama dekhi da says the Simhalese, p. 573.

² U/ârâdhipati. Dr. Morris in the 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society' (1880, p. 107) ingeniously proposes to read u/urâgâdhipati, 'king and lord over the u/u's, the lunar mansions.' In that case the u/âra in the latter clause of the sentence would be a play upon words. But Mr. Trenckner's reading is confirmed by the Simhalese, which has *lândra diwya-râga tema mahatwû sisiragunayem adhipati wûyeya*, 'the moon, that heavenly king, is a lord by reason of his great coldness.' And the reading may well stand, for the mention, in the latter part of the clause, of the thing over which the Bhikshu is to be lord does not necessarily require a corresponding word in the first part. We have numerous instances in these similes of the ethical interpretation of the physical simile being an addition, with nothing corresponding to it in the type discussed. The moon was a god, lord over other things besides the lunar mansions.

This, O king, is the second quality of the moon he ought to have.

33. 'And again, O king, as the moon wanders at night ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be given to solitude. [389] This, O king, is the third quality of the moon he ought to have.

34. 'And again, O king, as the moon hoists a standard over his mansion¹ ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, hoist the standard of righteousness. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the moon he ought to have.

35. 'And again, O king, as the moon rises when begged and prayed to do so ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, frequent for alms those families who have asked and invited him to do so². This, O king, is the fifth quality of the moon he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikâya* :

"Like the moon, O brethren, let your visits be paid to the laity. Drawing back alike in outward demeanour and in inward spirit, be ye always, as strangers on their first visit, retiring in the presence of the laity. [As the man who looks down a deep

¹ *Kando vimâna-ketu*. 'Has his mansion, forty-nine *yoganas* in extent, as his banner,' says *Hīnañ-kumburê*. (A *yogana* is, seven miles.) *Vimâna* does not mean lunar mansion, but the palace which every deity, and therefore also the moon, is supposed to inhabit.

² The *Sinhalese*, p. 573, has the exact opposite. 'As the moon rises whether begged to do so or not, so should the Bhikshu visit the laity whether invited to do so or not.' But the Pâli must be right, as the subsequent quotation shows.

well, or a mountain precipice, or a river in flood, would be abashed alike in body and in mind; so be ye, O brethren, as the moon in your visits to the laity. Holding alike in your outward demeanour and your inward spirit, be ye alway, as strangers on their first visit, retiring in the presence of the laity]¹.”

28. THE SUN.

36. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, the seven qualities of the sun you say he ought to have, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as the sun evaporates all water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cause all evil inclinations, without any exception, to dry up within him. This, O king, is the first quality of the sun he ought to have.

37. ‘And again, O king, as the sun dispels the darkness; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, dispel all the darkness of lust, and of anger, and of dullness, and of pride, and of heresy, and of evil, and of all unrighteousness. This, O king, is the second quality of the sun he ought to have.

38. ‘And again, O king, as the sun is always in motion; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be ever thoughtful. This,

¹ *Samyutta* XVI, 3, 2, 3. The sentence in brackets is added from *Hīnaśi-kumburē*, who gives here, p. 274, the Pāli text. *Apakassa*, the gerund of *ava-karsh*, and *naviyā*, ‘new-comers,’ are only found in this passage. In three cases M. Léon Feer has here gone wrong, as he has so often elsewhere done, by putting the readings of the *Simhalese* MSS. only in the notes, and adopting the *Burmese* readings in the text. He should have read, as *Hīnaśi-kumburē* does, *nikkham* *naviyā* *gambhīrūdapānam*, *nadī-duggam*.

O king, is the third quality of the sun he ought to have.

39. 'And again, O king, as the sun has a halo of rays ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have a halo of meditation. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the sun he ought to have.

40. 'And again, O king, as the sun continually warms multitudes of people ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice the whole world of gods and men with good conduct, and righteousness, and virtue [390], and the performance of duty, and with the *Ghânas*, and the *Vimokkhas*, and *Samâdhi*, and the *Samâpattis* (various modes of transcendental meditation or ecstasy), and with the five moral powers, and the seven kinds of wisdom, and the four modes of being mindful and self-possessed, and the fourfold great struggle against evil, and the pursuit of the four roads to saintship. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the sun he ought to have.

41. 'And again, O king, as the sun is terrified with the fear of *Râhu* (the demon of eclipses) ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, seeing how beings are entangled in the waste wildernesses of evil life and rebirth in states of woe, caught in the net of the mournful results here of evil done in former births, or of punishment in purgatory, or of evil inclinations, terrify his mind with a great anxiety and fear. This, O king, is the sixth quality of the sun he ought to have.

42. 'And again, O king, as the sun makes manifest the evil and the good ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make mani-

fest the moral powers, and the kinds of wisdom, and the modes of being mindful and self-possessed, and the struggle against evil, and the paths to saintship, and all qualities temporal and spiritual. This, O king, is the seventh quality of the sun he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Vangtsa, the Elder :

“As the rising sun makes plain to all that live
Forms pure and impure, forms both good and bad,
So should the Bhikshu, like the rising orb,
Bearing the scriptures ever in his mind,
Make manifest to men, in ignorance blind,
The many-sided Noble Path of bliss¹.”

29. SAKKA.

43. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, the three qualities of Sakka (the king of the gods) which you say he ought to take, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as Sakka enjoys perfect bliss ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice in the perfect bliss of retirement. This, O king, is the first quality of Sakka he ought to have.

44. ‘And again, O king, as when Sakka when he sees his gods around him keeps them in his favour, fills them with joy ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep his mind detached, alert, and tranquil, should make joy spring up within him, should rouse himself, exert himself, be full of zeal. [391] This, O king, is the second quality of Sakka he ought to have.

¹ Not traced as yet.

45. 'And again, O king; as Sakka feels no discontent; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never allow himself to become discontented with solitude. This, O king, is the third quality of Sakka he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Subhûti, the Elder :

"Since I, great hero, have renounced the world,
According to the doctrine that you teach,
I will not grant that any thought of lust
Or craving care has risen in my breast ¹,"'

30. THE SOVRAN OVERLORD.

46. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the four qualities of the sovran overlord which you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the sovran overlord gains the favour of the people by the four elements of popularity (liberality, affability, justice, and impartiality); just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, find favour with, please, and gladden the hearts of the brethren and rulers of the Order and the laity of either sex. This, O king, is the quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have.

47. 'And again, O king, as the sovran overlord allows no robber bands to form in his realm; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never allow lustful or angry or cruel ideas to arise within him. This, O king, is the second quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

¹ Not traced as yet.

“The man who takes delight in the suppression
Of evil thoughts, and alway self-possessed,
Reflects on the impurity of things
The world thinks beautiful, he will remove—
Nay, cleave in twain, the bonds of the Evil One¹.”

48. ‘And again, O king, as the sovran overlord travels through² the whole world even to its ocean boundary, examining into the evil and the good; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, examine himself day by day as to his acts and words and thoughts, saying to himself: “How may I pass the day blameless in these three directions?” This, O king, [392] is the third quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent Ekuttara Nikāya:

“With constant care should the recluse
Himself examine day by day—
‘As days and nights pass quickly by
How have they found me? and how left³?’”

¹ This verse has not been elsewhere traced as yet, but is included in the Dhammapada collection, verse 350. Vitakka, which, in accord with the context and with Hīnaśī-kumburê, is rendered above ‘evil thoughts,’ and by Professor Max Müller ‘doubts,’ really means simply ‘thoughts,’ and is sometimes used without any bad connotation. In the Pāli the word Māru, which spoils the metre, may possibly be an ancient gloss introduced by mistake into the text.

² Anuyāyati, which is only found here, and which the Sinhalese, p. 577, renders anusāsanā karanneya. But compare ānuyāyin at Sutta Nipāta V, 7, 3-5, and Tela Kaṭṭha Gāthā 25, anuyāyin above, p. 284 of the Pāli, and ānuyāto at Tela Kaṭṭha Gāthā 41.

³ Mr. Trenckner points out that this passage is taken from the Aṅguttara X, 5, 8. Hīnaśī-kumburê, who gives the Pāli, prints it as verse, and translates the context at some length.

49. 'And again, O king, as the sovran overlord is completely provided with protection, both within and without ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep self-possession as his door-keeper for a protection against all evil, subjective and objective. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the sovran overlord he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

"With self-possession as his door-keeper, O brethren, the disciple of the noble ones puts away evil and devotes himself to goodness, puts away what is matter of offence and devotes himself to blamelessness, preserves himself in purity of life¹."

Here ends the Third Chapter.

¹ Not traced as yet, but the same phrase from 'puts away evil' to the end occurs at *Gâtaka* I, 130, 131.

BOOK VII. CHAPTER 4.

THE SIMILES (continued).

31. THE WHITE ANT.

1. 'Venerable Nāgasena, that quality of the white ant which you say he ought to have, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the white ant goes on with his work only when he has made a roof over himself, and covered himself up; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, on his round for alms, cover up his mind with righteousness and self-restraint as a roof. For in so doing, O king, will he have passed beyond all fear. This, O king, is the one quality of the white ant he ought to have. [393] For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vaṅganta-putta, the Elder:

"The devotee who covers up his mind,
Under the sheltering roof of righteousness
And self-control, untarnished by the world
Remains, and is set free from every fear¹."

32. THE CAT.

2. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those two qualities of the cat you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the cat, in frequenting caves and holes and the interiors of storied dwellings, does so only in the search after rats; just so, O king, should

¹ Not traced as yet. But as it is doubtless an old verse it is interesting that it contains the word yogī.

the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, whether he have gone to the village or to the woods or to the foot of trees or into an empty house¹, be continually and always zealous in the search after that which is his food, namely self-possession. This is the first quality of the cat he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the cat in pursuing its prey always crouches down²; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, continue conscious of the origin and end³ of those five groups of the characteristic marks of individuality which arise out of clinging to existence, thinking to himself: "Such is form, such is its origin, such its end. Such is sensation, such is its origin, such its end. Such are ideas, such is their origin, such their end. Such are the mental potentialities (the Confections, *Sam-khârâ*), such is their origin, such their end. Such is self-consciousness, such is its origin, such its end⁴." This, O king, is the second quality of the cat he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

¹ Hammiyantara. The Sinhalese has *Piṭṭa barânda æti uḍu mahal prâsâda ætulaṭa giye da*. 'Barânda,' which is not in Clough, I take to be simply 'verandah,' and the whole to mean: 'or goes into the interior of a mansion with an upper story to it on which is a verandah.' Buddhaghosa on *Kullavagga* VI, 1, 2, (putting only *kûṭṭâgâra*, 'peaked chamber,' for *barânda*), has the same explanation. Ten or twelve years is allowed in *Kullavagga* VI, 17, 1, for the building of such a *prâsâda*. See also *Mahāvagga* I, 30, 4, and VI, 33, 2.

² *Âsanne* is Mr. Trenckner's reading. But *Hīnaṭ-kumburē*, who translates *deyat tabā hindīmem ma*, 'sitting with its forepaws stretched out,' evidently read *âsanena*.

³ *Abbaya*, not in Childers, is of course *avyaya*.

⁴ The Sinhalese expands this speech over ten pages, 580-589, and then omits the verse at the end.

“ Seek not rebirths afar in future states.
 Pray, what could heaven itself advantage you !
 Now, in this present world, and in the state
 In which you find yourselves, be conquerors ! ”¹

33. THE RAT.

4. ‘ Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the rat you say he ought to take, which is it ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the rat, wandering about backwards and forwards, is always smelling after food¹ ; just so, O king, [394] should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be ever in his wanderings to and fro, bent upon thought. This is the quality of the rat he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vaṅganta-putta, the Elder :

“ Ever alert and calm, the man of insight,
 Esteeming wisdom as the best of all things,
 Keeps himself independent of all wants and cares². ”

34. THE SCORPION.

5. ‘ Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the scorpion you say he ought to take, which is it ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the scorpion, whose tail is its weapon, keeps its tail erect as it wanders about ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have knowledge as his weapon,

¹ Upasimsako. Dr. Morris, in the ‘ Journal of the Pāli Text Society ’ (1884, p. 75), suggests upasiṅghako. But the Sinhalese in the first clause (p. 589, last line) has patamim ma, ‘ hoping for, seeking for,’ and in the second (p. 590, line 2) pœtīmema ma, which is the same thing (from prārthanā, which confirms Mr. Trenckner’s reading).

² Not traced as yet.

and dwell with his weapon, knowledge, always drawn. This, O king, is the quality of the scorpion he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vaṅganta-putta, the Elder :

“ With his sword of knowledge drawn, the man of insight
Should ever be unconquerable in the fight,
Set free from every fear¹. ”

35. THE MUNGOOSE.

6. ‘ Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the mongoose you say he ought to take, which is it ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the mongoose, when attacking a snake, only does so when he has covered his body with an antidote ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when going into the world where anger and hatred are rife, which is under the sway of quarrels, strife, disputes, and enmities, ever keep his mind anointed with the antidote of love. This, O king, is the quality of the mongoose he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

“ Therefore should love be felt for one’s own kin,
And so for strangers too, and the whole wide world
Should be pervaded with a heart of love—
This is the doctrine of the Buddhas all. ”

36. THE OLD MALE JACKAL.

7. [395] ‘ Venerable Nāgasena, the two qualities of the old male jackal you say he ought to take, which are they ? ’

¹ Not traced as yet.

‘Just, O king, as the old male jackal, whatever kind of food he finds, feels no disgust, but eats of it as much as he requires ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, eat without disgust such food as he receives with the sole object of keeping himself alive. This, O king, is the first quality of the old male jackal he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Mahâ Kassapa, the Elder :

“Leaving my dwelling-place, I entered once
 Upon my round for alms, the village street.
 A leper there I saw eating his meal,
 And, as was meet, deliberately, in turn,
 I stood beside him too that he might give a gift.
 He, with his hand all leprous and diseased,
 Put in my bowl—’twas all he had to give—
 A ball of rice ; and as he placed it there
 A finger, mortifying, broke and fell.
 Seated behind a wall, that ball of food
 I ate, and neither when I ate it, nay,
 Nor afterwards, did any loathing thought
 Arise within my breast¹.”

8. ‘And again, O king, as the old male jackal, when he gets any food, does not stop to examine it ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never stop to find out whether food given to him is bitter or sweet, well-flavoured or ill—just as it is should he be satisfied with it. This, O king, is the second quality of the old male jackal

¹ Thera Gâthâ 1054-1056. The reading *pakkena hatthena* seems to me to be quite correct. Compare *pakka-gatto*, also of a leper, at M. I, 506 ; and above, p. 357 of the Pâli.

he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upasena Vaṅganta-putta, the Elder :

“ Bitter food too should he enjoy,
 Nor long for what is sweet to taste.
 The mind disturbed by lust of taste
 Can ne'er enjoy the ecstasies
 Of meditations high. The man content
 With anything that's given—in him alone
 Is Samānaship made perfect¹. ”

37. THE DEER.

9. ‘ Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of the deer you say he ought to take, which are they ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the deer frequents the forest by day, and spends the night in the open air ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, pass the day in the forest, and the night under the open sky. This, O king, is the first quality of the deer he ought to have. [396] For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the exposition called the Lomahamsana Pariyāya :

“ And I, Sāriputta, when the nights are cold and wintry, at the time of the eights (the Ashṭakā festivals²), when the snow is falling, at such times did I pass the night under the open sky, and the day in the woods. And in the last month of the hot season I spent the day under the open sky, and the night in the woods³. ”

¹ Thera Gāthā 580.

² So called because they were held on the 8th day after the full moon in the two winter months. See the notes in ‘ Vinaya Texts,’ I, p. 130, and in the *Magghima*, p. 536.

³ *Magghima Nikāya* I, p. 79. To quote this passage here as an authority the Bhikshu ought still to follow, is a striking instance of

10. 'And again, O king, as the deer, when a javelin or an arrow is falling upon him, dodges it and escapes, not allowing his body to remain in its way; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when evil inclinations fall upon him, dodge them, and escape, placing not his mind in their way. This, O king, is the second quality of the deer he ought to have.

11. 'And again, O king, as the deer on catching sight of men escapes this way or that, that they may not see him; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he sees men of quarrelsome habits, given to contentions and strife and disputes, wicked men and inert, fond of society—then should he escape hither or thither that neither should they see him, nor he them¹. This, O king, is the third quality of the deer he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

“ Let not the man with evil in his heart,
Inert, bereft of zeal, of wicked life,
Knowing but little of the sacred words—
Let not that man, at any time or place,
Be my companion, or associate with me². ”

the fatal habit of quoting texts of Scripture apart from their context. As it stands, it seems as if it supported the proposition of our author. But it is really just the contrary. For it occurs in the description given by Gotama of what he had done before he arrived at insight, when he was carrying out that system of penance which he afterwards abandoned as useless, and indeed worse than useless.

¹ See *Magghima Nikâya* I, 79, where the closing words are the same.

² *Thera Gâthâ* 987 (but the last words differ).

38. THE BULL.

12. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those four qualities of the bull you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the bull never forsakes its own stall; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never abandon his own body on the ground that its nature is only the decomposition, the wearing away, the dissolution, the destruction of that which is impermanent¹. This, O king, is the first quality of the bull he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, as the bull, when he has once taken the yoke upon him, bears that yoke through all conditions of ease or of pain; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, [397] when he has once taken upon himself the life of a recluse, keep to it, in happiness or in woe, to the end of his life, to his latest breath. This, O king, is the second quality of the bull he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, as the bull drinks water with never satiated desire; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, receive the instruction of his teachers and masters with a desire, love, and pleasure that is never satiated². This, O king, is the third quality of the bull he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, as the bull equally bears the yoke whoever puts it on him; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, accept with bowed head the admonitions and ex-

¹ See *Dîgha Nikâya* II, 83; *Gâtaka* I, 146.

² *Ghâyamânena, atrîptikawa âghrânayem* in the *Simhalese*.

hortations of the elders, of the brethren of junior or of middle standing, and of the believing laity alike. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the bull he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

“ A novice, seven years of age, a boy
 Only to-day received into our ranks,
 He too may teach me, and with bended head,
 His admonitions will I gladly bear.
 Time after time, where'er I meet him, still
 My strong approval, and my love, will I
 Lavish upon him—if he be but good,—
 And yield the honoured place of teacher to him¹.”

39. THE BOAR.

16. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the boar you say he ought to take, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as the boar, in the sultry and scorching weather of the hot season, resorts to the water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when his heart is distracted and ready to fall, all in a whirl, inflamed by anger, resort to the cool, ambrosial, sweet water of the meditation on love. This, O king, is the first quality of the boar he ought to have.

17. ‘And again, O king, as the boar, resorting to muddy water, digs into the swamp with his snout, and making a trough for himself, lies down therein; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, put his body away in his mind, and

¹ Not traced as yet. *Hīnaśī-kumburê*, p. 594, takes *santo* in the sense of *sat puruṣa guṇayam yukta wū*.

lie down in the midst of contemplation. [398] This, O king, is the second quality of the boar he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Pindola Bhâradvaga, the Elder:

“ Alone, with no one near, the man of insight,
 Searching into and finding out the nature
 Of this body, can lay him down to rest
 On the sweet bed of contemplations deep¹. ”

40. THE ELEPHANT.

18. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, the five qualities of the elephant he ought to take, which are they ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the elephant, as he walks about, crushes the earth ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, mastering the nature of the body, crush out all evil. This, O king, is the first quality of the elephant he ought to have.

19. ‘ And again, O king, as the elephant turns his whole body when he looks, always looking straight before him, not glancing round this way and that² ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, turn his whole body when he looks, always looking straight before, not glancing round this way and that, not looking aloft, not looking at his feet, but keeping his eyes fixed about a yoke’s length in front of him. This, O king, is the second quality of the elephant he ought to have.

20. ‘ And again, O king, as the elephant has no permanent lair, even in seeking his food does not always frequent the same spot, has no fixed place of

¹ Not traced as yet.

² On this curious belief, see ‘ Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 64.

abode; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have no permanent resting-place, but without a home should go his rounds for alms. Full of insight, wherever he sees a pleasant suitable agreeable place¹, whether in a hut or at the foot of a tree, or in a cave, or on a mountain side, there should he dwell, not taking up a fixed abode. This, O king, is the third quality of the elephant he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, as the elephant revels in the water, plunging into glorious lotus ponds full of clear pure cool water, and covered over with lotuses yellow, and blue, and red, and white, sporting there in the games in which the mighty beast delights; [399] just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, plunge into the glorious pond of self-possession, covered with the flowers of emancipation, filled with the delicious waters of the pure and stainless clear and limpid Truth; there should he by knowledge shake off and drive away the *Samkhâras*², there should he revel in the sport that is the delight of the recluse. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the elephant he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, as the elephant lifts up his foot with care, and puts it down with care; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be mindful and self-possessed in lifting

¹ For *dese bhavam* the Sinhalese reads *desa-bhâga*.

² *Samkhâra* is here used in the sense in which they are said at *Dhammapada*, verse 203, to be *paramâ dukkhâ*. The word is there explained by the commentator (wrongly, I think) as the five *Skandhas*. The Sinhalese, p. 596, simply has *sarva samskâra dharmayam*.

up his feet and in putting them down, in going or returning, in stretching his arm or drawing it back,—wherever he is he should be mindful and self-possessed. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the elephant he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikâya* :

“ Good is restraint in action,
And good restraint in speech,
Good is restraint in mind,
Restraint throughout is good.
Well guarded is he said to be
Who is ashamed of sin, in all things self-controlled ¹. ”

Here ends the Fourth Chapter.

¹ From the *Samyutta* III, 1, 5, 6. The first four lines are also included in the *Dhammapada* collection, verse 361.

BOOK VII. CHAPTER 5.

THE SIMILES (continued).

[400] 41. THE LION.

1. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those seven qualities of the lion you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the lion is of a clear, stainless, and pure light yellow colour ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be clear, stainless, and pure light in mind, free from anger and moroseness. This, O king, is the first quality of the lion he ought to have.

2. 'And again, O king, as the lion has four paws as his means of travelling, and is rapid in his gait ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, move along the four paths of saintship. This, O king, is the second quality of the lion he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as the lion has a beautiful coat of hair, pleasant to behold ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have a beautiful coat of righteousness, pleasant to behold. This, O king, is the third quality of the lion he ought to have.

4. 'And again, O king, as the lion, even were his life to cease, bows down before no man ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, even though he should cease to obtain all the requisites of a recluse—food and clothing and lodging and medicine for the sick—never bow down

to any man¹. This is the fourth quality of the lion he ought to have.

5. 'And again, O king, as the lion eats regularly on, wheresoever his prey falls there does he eat whatever he requires, and seeks not out the best morsels of flesh; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, stand for alms at each hut in regular order, not seeking out the families where he would be given better food, not missing out any house upon his rounds², he should not pick and choose in eating, wheresoever he may have received a mouthful of rice there should he eat it, seeking not for the best morsels. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the lion he ought to have.

6. 'And again, O king, as the lion is not a storer up of what he eats, and when he has once eaten of his prey returns not again to it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never be a storer up of food. This is the sixth quality of the lion he ought to have.

7. [401] 'And again, O king, as the lion, even if he gets no food, is not alarmed, and if he does³, then he eats it without craving, without faintness, without sinking⁴; just so, O king, should the

¹ This is an injunction the Bhikshus still observe. Some of them have been known to attend a levée in Ceylon (improperly, as I venture to think). But as they would bow to no one, not to governor or prince, the levée became, so far as they were concerned, a mere march-past.

² This is one of the Dhutaṅgas, and is in the Sekhiyas (No. 33). Most Bhikshus never 'stand for alms' at all. But if they do, they observe this rule.

³ 'If he does not,' says the *Siṃhalese*.

⁴ *Anagghâpanno*. The MSS. in parallel passages (*Tevigga* I, 27; *Āṅguttara* II, 5, 7; III, 131; *Udāna* VII, 3, 10; *Magghima* I,

strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be not alarmed even if he gets no food, and if he does then should he eat it without craving, without faintness, without sinking, conscious of the danger in the lust of taste, in full knowledge of the right outcome of eating (the maintenance of life for the pursuit of holiness)¹. This, O king, is the seventh quality of the lion he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikâya*, when he was exalting Mahâ Kassapa, the Elder :

“ This Kassapa, O Bhikshus, is content with such food as he receives, he magnifies the being content with whatever food one gets, he is not guilty of anything improper or unbecoming for the sake of an alms, if he receive none, yet is he not alarmed, and if he does then does he eat it without craving, without faintness, without sinking, conscious of danger, with full knowledge of the right object in taking food². ”

42. THE *KAKRAVÂKA* BIRD.

8. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the *Kakravâka* bird you say he ought to take, which are they ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the *Kakravâka* bird never forsakes his mate even to the close of his life ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, never, even

173; Sumaṅgala I, 59) have usually *aggḥopanno*. The Sinhalese has *âhâra trishnâwehi no gœlî*.

¹ *Nissarana-paññena*. This Hinañ-kumburê renders *nissaraṇâkhyâtawû brahmaṇariyânugraha pinisa yanâdiwû pratyawekshâ ñânayem yuktawû*.

² *Samyutta XVI, 1, 3* (vol. ii, p. 194 of M. Léon Feer's edition for the Pâli Text Society).

to the close of his life, give up the habit of thought. This, O king, is the first quality of the *Kakravâka* bird he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, as the *Kakravâka* bird feeds on the *Sevâla* and *Pavaka* (water-plants so called), and derives satisfaction therefrom, and being so satisfied, neither his strength nor his beauty grows less; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, find satisfaction in whatever he receives. And if he does so find satisfaction, O king, then does he decrease neither in power of meditation, nor in wisdom, nor in emancipation, nor in the insight that arises from the consciousness of emancipation, nor in any kind of goodness. [402] This, O king, is the second quality of the *Kakravâka* bird he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as the *Kakravâka* bird does no harm to living things; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, laying aside the cudgel, laying aside the sword, be full of modesty and pity, compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life¹. This, O king, is the third quality of the *Kakravâka* bird he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the *Kakravâka Gâtaka* :

"The man who kills not, nor destroys,
Oppresses not, nor causes other men
To take from men that which is rightly theirs²—

¹ This is from the first clause in the *Kûla Sîla* (translated in 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 189).

² *Na ginâti na gâpaye*. Both these forms are to be derived, I venture to think, from *GYÂ* (or its more primitive form *GÎ*), and not from *GI*. It is true that Childers gives *ginâti* as third person singular of *GI*, and that (through the influence of the

And this from kindness to all things that live—
No wrath with any man disturbs his peace¹.”

43. THE PENÂHIKÂ² BIRD.

11. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, those two qualities of the Penâhikâ bird you say he ought to take, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as the Penâhikâ bird, through jealousy of her mate, refuses to nourish her young³; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be jealous of any evil dispositions

common word *Gina*) there has really, perhaps, been some confusion in Pāli writers between the two roots, closely allied as they are both in form and meaning. But whether or not that be so elsewhere, we have here at least another instance of the frequent association of a simple verb with its own causal. *Gâpeti*, which occurs three times in the *Milinda*, and is always explained by *Hīnañ-kumburê* in the same way (see my notes above on pp. 171, 227 of the Pāli; here he has *artha-hāni no karawā da*), i neither for *ghâpeti* (as Dr. Edward Müller suggests in his grammar, p. 37) nor for *gâpayati*, but for *gyâpayati*. For the apparent confusion between *GI*, *gayati*, ‘conquer,’ and *GYÂ*, *ginâti*, (1) ‘overcome, bring into subjection,’ (2) ‘oppress, extort,’ see the commentary on *gine* at *Dhammapada*, verse 103 (quoted also at *Gâtaka* I, 314), which runs *ginitvâna gayam âhareyya*; and on *gayam* at verse 201 (taken from *Samyutta* III, 2, 4, 7), which is explained by *ginanto*, and at verse 104 where *gitam* is explained by *ginâti*. But in *Piṭaka* texts I know of no instance where the two roots cannot be kept quite distinct; and it is quite possible that the *Dhammapada* commentator, while interpreting the one root by the other, is still conscious of the difference between them. *Gîna* (the p. p. p. of *ginâti*) is not given at all by Childers, but occurs *Gâtaka* III, 153, 223, 335; V, 99.

¹ *Gâtaka* IV, 71. One word differs, and the lines are not spoken by the Buddha, but by the bird.

² The *Simhalese* (p. 600) has *kœndœttiya*, a word not in Clough.

³ *Hīnañ-kumburê*’s translation of this clause shows that he had a different reading in his Pāli text.

which arise within him, and putting them by his mindfulness into the excellent crevice of self-control, should dwell at the door of his mind in the constant practice of self-possession in all things relating to his body¹. This, O king, is the first quality of the *Penâhikâ* bird he ought to have.

12. 'And again, O king, as the *Penâhikâ* bird spends the day in the forest in search of food, but at night time resorts for protection to the flock of birds to which she belongs; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, who has for a time resorted to solitary places for the purpose of emancipation from the ten Fetters, and found no satisfaction therein, repair back to the Order for protection against the danger of blame, and dwell under the shelter of the Order². This, O king, is the second quality of the *Penâhikâ* bird he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Brahmâ Sahampati in the presence of the Blessed One :

"Seek lodgings distant from the haunts of men,
Live there in freedom from the bonds of sin;
But he who finds no peace in solitude
May with the Order dwell, guarded in heart,
Mindful and self-possessed³."

¹ 'As the *Penâhikâ*, refusing to nourish her young in the nest, puts them into a crevice of a tree, and watches them there,' is the Sinhalese interpretation. And the word *susira* would not have been used in the second clause unless something corresponding to it had originally stood also in the first.

² Here again it is probable from the Sinhalese version that *Hînañ-kumburê* reads *rattim* for *ratim*.

³ The verse occurs in the Thera Gâthâ 142, but is here quoted from the *Samyutta Nikâya* VI, 2, 3, 4, where the readings *sañe ka nâdhigaññhaye satimâ* must be corrected according to the readings here.

44. THE HOUSE-PIGEON.

13. [403] 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the house-pigeon you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the house-pigeon, while dwelling in the abode of others, of men, does not become enamoured of anything that belongs to them, but remains neutral, taking notice only of things pertaining to birds; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, while resorting to other people's houses, never become enamoured of women or of men, of beds, or chairs, or garments, or jewelry, or things for use or enjoyment, or various forms of food that are there, but remain neutral always, addicted only to such ideas as become a recluse. This, O king, is the quality of the house-pigeon he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the *Kulla Nânada Gâtaka* :

"Frequenting people's homes for food or drink,
In food and drink alike be temperate,
And let not beauty's form attract thy thoughts¹."

45. THE OWL.

14. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the owl you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the owl, being at enmity with the crows, goes at night where the flocks of crows are, and kills numbers of them; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be

¹ *Gâtaka* IV, 223. There is a difference of reading, making no difference to the sense; and the words are put into the mouth, not of the Buddha, but of the old ascetic, the Bodisat of the story.

at enmity with ignorance ; seated alone and in secret, he should crush it out of existence, cut it off at the root. This, O king, is the first quality of the owl he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, as the owl is a solitary bird ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be devoted to solitude, take delight in solitude. This, O king, is the second quality of the owl he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikāya* :

"Let the Bhikshu, my brethren, be devoted to solitude, take delight in solitude, to the end that he may realise what sorrow really is, and what the origin of sorrow really is, [404] and what the cessation of sorrow really is, and what the path that leads to the cessation of sorrow really is¹."

46. THE INDIAN CRANE².

16. 'Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the Indian crane you say he ought to take, which is it ?'

'Just, O king, as the Indian crane by its cry makes known to other folk the good fortune or disaster that is about to happen to them ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make known to others by his preaching of the Dhamma how dreadful a state is purgatory, and how blissful is Nirvāṇa. This, O king, is the quality of the Indian crane he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Pindola Bhāra-dvāga, the elder :

¹ Not traced as yet.

² Satapatto, literally 'the hundred-feathered one,' *Simhalese* kœrœl, quite different from the ordinary crane (*bako*). This one was a bird of ill omen. See *Gâtaka* II, 153 foll.

“Two matters there are that the earnest recluse
Should ever to others be making clear—
How fearful, how terrible, purgatory is;
How great and how deep is Nirvâna's bliss¹.”

47. THE BAT.

17. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the bat you say he ought to take, which are they?’

‘Just, O king, as the bat, though it enters into men's dwelling-places, and flies about in them, soon goes out from them, delays not therein; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he has entered the village for alms, and gone on his rounds in regular order, depart quickly with the alms he has received, and delay not therein. This, O king, is the first quality of the bat he ought to have.

18. ‘And again, O king, as the bat, while frequenting other folk's houses, does them no harm; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when visiting the houses of the laity, never give them cause for vexation by persistent requests, or by pointing out what he wants, or by wrong demeanour, or by chattering, or by being indifferent to their prosperity or adversity; he should never take them away from their chief business occupations, but desire their success in all things. This, O king, is the second quality of the bat he ought to have. For it was said, O king, [405] by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Lakkhana Suttanta:

“‘Oh! How may others never suffer loss
Or diminution, whether in their faith,

¹ Not traced as yet.

Or righteousness, or knowledge of the word,
 Or understanding, or self-sacrifice,
 Or in religion, or in all good things,
 Or in their stores of wealth, or corn, or lands,
 Or tenements, or in their sons, or wives,
 Or in their flocks and herds, or in their friends,
 And relatives, and kinsmen, or in strength,
 In beauty, and in joy '—'tis thus he thinks—
 Longing for other men's advantage and success¹ !”

48. THE LEECH.

19. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the leech which you say he ought to take, which is it?’

‘Just, O king, as the leech, wheresoever it is put on, there does it adhere firmly, drinking the blood; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, on whatsoever subject for meditation he may fix his mind, call that subject firmly up before him in respect of its colour, and shape, and position, and extension, and boundaries, and nature, and characteristic marks, drinking the delicious draught of the ambrosia of emancipation. This, O king, is the quality of the leech he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder:

“With heart made pure, in meditation firm,
 Drink deep of freedom's never-failing draught².”

¹ This is from the 30th Sutta in the Dîgha Nikâya, where it occurs in the description of the Bodisat.

² Not traced as yet. Childers translates *aseḷana* by ‘charming,’ &c., apparently on the authority of Subhūti's English gloss on *Abhidhâna Padîpikâ* 597. But that meaning is rather the point of union between all the synonyms given in the verse, and not the exact meaning of each of them. The word, either in its simple form, or with an added -ka, occurs in *Therî Gâthâ* 55; *Magghima Nikâya* I, 114.

49. THE SERPENT.

20. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the serpent you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the serpent progresses by means of its belly; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, progress by means of his knowledge. For the heart of the recluse, O king, who progresses by knowledge, continues in perception (of the four Truths), that which is inconsistent with the characteristics of a recluse¹ does he put away, that which is consistent with them does he develop in himself. This, [406] O king, is the first quality of the serpent he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, just as the serpent as it moves avoids drugs²; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, go on his way avoiding unrighteousness. This, O king, is the second quality of the serpent he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, as the serpent on catching sight of men is anxious, and pained, and seeks a way of escape³; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, when he finds himself thinking wrong thoughts, or discontent arising within him, be anxious and pained, and seek a way of escape, saying to himself: "This day must I have spent in carelessness, and never shall I be able to recover it." This, O king, is the third quality of the

¹ *Vilakkhanam*, not found elsewhere. *Hināṇi-kumburê*, p. 604, renders it simply 'dullness' (*moha*).

² 'Goes slanting, avoiding medicinal plants, trees, &c.,' says the *Simhalese*.

³ *Kintayati*, perhaps 'put out.' *Gœlawî yanta sitanneya*, says the *Simhalese*, p. 605.

serpent he ought to have. For it is a saying, O king, of the two fairy birds in the *Bhallātiya Gāṭaka* :

“’Tis one night only, hunter, that we’ve spent
Away from home, and that against our will,
And thinking all night through of one another,
Yet that one night is it that we bemoan,
And grieve ; for nevermore can it return¹ !”

50. THE ROCK-SNAKE².

23. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the rock-snake that you say he ought to take, which is it?’

‘Just, O king, as the rock-snake, immense as is its length of body, will go many days with empty belly, and, wretched, get no food to fill its stomach, yet in spite of that it will just manage to keep itself alive ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, though he be addicted to obtaining his food by alms, dependent on the gifts that others may give, awaiting offers, abstaining from taking anything himself, and find it difficult to get his belly’s-full, yet should he, if he seek after the highest good³, even though he receive not so much as four or five mouthfuls to eat, fill up the void by water. This, O king, is the quality of the rock-snake he ought to have. For it was said, O king, [407] by Sāriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith :

¹ *Gāṭaka* IV, 439.

² *Agagara*. Childers renders this ‘boa-constrictor.’ But *Hīnaś-kumburê* has *pimburâ*, which is a rock-snake, often confounded with the boa-constrictor on account of the size to which it grows.

³ *Atthavasikena*, *attha* being rendered *Nirvāṇa* by the *Sinhalese*.

“Whether it be dry food or wet he eats,
Let him to full repletion never eat.
The good recluse goes forth in emptiness,
And keeps to moderation in his food.
If but four mouthfuls or but five he get,
Let him drink water. For what cares the man
With mind on Arahatsip fixed for ease¹!”

Here ends the Fifth Chapter.

¹ Thera Gāthā 982, 983. The next verse but one has been already quoted above; p. 366 of the Pāli; and these recur at *Gātaka* II, 293, 294.

BOOK VII. CHAPTER 6.

THE SIMILES (continued).

51. THE ROAD SPIDER.

1. 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the road spider you say he ought to have, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the road spider weaves the curtain of its net on the road, and whatsoever is caught therein, whether worm, or fly, or beetle, that does he catch and eat; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, spread the curtain of the net of self-possession over the six doors (of his six senses), and if any of the flies of evil are caught therein, there should he seize them. This, O king, is the quality of the road spider he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Anuruddha, the Elder:

"His heart should he shut in, at its six doors,
By self-possession, best and chief of gifts,
Should any evil thoughts be caught within,
Them by the sword of insight should he slay¹."

52. THE CHILD AT THE BREAST.

2. 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the child at the breast you say he ought to take, [408] which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the child at the breast sticks to its own advantage, and if it wants milk, cries for it;

¹ Not traced as yet.

just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, adhere to his own good, and in everything—in teaching, in asking and answering questions, in the conduct of life, in the habit of solitude, in association with his teachers, in the cultivation of the friendship of the good—should he act with knowledge of the Truth. This, O king, is the quality of the child at the breast he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, in the *Suttanta* of the Great Decease:

“Be zealous, rather, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf. Devote yourselves to your own good. Be earnest, all aglow, intent on your own good¹!”

53. THE LAND TORTOISE².

3. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, that one quality of the land tortoise which you say he ought to take, which is it?’

‘Just, O king, as the land tortoise, being afraid of the water, frequents places far from it, and by that habit of avoiding water its length of life is kept undiminished; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, seeing the danger in the want of earnestness, be mindful of the advantages that distinguish earnestness. For by that perception of

¹ *Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta* V, 24, translated in ‘*Buddhist Suttas*,’ p. 91. The beginning of the exhortation has been already quoted above, p. 177 (of the Pāli).

² *Kittaka-dhara-kummassa*, literally ‘of the tortoise who wears the sectarian mark (on his forehead).’ The *Simhalese* repeats this phrase, which clearly distinguishes this tortoise from the other, the water tortoise, of VII, 1, 12.

danger in carelessness, his Samanaship fades not away, but rather does he go forward to Nirvâna itself. This, O king, is the quality of the land tor-toise he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Dhammapada :

“ The Bhikshu who in earnestness delights,
Who sees the danger of indifference,
Shall fall not from his high estate away,
But in the presence of Nirvâna dwell¹. ”

54. THE MOUNTAIN HEIGHT.

4. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, those five qualities of the mountain height you say he ought to have, which are they ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the mountain height is a hiding-place for the wicked ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep secret the offences and failings of others, revealing them not. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the mountain height he ought to have.

5. ‘ And again, O king, just as the mountain height is void of many people ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, [409] earnest in effort, be void of lust, angers, follies, and pride, of the net of (wrong) views², and of all evil dispositions. This, O king,

¹ Dhammapada, verse 32. The source from which the verse is taken is unknown now, and was also evidently unknown to our author. With the closing words *nibbânass eva santike*, compare verse 372, *sa ve nibbâna-santike*. *Santike*, ‘ immediate, close,’ is always used with the connotation of being in the very presence of. The local qualification, ‘ near,’ is *upanissaya*, *avidûre*.

² *Diṭṭhi-gâla*, the net of delusions, those relating to the per-

is the second quality of the mountain height he ought to have.

6. 'And again, O king, just as the mountain height is a lonely spot, free from crowding of men; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be given to solitude, and free from evil, unworthy qualities, from those that are not noble. This, O king, is the third quality of the mountain height he ought to have.

7. 'And again, O king, just as the mountain height is clean and pure; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be good and pure, happy, and without self-righteousness. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the mountain height he ought to have.

8. 'And again, O king, just as the mountain height is the resort of the noble ones; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be sought after by the noble ones. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the mountain height he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the most excellent *Samyutta Nikāya* :

"With solitary men, those noble ones,
Whose minds, on Arahatship strictly bent,
Rise easily to contemplation's heights,
Stedfast in zeal and wise in holy writ—
With such should he resort, with such commune¹."

manence of any individuality, and the separateness of oneself from others, as well those now living as those in the future and the past.

¹ This is a favourite stanza. It occurs in the *Samyutta* XIV, 16-18, and is included in the verses ascribed, in the *Thera Gāthā*, to the Arahats Somamitta and Vimāla (verses 148, 266).

55. THE TREE.

9. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of the tree you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the tree bears fruits and flowers; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, bear the flowers of emancipation and the fruits of Samānaship¹. This, O king, is the first quality of the tree he ought to have.

10. 'And again, O king, as the tree casts its shadow over the men who come to it, and stay beneath it; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, receive with kindness, both as regards their bodily wants and their religious necessities, those that wait upon him, and remain near by him. This, O king, is the second quality of the tree he ought to have.

11. 'And again, O king, just as the tree makes no kind of distinction in the shadow it affords; [410] just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, make no distinctions between all men, but nourish an equal love to those who rob, or hurt, or bear enmity to him, and to those who are like unto himself. This, O king, is the third quality of the tree he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sāriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Devadatta, who tried to murder him;
 Aṅgulimāla, highway robber chief;
 The elephant set loose to take his life;
 And Rāhula, the good, his only son—
 The sage is equal-minded to them all²."

¹ The Sinhalese, p. 610, is here greatly expanded.

² This stanza has only been traced at present in commentaries,

56. THE RAIN.

12. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those five qualities of the rain you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the rain lays any dust that arises; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, lay the dust and dirt of any evil dispositions that may arise within him. This, O king, is the first quality of the rain he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, just as the rain allays the heat of the ground; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, soothe the whole world of gods and men, with the feeling of his love. This, O king, is the second quality of the rain he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, as the rain makes all kinds of vegetation to grow; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, cause faith to spring up in all beings, and make that seed of faith grow up into the three Attainments, not only the lesser attainments of glorious rebirths in heaven or on earth, but also the attainment of the highest good, the bliss of Arahatsip¹. This, O king, is the third quality of the rain he ought to have.

15. 'And again, O king, just as the rain-cloud, rising up in the hot season, affords protection to the grass, and trees, and creepers, and shrubs, and medicinal herbs, and to the monarchs of the woods that grow on the surface of the earth; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort,

where it is quoted with some variation. See the Commentary on the Dhammapada, p. 147.

¹ In my note above, I, 146, I might have referred to this passage.

cultivating the habit of thoughtfulness, afford protection by his thoughtfulness to his condition of Samānaship, for in thoughtfulness is it that all good qualities have their root. This, O king, is the fourth quality of the rain he ought to have.

16. [411] 'And again, O king, as the rain when it pours down fills the rivers, and reservoirs, and artificial lakes, the caves, and chasms, and ponds, and holes, and wells, with water; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, pour down the rain of the Dhamma according to the texts handed down by tradition, and so fill to satisfaction the mind of those who are longing for instruction. This, O king, is the fifth quality of the rain he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sāriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"When the Great Sage perceives a man afar,
Were it a hundred or a thousand leagues,
Ripe for enlightenment, straightway he goes
And guides him gently to the path of Truth¹."

57. THE DIAMOND.

17. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of the diamond you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the diamond is pure throughout; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be perfectly pure in his means of livelihood. This, O king, is the first quality of the diamond he ought to have.

18. 'And again, O king, as the diamond cannot

¹ Not traced as yet.

be alloyed with any other substance ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never mix with wicked men as friends. This, O king, is the second quality of the diamond he ought to have.

19. 'And again, O king, just as the diamond is set together with the most costly gems ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, associate with those of the higher excellence, with men who have entered the first or the second or the third stage of the Noble Path, with the jewel treasures of the Arahats, of the recluses, of the threefold Wisdom, or of the sixfold Insight. This, O king, is the third quality of the diamond he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipâta :

"Let the pure associate with the pure,
Ever in recollection firm ;
Dwelling harmoniously wise
Thus shall ye put an end to griefs¹."

58. THE HUNTER.

20. [412] 'Venerable Nâgasena, those four qualities of the hunter you say he ought to have, which are they ?'

'Just, O king, as the hunter is indefatigable, so also, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be indefatigable. This, O king, is the first quality of the hunter he ought to have.

21. 'And again, O king, just as the hunter keeps his attention fixed on the deer ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, keep his

¹ Sutta Nipâta II, 6, 10 (verse 282).

attention fixed on the particular object which is the subject of his thought. This, O king, is the second quality of the hunter he ought to have.

22. 'And again, O king, just as the hunter knows the right time for his work ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, know the right time for retirement, saying to himself: " Now is the right time to retire. Now is the right time to come out of retirement." This, O king, is the third quality of the hunter he ought to have.

23. 'And again, O king, just as the hunter on catching sight of a deer experiences joy at the thought: "Him shall I get!" just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, rejoice at the sight of an object for contemplation, and experience joy at the thought: "Thereby shall I grasp the specific idea of which I am in search¹." This, O king, is the fourth quality of the hunter he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Mogharâga, the Elder:

¹ *Uttarim visesam udhigakkhissâmi.* Hînañi-kumburê, p. 614, renders this, 'shall I arrive at the advantage of the attainment of the fruits of the path.' And he may be right, as the word *uttarim* is used. But the context seems to imply the rendering I have ventured to give, which preserves the usual connotation in this connection of the other two words of the phrase. A Bhikshu, for instance, on seeing a faded flower, will try to realise, to conjure up before his mind, the real fact of the transitoriness of all earthly (and of all heavenly) things. That is the specific idea of which he is in search, the deer he has to catch. No doubt it is only an intermediate step to the realisation of the fruits of the path. But as *visesam adhigakkhati* is the technical term for success in such meditation, I cannot but think that the mind of our author was directed to the intermediate, rather than to the later stage of the Bhikshu's endeavour. The Sinhalese has, perhaps, been guided by the verse, but there the word *visesam* is omitted.

“ The recluse who, with mind on Nirvâṇa bent,
Has acquired an object his thoughts to guide,
Should be filled with exceeding joy at the hope :
‘ By this my uttermost aim shall I gain ¹.’ ”

59. THE FISHERMAN.

24. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the fisherman you say he ought to take, which are they ? ’

‘ Just, O king, as the fisherman draws up the fish on his hook ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, draw up by his knowledge, and that to the uttermost, the fruits of Samanaship. This, O king, is the first quality of the fisherman he ought to have.

25. ‘ And again, O king, just as the fisherman by the sacrifice of a very little comes to great gain ² ; just so, O king, [413] should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, renounce the mean baits of worldly things ; then by that renunciation will he gain the mighty fruits of Samanaship. This, O king, is the second quality of the fisherman he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Râhula, the Elder :

“ Renouncing the baits of the world he shall gain
The state that is void of lust, anger, and sin,—
Those conditions of sentient life—and be free,
Free from the cravings that mortals feel,
And the fruits of the stages of th’ Excellent Way
And the six modes of Insight shall all be his ³. ”

¹ Not traced as yet. There are stanzas of Mogha-râga’s both in the Sutta Nipâta and the Thera Gâthâ, but this is not one of them.

² By putting a small fish on his hook catches a big one.

³ Not traced as yet.

60. THE CARPENTER.

26. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of the carpenter he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the carpenter saws off the wood along the line of the blackened string (he has put round it to guide him)¹; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, standing on righteousness as a basis, and holding in the hand of faith the saw of knowledge, cut off his evil dispositions according to the doctrine laid down by the Conquerors. This, O king, is the first quality of the carpenter he ought to have.

27. 'And again, O king, just as the carpenter, discarding the soft parts of the wood², takes the hard parts; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, forsaking the path of the discussion of useless theses, to wit :—the everlasting life theory—the let-us-eat-and-drink-for-tomorrow-we-die theory³—the theory that the soul and the body are one and the same—that the soul is one thing, the body another—that all teachings are alike

¹ *Kâ/a-suttam*. See Dr. Morris's note in the 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society,' 1884, pp. 76–78, where he compares Mahâ Vastu, p. 17, and other passages.

² *Pheggum*. See above, p. 267 (of the Pâli), and *Magghima Nikâya* I, 198, 434, 488, from which it is clear that pheggu is a technical term applied to the softer portions of every tree, no doubt the outside portions. Sâra, on the other hand, means not pith, but heart of a tree. The Sinhalese words are sambulu and ara/ûwa. Compare the ebony tree, the outside of which is as soft and white as deal, whereas the inside is black and hard.

³ *Sassatam* and *Ukkhedam*. See 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 149. Hînaî-kumburê, p. 615, omits these two, and is very confused in his version of the others.

excellent¹—that what is not done is of no avail—that men's actions are of no importance—that holiness of life does not matter—that on the destruction of beings nine new sorts of beings appear—that the constituent elements of being are eternal²—that he who commits an act experiences the result thereof—that one acts and another experiences the result of this action—and other such theories of Karma or wrong views on the result of actions—forsaking, I say, all such theses, paths which lead to heresy, he should learn what is the real nature of those constituent elements of which each individuality is, for the short term of its individuality, put together, and so reach forward to that state which is void of lusts, of malice, and of dullness, in which the excitements of individuality are known no more, and which is therefore designated the Void Supreme³.

¹ Tad uttamam aññad uttamam. The Sinhalese omits the second uttamam.

² The Sinhalese takes all the four previous phrases as qualifying this last one.

³ This passage will be found of the greatest importance for the history of the development of early Buddhist belief. In the present state of our knowledge—or rather of our ignorance—of that subject, its obscure allusions are no doubt unintelligible. But they will not always remain so. And, when rightly understood, they will be expressly valuable inasmuch as they refer to that department of Buddhist belief of which we know, from other sources, the least. The development—or degeneration, if the expression be preferred—of Buddhist doctrine took place along three principal lines. Firstly, in the doctrine as to the person of the Buddha; secondly, in the pushing of Arahatsip into the background and the elevation, in its place, of Bodisatsip into the ideal; and thirdly, in the doctrine of the relation of man to the universe. We know a good deal of the growth of the legend of the Buddha, and of the change in the ethical standpoint. Of the evolution of the philosophic conceptions we know at present but little. It is on this last point that our author here lets us somewhat behind the scenes. The theses he

This, O king, is the second quality of the carpenter he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipāta :

“ Get rid of filth ¹ ! Put aside rubbish from you !
 Winnow away the chaff ², the men who hold
 Those who are not so, as true Samānas !
 Get rid of those who harbour evil thoughts,
 Who follow after evil modes of life !
 Thoughtful yourselves, and pure, with those resort,
 With those associate, who are pure themselves ³ ! ”

Here ends the Sixth Chapter.

condemns are to some extent the same as those the discussion of which is condemned in the well-known passages in the Piṭakas, where similar lists occur. In other respects they are evidence of a different and later stage of thought than appears in those parts of the Piṭakas at present accessible. And on the positive side, in the closing words, though the author has evidently enough the old Arahātship in view, yet he chooses expressions which became the germ of the much later nihilism of the Mādhyamika school, which has had so much influence in the more corrupt Buddhisms, more especially in China. As these later views never penetrated into Ceylon (or at least never had any vogue there, and were forgotten when Hīnañ-kumburē wrote), it is not surprising that the Sinhalese scholar should be at fault in his interpretation of this difficult passage. Sanskrit Buddhist texts will be here the best commentary.

¹ *Kārandavam*. In Childers, ‘a sort of duck,’ in the Sinhalese, ‘excrement.’

² *Palāpe vāhetha*. Chaff is so often used in Pāli of frivolous talk that it is given in the dictionaries as having that meaning. Hīnañ-kumburē takes it here in the sense of men of low caste, leprous *Kandālas*.

³ Not traced as yet. It is not in the Sutta Nipāta. This is the only passage in which our author gives the name of a book as the source from which he takes a passage, when the passage cannot be found in it. See Introduction, I, xliii.

BOOK VII. CHAPTER 7.

THE SIMILES (continued).

61. THE WATERPOT.

1. [414] 'Venerable Nâgasena, that one quality of the waterpot you say he ought to take, which is it?'

'Just, O king, as the waterpot when it is full gives forth no sound; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, even when he has reached the summit of Samāñaship, and knows all tradition and learning and interpretation, yet should give forth no sound, not pride himself thereon, not show himself puffed up, but putting away pride and self-righteousness, should be straightforward, not garrulous of himself, neither deprecating others. This, O king, is the quality of the waterpot he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods, in the Sutta Nipāta :

"What is not full, that is the thing that sounds,
That which is full is noiseless and at rest ;
The fool is like an empty waterpot,
The wise man like a deep pool, clear and full ¹."

62. BLACK IRON ².

2. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of black iron you say he ought to take, which are they?'

[415] 'Just, O king, as black iron even when

¹ Sutta Nipāta III, 11, 43 (verse 721).

² Kañyasa. I suppose to distinguish it from bronze.

beaten out¹ carries weight; just so, O king, should the mind of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be able, by his habit of thoughtfulness, to carry heavy burdens. This, O king, is the first quality of black iron he ought to have.

3. 'And again, O king, as black iron does not vomit up the water it has once soaked in²; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, never give up the faith he has once felt in the greatness of the Blessed One, the Supreme Buddha, in the perfection of his Doctrine, in the excellence of the Order—never give up the knowledge he has once acquired of the impermanence of forms, or of sensations, or of ideas, or of qualities, or of modes of consciousness. This, O king, is the second quality of black iron he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all gods :

"That man who is in insight purified,
Trained in the doctrine of the Noble Ones,
Grasping distinctions as they really are,
What need hath he to tremble? Not in part
Only, but in its full extent, shall he
To the clear heights of Arahatsip attain³."

63. THE SUNSHADE.

4. 'Venerable Nâgasena, those three qualities of the sunshade⁴ you say he ought to take, which are they?'

¹ Suthito. 'Like a thin, strong creeper,' says the *Simhalese*.

² There is no explanation in the *Simhalese* of this curious phrase.

³ Not traced as yet. *Hīnaśi-kumburê* (p. 618) reads *visesa-guṇā pavedhati*, and *mukhabhâvam eva so*.

⁴ *Khatta*. As used by high officials, a circular sunshade sup-

‘Just, O king, as the sunshade goes along over one’s head; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be of a character above all evil dispositions. This, O king, is the first quality of the sunshade he ought to have.

5. ‘And again, O king, just as the sunshade is held over the head by a handle; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, have thoughtfulness as his handle. This, O king, is the second quality of the sunshade he ought to have.

6. ‘And again, O king, as the sunshade wards off winds and heat and storms of rain; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, ward off the empty winds of the opinions of the numerous Samāṇas and Brahmans who hold forth their various and divergent nostrums, ward off the heat of the threefold fire (of lust, malice, and dullness), and ward off the rains of evil dispositions. [416] This, O king, is the third quality of the sunshade he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

“As a broad sunshade spreading far and firm,
Without a hole from rim to rim, wards off
The burning heat, and the god’s mighty rain;
So doth the Buddha’s son, all pure within,
Bearing the sunshade brave of righteousness,
Ward off the rain of evil tendencies,
And the dread heat of all the threefold fire¹.”

ported, not by a short stick fixed underneath its centre, but by a long stick fastened to a point on its circumference; and carried, not by the person it shades, but by an attendant behind him.

¹ Not traced as yet.

64. THE RICE FIELD.

7. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of the rice field you say he ought to have, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the rice field is provided with canals for irrigation; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be provided with the lists of the various duties incumbent on the righteous man—the canals that bring the water to the rice fields of the Buddha's doctrine¹. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the rice field he ought to have.

8. 'And again, O king, just as the rice field is provided with embankments whereby men keep the water in, and so bring the crop to maturity; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be provided with the embankments of righteousness of life, and shame at sin, and thereby keep his Samāñaship intact, and gain the fruits thereof. This, O king, is the second quality of the rice field he ought to have.

9. 'And again, O king, just as the rice field is fruitful, filling the heart of the farmer with joy, so that if the seed be little the crop is great, and if the seed be much the crop is greater still; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be fruitful to the bearing of much good fruit, making the hearts of those who support him to rejoice, so that where little is given the result is great, and where much is given the result is greater still.

¹ As the pun on the two secondary meanings of *mâtikâ*, 'rule, line,' is untranslatableable, I add here Hīnaśī-kumburê's gloss on the simile.

This, O king, is the third quality of the rice field he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Upâli, the Elder, he who carried the rules of the Order in his head :

“ Be fruitful as a rice field, yea, be rich
In all good works ! For that is the best field
Which yieldeth to the sower the goodliest crop¹. ”

65. MEDICINE.

10. [417] ‘Venerable Nâgasena, those two qualities of medicine you say he ought to take, which are they ?’

‘Just, O king, as vermin are not produced in medicine; just so, O king, should no evil dispositions be allowed to arise in the mind of the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of medicine he ought to have.

11. ‘And again, O king, just as medicine is an antidote to whatever poison may have been imparted by bites or contact, by eating or by drinking in any way; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, counteract in himself the poison of lusts, and malice, and dullness, and pride, and wrong belief. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of medicine he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by the Blessed One, the god over all the gods :

“ The strenuous recluse who longs to see
Into the nature, and the meaning true,
Of the constituent elements of things,
Must as it were an antidote become,
To the destruction of all evil thoughts¹. ”

¹ Not traced as yet.

66. FOOD.

12. 'Venerable Nāgasena, those three qualities of food you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as food is the support of all beings, just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be a handle, as it were, by which all beings may open the door of the noble eightfold path. This, O king, is the first of the qualities of food he ought to have.

13. 'And again, O king, just as food increases people's strength; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, grow in increase of virtue. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of food he ought to have.

14. 'And again, O king, just as food is a thing desired of all beings; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, be desired of all the world. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of food he ought to have. For it was said, O king, by Mahā Moggallāna, the Elder :

"By self-restraint, training, and righteousness,
By duty done, and by attainments reached,
The strenuous recluse should make himself
To all men in the world a thing desired¹."

67. THE ARCHER.

15. [418] 'Venerable Nāgasena, those four qualities of the archer you say he ought to take, which are they?'

'Just, O king, as the archer, when discharging

¹ Not traced as yet.

his arrows, plants both his feet firmly on the ground, keeps his knees straight, hangs his quiver against the narrow part of his waist, keeps his whole body steady, places both his hands firmly on the point of junction (of the arrow on the bow), closes his fists, leaves no openings between his fingers, stretches out his neck, shuts his mouth and one eye¹, and takes aim² in joy at the thought: "I shall hit it³;" just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, plant firmly the feet of his zeal on the basis of righteousness, keep intact his kindness and tenderness of heart, fix his mind on subjugation of the senses, keep himself steady by self-restraint and performance of duty, suppress excitement and sense of faintness, by continual thoughtfulness let no openings remain in his mind, reach forward in zeal, shut the six doors (of the five senses and the mind), and continue mindful and thoughtful in joy at the thought: "By the javelin of my knowledge will I slay all my evil dispositions." This, O king, is the first of the qualities of the archer he ought to have.

16. "And again, O king, as the archer carries a vice⁴ for straightening out bent and crooked and

¹ Literally 'and his eyes.'

² *Nimittam ugum karoti*. 'Keeps his mind directed,' says *Hīnaśi-kumburē*, p. 621.

³ On other technical terms of archery, compare above, p. 352 (of the *Pāli*).

⁴ From this point to the end, Mr. Trenckner's text is taken from a MS. brought from Siam, as explained in his Introduction, pp. v, vi, and in my Introduction, I, xxiv. *Hīnaśi-kumburē* gives no indication of any change here in the MSS. he used.

⁵ *Āḷaka*, which *Hīnaśi-kumburē*, p. 622, merely repeats. But see Dr. Morris, in the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society,' 1886, p. 158.

uneven arrows ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, carry about with him, so long as he is in the body, the vice of mindfulness and thoughtfulness, wherewith he may straighten out any crooked and bent and shifty ideas. This, O king, is the second of the qualities of the archer he ought to have.

17. ' And again, O king, as the archer practises ¹ at a target ; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, practise, so long as he is in the body. And how, O king, should he practise ? He should practise himself in the idea of the impermanence of all things, of the sorrow inherent in individuality, in the absence in any thing or creature of any abiding principle (any soul) ; in the ideas of the diseases, sores, pains, aches, and ailments of the body that follow in the train of the necessary conditions of individuality ; in the ideas of its dependence on others ², and of its certain disintegration ³ ; in the ideas of the calamities, dangers, fears, and misfortunes to which it is subject ; of its instability under the changing conditions of life ; of its liability to dissolution, its want of firmness, its being no true place of refuge, no cave of security, no home of protection, no right object of trust ; of its vanity, emptiness, danger, and insubstantiality [419] ; of its being the source of pains and subject to punish-

¹ Upâseti (only found here). Hīnaś-kumburê, p. 622, has *abhyâsa karanneya*. He gives the whole passage from *katham maharâga yoginâ tatiyam angam gahetabbam* in Pâli, and reads throughout *upâsitaḥḥam*, without the omissions.

² Parato, not in Childers, but see *Magghima Nikâya* I, 435, 500, where all these expressions occur together.

³ Palokato, from rug.

ments¹ and full of impurity, a mongrel compound of conditions and qualities that have no coherence; of its being the food alike of evil and of the Evil One²; of its inherent liability to rebirths, old age, disease, and death, to griefs, lamentations, despair; and of the corruption of the cravings and delusions that are never absent from it. This, O king, is the third of the qualities of the archer he ought to have.

18. 'And again, O king, just as the archer practises early and late; just so, O king, should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, practise meditation early and late. For it was said, O king, by Sâriputta, the Elder, the Commander of the Faith:

"Early and late the true archer will practise,
'Tis only by never neglecting his art,
That he earns the reward and the wage of his skill.
So the sons of the Buddha, too, practise their art.
It is just by never neglecting in thought
The conditions of life in this bodily frame
That they gain the rich fruits which the Arahats
love³."

Here ends the fifth riddle, the riddle of
the archer.

Here end the two hundred and sixty-two questions of Milinda, as handed down in the book in its six parts, adorned with twenty-two chapters. Now those which have not been handed down are forty-

¹ Vadhakato, 'untrustworthy as the man who assassinates his friend,' says Hīnaś-kumburê, p. 623.

² Marâmisato, given by Hīnaś-kumburê both in the Pâli and Sinhalese, but omitted by Mr. Trenckner. (*Mrityu-mâra-klesa mârayan/a âhâraya-wu-bœwim*.)

³ Not traced as yet.

two¹. Taking together all those that have been, and those that have not been, handed down, there are three hundred plus four, all of which are reckoned as 'Questions of Milinda'².

19. On the conclusion of this putting of puzzles and giving of solutions between the king and the Elder, this great earth, eighty-four thousand leagues in extent, shook six times even to its ocean boundary, the lightnings flashed, the gods poured down a rain-fall of flowers from heaven, Mahâ Brahmâ himself signified his applause, and there was a mighty roar like the crashing and thundering of a storm in the mighty deep. And on beholding that wonder, the five hundred high ministers of the king, and all the inhabitants of the city of Sâgala who were there, and the women of the king's palace, bowed down before Nâgasena, the great teacher, raising their clasped hands to their foreheads, and departed thence³.

20. [420] But Milinda the king was filled with joy of heart, and all pride was suppressed within him. And he became aware of the virtue that lay in the religion of the Buddhas, he ceased to have any doubt at all in the Three Gems⁴, he tarried no longer in the jungle of heresy, he renounced all obstinacy; and pleased beyond measure at the high

¹ There are only thirty-eight in the list at VII, 1, 1.

² Before these last sentences (Now those Milinda), Hīnaśī-kumburê has: 'Here ends that mirror of the good law called, "The Questions of Milinda."' Then he goes on as above.

³ I here follow Hīnaśī-kumburê, who has apparently had a fuller text before him.

⁴ The Buddha, his religion, and his order.

qualities of the Elder, at the excellence of his manners befitting a recluse, he become filled with confidence, and free from cravings, and all his pride and self-righteousness left his heart ; and like a cobra deprived of its fangs he said : ‘ Most excellent, most excellent, venerable Nâgasena ! The puzzles, worthy of a Buddha to solve, have you made clear. There is none like you, amongst all the followers of the Buddha, in the solution of problems, save only Sâriputta, the Elder, himself, the Commander of the Faith. Pardon me, venerable Nâgasena, my faults. May the venerable Nâgasena accept me as a supporter of the faith, as a true convert from to-day onwards as long as life shall last ! ’

21. Thenceforward the king and his mighty men continued in paying honour to Nâgasena. And the king had a Wihâra built called ‘The Milinda Wihâra,’ and handed it over to Nâgasena, the Elder, and waited upon him and all the multitude of the Arahats Bhikshus of whom he was the chief with the four requisites of the Bhikshu’s life. And afterwards, taking delight in the wisdom of the Elder, he handed over his kingdom to his son, and abandoning the household life for the houseless state, grew great in insight, and himself attained to Arahatship ! Therefore is it said :

‘ Wisdom is magnified o’er all the world,
And preaching for the endurance of the Faith.
When they, by wisdom, have put doubt aside
The wise reach upward to that Tranquil State.
That man in whom wisdom is firmly set,
And mindful self-possession never fails,
He is the best of those who gifts receive,
The chief of men to whom distinction’s given.

Let therefore able men, in due regard
 To their own welfare ¹, honour those who're wise,—
 Worthy of honour like the sacred pile
 Beneath whose solid dome the bones of the great
 dead lie ².

Here ends the book of the puzzles and the
 solutions of Milinda and Nāgasena ³.

¹ This line is identical with the sixth line of the little poem on the gift of Wihāras preserved in the *Kullavagga* VI, 1, 5, and VI, 9, 2, and quoted as a whole in the *Gāṭaka*, book I, 93, and in part above IV, 5, 1. This line also occurs, in a third connection, at *Gāṭaka* IV, 354.

² These verses differ from those here given by Hīnaśi-kumburê, which I have quoted in the Introduction to this volume.

³ This closing title is omitted by Hīnaśi-kumburê, who gives instead of it a second account of how he came to write his translation, and then adds as the closing title to his own book: 'Here ends the *Srī Saddharmādāsaya* (the Mirror of the Good Law) made by Sīnaśi-kumburê Sumaṅgala, the Elder.' [Sīnaśi is merely the Elu form of the Sinhalese word Hīnaśi, which is the name of a plant, *coryza sativa*; and Hīnaśi-kumburê is the locative of the name of the place, Hīnaśi-field, where he was born. Every unnānsê in Ceylon has such a local name in addition to his religious name. And the religious names being often identical (there are, for instance, many Sumaṅgalas), the Bhikkhus are usually spoken of by the former, and not by the latter.]

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

PART I.

- P. xxv. For 'Mahâyâna' read 'Madhyamika.' There is a Nâgasena mentioned in the Bharhut Tope.
- „ 6, l. 1. Read 'to Tissa the Elder, the son of the Moggallî.' The whole sentence had better perhaps have been rendered: 'And these two also were foreseen by our Buddha (just as he foresaw Tissa the Elder, the son of the Moggallî), in that he foretold, saying, &c.'
- „ 30, n. 1. The phrase *isi-vâtam parivâtam nagaram akamsu* recurs at *Gâtaka* III, 142; *Samanta Pâsadikâ* 316; *Saddhamma Samgaha* 41.
- „ 32, n. 1. Compare *Saddhamma Samgaha*, p. 42.
- „ 60, § 13. On the first simile, compare the *Samyutta Nikâya* XXII, 102, 7.
- „ 76, last line. For 'yoke' read 'yolk.'
- „ 78. It would have been better perhaps to have avoided the use of the words 'where' and 'there,' and to have rendered: 'In the case of beings who, having died, have been reborn elsewhere, time is. In the case of beings who, having died, have not been reborn elsewhere, time is not. And in the case of beings, &c.' The three cases are those of the *Puthuggana*, the *Arahat* when dead, and the *Arahat* alive. My note refers to the third case, not to the second; and should, I think, be modified accordingly. See *Samyutta Nikâya* III, 12, 35; *Mahâ Parinibbâna Sutta* IV, 3; *Dhammapada*, verse 89; *Sutta Nipâta* II, 13, 1, 12; *Maggâima Nikâya* I, 235; *Gâtaka* IV, 453; and compare *Udâna*, p. 80.
- Hinari-kumburê* gives only a literal translation. A similar question is discussed in the *Kathâ Vatthu* XV, 3.
- „ 99, n. 1. For 'chapter' read 'book, p. 39.'
- „ 107, l. 16. After 'brought about' insert a comma.
- „ 118, § 5. I now prefer 'initiation' instead of 'ordination' as the translation of *Upasampadâ*.
- „ 119, n. 1. This interpretation is confirmed by part ii, p. 197.
- „ 129, l. 7. The phrase, 'though his hands and feet were cut off,' seems, at first sight, out of place. But compare part ii, p. 147.
- „ 150, l. 2. Read 'and not accepting them.'

- P. 153, § 18. Read 'Kīṇā:' and compare Gâtaka IV, 189.
 „ 164 (six lines from the bottom of the page). Read 'and then a subsequent ease to the pain he has given.'
 „ 176, § 39. In accordance with the note at part ii, pp. 86, 87, we must read 'a huge and mighty cauldron, full of water and crowded with grains of rice, is placed over a fireplace.'
 „ 179. On the problem of king Sivi and his new eyes, compare the question discussed in Kathā Vatthu III, 7.
 „ 229, n. 1, l. 6. For 'these' read 'those.'
 „ 239, n. 2. For 'But I never think' read 'But I now think.'
 „ 241, § 20. For 'The Master said, Nāgasena,' read 'The Master said, O king.'
 „ 244, n. 2. For 'Gatharaggi' read 'Gaḥaraggi.'
 „ 278, n. 1. For 'adika' read 'ādika.'
 „ 288, n. 3. For 'purdhita' read 'purohita.'
 „ 290, n. 2. This story, which I could not trace, is no doubt the one referred to in Kariyā Pitaka I, 7.
 „ 291, l. 22. Read 'Uposatha.'

PART II.

- P. 27, last line but two. Read 'kāma-loka.'
 „ 29, n. 2, l. 7. Read 'saṃsāra.'
 „ 139, l. 4. For 'sun and moon' read 'moon and sun.'
 „ 148, two lines from the bottom. For 'O king' read 'Sir.'
 „ 150, four lines from the bottom. For 'destructions' read 'distinctions.'
 „ 166, n. 1. Read 'samāhato.'
 „ 219, n. 2. Read 'bhāvanā.'
 „ 252, l. 4. For 'pulling' read 'putting.'
 „ 271, n. 1. Compare the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society,' 1887, p. 155.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

- 'Æsop's' fables, page 180.
 Ākiravatī, river, 304.
 Ā/āra Kālāma, ascetic, 43, 46.
 Alexandria, 204, 211, 269.
 Aṅgīrasa, physician, 109.
 Aṅgulimāla, robber, 355.
 Anuruddha, quoted, 296, 347, 351.
 Arūpakāyikā, gods, 188.
 Attha Sālīnī, xviii.
 Atula, physician, 109.
 Avīṭi, purgatory, 261.
 Bactria, 211.
 Bakkula, 8-12.
 Barth, M.,
 Benares, district, 204, 211.
 Bhaddasāla, general, 147.
 Bhāradvāja, brahman, 37.
 Bhārukāśśa, country, 211.
 Brahmā, god, 24.
 Buddhaghosa, 26, 32, 282.
 Burnouf, Eugène, 6.
 China, 204, 211, 269.
 Da Sylva, Mr. Lewis, 181 foll.
 Devadatta, 5.
 Dhaga, brahman, 44.
 Dhammantari, physician, 109.
 Dhanapāla, elephant, 248.
 Dhaniya, cowherd, 285.
 Divyāvadhana, quoted, 305.
 D'Oldenbourg, S., xi, xvii.
 Eka-sāraka, brahman, 147.
 Fausbøll, Professor, 1, 4, 16, 31, 146.
 Feer, Léon, xvii.
 Gandhāra, country, 204, 211.
 Ganges, river, 304.
 Ghāṣikāra, potter, 21-25.
 Gopāla-mātā, queen, 146.
 Gough's 'Philosophy of the Upani-
 shads,' 142.
 Greeks, 204, 256.
 Guttila, musician, 146.
 Gāli, prince, 131.
 Gotipāla, brahman, 20.
 Hīnari-kumburē, meaning of, 375.
 Indasāla, cave, 248.
 Jolly, Professor, 266.
 Jumna, river, 304.
 Kakkāyana, physician, 109.
 Kālīnga, 81.
 Kandaraggisāma, physician, 109.
 Kanhāginā, Vessantara's daughter,
 125, 131.
 Kapila, physician, 109.
 Kashmir, country, 204, 211.
 Kassapa, the Buddha, 21.
 Kathā Vatthu, xx-xxvii.
 Kolaśśa, king, 81.
 Koromandel, coast, 269.
 Kosala, country, 204, 211.
 Korumbara, place, 211.
 Kshemendra, xvii.
 Kakkhupāla, 9.
 Kandagutta, king, 147.
 Kandavatī, princess, 18, 19.
 Lakkhana, brahman, 44.
 Lévi, Sylvain, xii-xvii.
 Lomapāda, king, 17.
 Lomasa Kassapa, rishi, 16.
 Maddī, Vessantara's queen, 125.
 Madhura, place, 211.
 Magadha, country, 211.
 Māgandhiya, ascetic, 183.
 Mahā Kakkāyana, elder, 282.
 Mahā Kassapa, elder, 330.
 Mahā Vamsa, xviii.
 Mahī, river, 304.
 Mandhātā, king, 146.
 Mantī, brahman, 44.
 Milinda Wihāra, 374.
 Moggallāna, therā, 36, 369.

Mogharâga, the elder, 354.
 Morris, Rev. Dr., 5, 22, 122, 361.
 Müller, Professor E., 128.

Nanda, king, 147.
 Nârada, the physician, 109.
 Nikumba, country, 204.
 Nimi, king, 146.

Panthaka, elder, quoted, 284.
Pindola Bhâradvâga, 335, 345.
Punnaka, slave, 146.

Râhu, demon, 321.
 Râhula, Gotama's son, 290, 297, 317,
 355, 361.
 Râma, brahman, 44.

Sabbamitta, brahman, 45.
 Sâdhîna, king, 146.
 Sâgala, town, 373.
 Sâketa, place, 211.
 Sakka, god, 6, 24, 322, 323.
 Samana Kolaṇṇa, king, 81.
 Sarabhû, river, 304.
 Sâriputta, thera, 36, 273, 280, 284,
 287, 292, 293, 294, 299, 302,
 329, 332, 333, 353, 357, 366,
 372.

Scythians, 204, 211.
 Sela, brahman, 25.
 Sineru, mountain, 24.
 Sovîra, seaport, 269.
 Specht, E., xii-xiv.

Subhaddâ, quoted, 308, 316.
 Subhoga, brahman, 44.
 Subhûti, elder, 315, 323.
 Sudatta, brahman, 44.
 Suddhodana, king, 45.
 Sumana, garland-maker, 146.
Surattba (Surat), 211, 269.
 Suyâma, brahman, 44.

Takkola, seaport, 269.
 Tartary, 204.
 Tidasapura, in heaven, 145.
 Trenckner, Mr., 13, 29, 147, 175,
 183, 279, 327.
 Turkey, incense from, 256.

Udâyi, 6.
 Uddaka Râmaputta, ascetic, 46.
 Udena, king, 146.
 Udiṭṭa, country, 45.
 Uggen, country, 211.
 Upâli, the elder, 368.
 Upasena Vangantaputta, 268, 269,
 289, 326, 328, 329, 331.
 Uposatha, elephant, 128.

Vanga, seaport, 269.
 Vahgîsa, quoted, 322.
 Vasubandhu, xvii.
 Veraṅga, town, 37.
 Vessantara, 114-132, 125.
 Vilâta, country, 211.

Yaṇṇa, brahman, 44.



INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Agriculture, details of, pages 269, 270.
 Anchor, simile of, 299.
 Animals, list of, 101.
 Ant, simile of the white, 326.
 Arahats:—
 laymen may become, 57, 96, 245;
 suffer bodily but never mental pain, 75;
 how far they can do wrong, 98–100; or be ignorant, 100;
 way to Arahatship confused with way to Buddhahood, 141;
 produce wonders at their graves, 174;
 the thirty-seven constituent qualities of Arahatship, 207, 218, 264;
 the seven jewels of the Arahats, 220–229;
 are the judges in the City of Righteousness, 235;
 no Arahatship without the vows, 254;
 description of the Arahats' character, 272, 273.
 Archery, full details of, 253, 254, 370.
 Arithmetic, 149.
 Asceticism, 60–62.
 Ass, riddle of, 279.
 Assurance, final, 226.
 Backsliders, 63–75.
 Bamboo, simile of, 290.
 Bat, compared to the Arahats, 346.
 Bathing, 63.
 Begging, forbidden to the members of the Buddhist Order, 33;
 allowed, 35.
 Boar, simile of, 334.
 Body, ten characteristics of the, 75.
 Bow, simile of, 291.
 Brahmans, 21, 26–28, 41.
 Bull, simile of, 333.
 Carpenter, riddle of, 361.
 Carts, parts of, 49.
 Cat, simile of, 326.
 Champion, in battle, 149.
 Charity, public feasts, 65, 68.
 Children, no conversion of, 178.
 Chinese books on Milinda, xi–xv.
 Cloth manufacture, processes of, 52.
 Cock, simile of, 280.
 Confession, the one true, 55.
 Conversion, who cannot reach, 177.
 Corpse, the ocean does not keep a, 70.
 'Corpse Dance,' 147.
 Counties, list of, 53.
 Crane (Indian), a bird of ill omen, 345.
 Crow, riddle of, 291.
 Dead, offerings for the, 151.
 Death, premature, 162–174.
 Debt, deposit of son as pledge for, 122.
 Deer, simile of, 331.
 Diamond polishing, 7; figuratively of knowledge, 229; has three qualities of the Arahats, 357.
 Diseases, 8, 10, 62; causes of fatal, 164.
 Dreams, 157–162.
 'Drink of Triumph,' 16.
 Drugs, magical, 129.
 Earth, simile of, 307.
 Elephant, the mystic royal, 128;
 and frog, parable of, 180; which attacked the Buddha, 248; has five qualities of the Arahats, 335.
 Emancipation, the chief jewel of the Arahats, 225.
 Evil One, the, 55.
 Fairies, &c., various kinds of, 101.
 Faith, the one true, 55.

- Final assurance, 226.
 Fire, by attrition, 203.
 Fire, simile of, 311.
 Fireplaces, form of, 86.
 Fisherman, riddle of, 360.
 Food, moderation in, 4-7.
 Friendship of the world, 1.
 Frog and elephant, parable of, 180.
- Gem, the mystic royal, 14, 128; the wish-conferring, 59, 74, 119, 193, 258.
 Gifts, how sanctified, 82-84.
 God, the only one, 50.
 Gourd, simile of, 294.
 Graves, wonders at, 174 foll.
 Gravitation, 80.
 Gypsies, 87.
- 'Head Holocaust,' 147.
 Heredity, 21.
 Household cares, 1.
 Hunter, has four qualities of the Arahāt, 358.
 Hyenas, 101.
- Iddhi, 94, 96, 117, 231, 234, 259, 267.
 Impermanence, law of, 102.
 Imputed righteousness, 153-156.
 Iron, 102, 364.
- Jackal, simile of, 329.
 Jasmine, the best of flowers, 73.
- Karma, 11, 22, 38, 93, 95, 103, 108, 145-149, 163, 213, 214, 230.
 Kings, their courtiers, &c., 41, 265; force of their example, 42; will fail if unworthy, 69, 262; custody of their seal, 124; seven mystic treasures of, 203; six royal insignia of, 207; powers and perquisites of, 266, 270; king has four qualities of the Arahāt, 323.
 Kingship of the Buddha, explained, 26-30.
 Knowledge, Buddhist, described, 223.
- Landowners, 15.
 Laymen, can become Arahats, 57, 96; why admitted at once (before conversion) into the Order, 63-75, when they cannot enter the path, 78.
 Leech, why like the Arahāt, 347.
- Lion, simile of, 338.
 Looking-glass, simile of, 158.
 Lotus, simile of, 70, 189, 222, 256, 295.
 'Lower state,' the, 63-75.
- Madness, wrong done in, 18, 19.
 Magic. See Gem, Root, and Drugs.
 Mankind will all become by nature pure, 95.
 Mast, simile of, 300.
 Matriarchate, 127 note.
 Medicine (see Diseases):—
 tonic, use of, 7;
 purge, preparation for, 33;
 diagnosis, 64, 67;
 medicine of Nirvāṇa, 65, 190; of the vows, 256;
 a specific for all diseases, 67;
 the internal fire (for digestion), 97;
 list of old teachers of, 109;
 various divisions of medical knowledge, 109;
 verses on, 218, 219;
 training in surgery, 255;
 riddle about, 368.
- Meditation, various sorts of, 212, 213; qualities of, 222.
 Minister of State, 147, and see Seal.
 Miracles, why the Buddhas work none, 24.
 Monkey, simile of, 292.
 Moon, simile of, 318.
 Moon-worship, 127.
 Mongoose, simile of, 329.
- Nihilism, the explanation of Buddhist, 102; modern theories of, 142.
 Nirvāṇa, is medicine, 65, 190;
 like space is without a cause, 103, 107;
 is unproducible, 102;
 is not put together of any qualities, 103;
 has no colour or form, 107;
 what it is, 181 note;
 has no pain involved in it, 181-185;
 has no form, or duration, or measure, 186-188;
 its qualities explained by similes, 189-195;
 how it can be known, 196;
 how attained to, 197-201;
 where attained to, 202-205.
- Offerings for the dead, 151.

Order, the Buddhist :—

description of true member of,
5, 9;

the guilty member of, purifies gifts,
82, 83;

every member of, will reach Ara-
hatship, *ibid.*;

why they should trouble them-
selves with study, and the busi-
ness of the Order, 92;

why the rules of, were laid down
gradually, 110;

description at length of the ideal
member, 271-273.

Owl, has two qualities of the Ara-
hat, 344.

Panther, similes of, 285.

Path, the ancient and the new,
13-19.

Patriarchal power to sell son, 122.

Penance, 141.

Physician, the Great, 8; description
of an able, 67.

Pigeon, how like the Arahāt, 344.

Pilot, simile of, 301.

Pledge, 122.

Poison, 80, 81.

Pupils, duties of, to teachers, 185.

Rain, why like the Arahāt, 356.

Rat, simile of, 328.

Rebirth, 22, 83.

Recluse. See Order.

Relationship, terminology of, in
Pāli, different from ours, 51.

Rice, sorts of, 73; riddle about,
367.

Righteousness, imputed, 153-156.

Rock, simile of, 314.

Root, with magical powers, 119.

Sailor, simile of, 302.

Sal-tree, simile of, 296.

Sandal-wood, simile of, 74.

'Sap of Life,' 37.

Scorpion, riddle of, 328.

Sea, simile of, 303-306.

Seal, the great, state custody of, 124.

Seasons, 103, 112.

Seed, riddle of, 296.

Ship, simile of, 297.

Sleep, theory of, 161.

Snakes, similes of, 348, 349.

Sons, may be sold or pledged, 122.

Space, simile of, 316.

Spider, simile of, 351.

Squirrel, simile of, 284.

Sun, heat of, how mitigated, 111;
hotter in winter than summer,
112; has seven qualities of the
Arahāt, 320.

Sunshade, riddle of, 365.

Sun-worship, later than moon-wor-
ship, 127.

Teachers, the five, of the Buddha,
44-46; the Buddha has no, 6,
43, 46.

Tortoise, similes of, 288, 352.

Toys, various, 32.

'Tree of Wisdom,' 81.

Trees, how like the Arahāt, 355.

Wage-earners despised, 210.

Water, simile of, 309.

Water, Soul in, 85-91.

Waterpots, curious form of, 86;
adage of, 364.

Weapons, the five kinds of, 227;
seven kinds of, 250.

Weaving, processes of, 52.

Wheel, the mystic royal, 137.

Wihāras, merit of building, 3.

Wind, simile of, 312.

Wonders at the graves of saints,
174 foll.

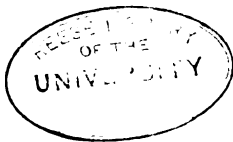
Writing, 9, 247.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.										
	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬔	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬕	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	𐬐	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	.	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	𐬑	{ 𐬑 (ng) 𐬑 (n) 𐬑 (ng hv)	.	.	.	.	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	𐬑	.	𐬑	.	.	𐬑	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	𐬑	.	.	.	.	𐬑	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	.	
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	.	
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k	
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	kh	
15 Media	.	g	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
17 " Nasalis	.	𐬑	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	

CONSONANTS (considered).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .		य	𐬨 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	ي	ي	י	γ
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s		स	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ס	s
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	s		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .		त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .		थ	𐬕	𐬕	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .		द	𐬌	𐬌	د	د	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .		न	𐬎	𐬎	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .		. . .	𐬭	𐬭	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .		स	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (ʃ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .		. . .	𐬪	𐬪	ز	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʃ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ri			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...



SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

THE RIGHT HON. F. MAX MÜLLER.

*** *This Series is published with the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State for India in Council.*

REPORT presented to the ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS, May 11, 1883, by M. ERNEST RENAN.

'M. Renan présente trois nouveaux volumes de la grande collection des "Livres sacrés de l'Orient" (Sacred Books of the East), que dirige à Oxford, avec une si vaste érudition et une critique si sûre, le savant associé de l'Académie des Inscriptions, M. Max Müller. . . La première série de ce beau recueil, composée de 24 volumes, est presque achevée. M. Max Müller se propose d'en publier

une seconde, dont l'intérêt historique et religieux ne sera pas moindre. M. Max Müller a su se procurer la collaboration des savans les plus éminens d'Europe et d'Asie. L'Université d'Oxford, que cette grande publication honore au plus haut degré, doit tenir à continuer dans les plus larges proportions une œuvre aussi philosophiquement conçue que savamment exécutée.'

EXTRACT from the QUARTERLY REVIEW.

'We rejoice to notice that a second series of these translations has been announced and has actually begun to appear. The stones, at least, out of which a stately edifice may hereafter arise, are here being brought together. Prof. Max Müller has deserved well of scientific history. Not a few minds owe to his enticing words their first attraction to this branch of study. But no work of his, not even the

great edition of the Rig-Veda, can compare in importance or in usefulness with this English translation of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been devised by his foresight, successfully brought so far by his persuasive and organising power, and will, we trust, by the assistance of the distinguished scholars he has gathered round him, be carried in due time to a happy completion.'

Professor E. HARDY, Inaugural Lecture in the University of Freiburg, 1887.

'Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft datirt von jenem grossartigen, in seiner Art einzig dastehenden Unternehmen, zu welchem auf Anregung Max Müllers im Jahre 1874 auf dem

internationalen Orientalistencongress in London der Grundstein gelegt worden war, die Übersetzung der heiligen Bücher des Ostens' (*the Sacred Books of the East*).

The Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING, 'Words on Existing Religions.'

'The recent publication of the "Sacred Books of the East" in English is surely

a great event in the annals of theological literature.'

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
LONDON: HENRY FROWDE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

FIRST SERIES.

VOL. I. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. The *Khândogya-upanishad*, The *Talavakâra-upanishad*, The *Aitareya-âraṇyaka*, The *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, and The *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Upanishads contain the philosophy of the Veda. They have become the foundation of the later Vedânta doctrines, and indirectly of Buddhism. Schopenhauer, speaking of the Upanishads, says: 'In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.'

[See also Vol. XV.]

VOL. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas,

As taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâya. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. Âpastamba and Gautama. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Sacred Laws of the Âryas contain the original treatises on which the Laws of Manu and other lawgivers were founded.

[See also Vol. XIV.]

VOL. III. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. The *Shû King*, The Religious Portions of the *Shih King*, and The *Hsiâo King*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

Confucius was a collector of ancient traditions, not the founder of a new religion. As he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. his works are of unique interest for the study of Ethology.

[See also Vols. XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL.]

VOL. IV. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part I. The *Vendîdâd*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

The Zend-Avesta contains the relics of what was the religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, and, but for the battle of Marathon,

might have become the religion of Europe. It forms to the present day the sacred book of the Parsis, the so-called fire-worshippers.

[See also Vols. XXIII and XXXI.]

VOL. V. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast lâ-shâyast. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

The Pahlavi Texts comprise the theological literature of the revival of Zoroaster's religion, beginning with the Sassanian dynasty. They are important for a study of Gnosticism.

[See also Vols. XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, and XLVII.]

VOLS. VI AND IX. The Qur'ân.

Parts I and II. Translated by E. H. PALMER. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation, carried out according to his own peculiar views of the origin of the Qur'ân, was the last great work of E. H. Palmer, before he was murdered in Egypt.

VOL. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu.

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

A collection of legal aphorisms, closely connected with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the Kathas, but considerably added to in later time. Of importance for a critical study of the Laws of Manu.

VOL. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtîya, and The Anugîtâ.

Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The earliest philosophical and religious poem of India. It has been paraphrased in Arnold's 'Song Celestial.'

VOL. X. The Dhammapada,

Translated from Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and

The Sutta-Nipâta,

Translated from Pâli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Dhammapada contains the quintessence of Buddhist morality. The Sutta-Nipâta gives the authentic teaching of Buddha on some of the fundamental principles of religion.

VOL. XI. Buddhist Suttas.

Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 1. The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta; 2. The Dhamma-ṅkka-ppavattana Sutta. 3. The Teviggā Suttanta; 4. The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta; 5. The Ketokhila Sutta; 6. The Mahā-sudassana Suttanta; 7. The Sabbāsava Sutta. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

A collection of the most important religious, moral, and philosophical discourses taken from the sacred canon of the Buddhists.

VOL. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part I. Books I and II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

A minute account of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedic age. It contains the earliest account of the Deluge in India.

[See also Vols. XXVI, XLI, XLIII, and XLIV.]

VOL. XIII. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. The Pātimokkha. The Mahāvagga, I-IV. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Vinaya Texts give for the first time a translation of the moral code of the Buddhist religion as settled in the third century B.C.

[See also Vols. XVII and XX.]

VOL. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas,

As taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishṭha, and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XV. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. The Katha-upanishad, The Mundaka-upanishad, The Taittirīyaka-upanishad, The Brhadāraṇyaka-upanishad, The Svetāsvatara-upanishad, The Prasṇa-upanishad, and The Maitrāyana-brāhmaṇa-upanishad. Second Edition. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XVI. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. The Yî King. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.]

VOL. XVII. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. The Mahāvagga, V-X. The Kullavagga, I-III. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. The Dâdîstân-î Dînîk and The Epistles of Mânûskîhar. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XIX. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king.

A Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

This life of Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, A.D. 420. It contains many legends, some of which show a certain similarity to the Evangelium infantiae, &c.

VOL. XX. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pâli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part III. The Kullavagga, IV–XII. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XXI. The Saddharma-pundarîka ; or, The Lotus of the True Law.

Translated by H. KERN. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

'The Lotus of the True Law,' a canonical book of the Northern Buddhists, translated from Sanskrit. There is a Chinese translation of this book which was finished as early as the year 286 A.D.

VOL. XXII. Gaina-Sûtras.

Translated from Prâkrit by HERMANN JACOBI. Part I. The Âkârânga-Sûtra and The Kalpa-Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The religion of the Gainas was founded by a contemporary of Buddha. It still counts numerous adherents in India, while there are no Buddhists left in India proper.

[See Vol. XLV.]

VOL. XXIII. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part II. The Sîrôzahs, Yasts, and Nyâyis. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XXIV. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. Dînâ-î Mainôg-Khirad, Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, and Sad Dar. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

SECOND SERIES.

VOL. XXV. Manu.

Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation is founded on that of Sir William Jones, which has been carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native Commentaries. An Appendix contains all the quotations from Manu which are found in the Hindu Law-books, translated for the use of the Law Courts in India. Another Appendix gives a synopsis of parallel passages from the six Dharma-sûtras, the other Smritis, the Upanishads, the Mahâbhârata, &c.

VOL. XXVI. The Satapatha-Brâhmana.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part II. Books III and IV. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOLS. XXVII AND XXVIII. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. The Li Ki, or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or Ceremonial Usages. 8vo, cloth, 25s.

VOL. XXIX. The Grîhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part I. Sâṅkhâyana, Âśvalâyana, Pâraskara, Khâdira. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XXX. The Grîhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part II. Gobhila, Hîranyakesin, Âpastamba. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Âpastamba, Yagña-paribhâshâ-sûtras. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

These rules of Domestic Ceremonies describe the home life of the ancient Âryas with a completeness and accuracy unmatched in any other literature. Some of these rules have been incorporated in the ancient Law-books.

VOL. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta.

Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Âfrinagân, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XXXII. Vedic Hymns.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 18s. 6d.
[See also Vol. XLVI.]

VOL. XXXIII. The Minor Law-books.

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nârada, Brîhaspati. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

- VOL. XXXIV.** The Vedânta-Sûtras, with the Commentary by Saṅkarâkârya. Part I.
Translated by G. THIBAUT. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
[See also Vol. XXXVIII.]
- VOLS. XXXV AND XXXVI.** The Questions of King Milinda.
Translated from the Pâli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXVII.** Pahlavi Texts.
Translated by E. W. WEST. Part IV. The Contents of the Nasks, as stated in the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Dînkard. 15s.
- VOL. XXXVIII.** The Vedânta-Sûtras. Part II. 8vo, cloth, with full Index to both Parts, 12s. 6d.
- VOLS. XXXIX AND XL.** The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Tâoism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. 8vo, cloth, 21s.
- VOL. XLI.** The Satapatha - Brâhmaṇa. Part III.
Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XLII.** Hymns of the Atharva-veda.
Translated by M. BLOOMFIELD. 8vo, cloth, 21s.
- VOL. XLIII.** The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa.
Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part IV. Books VIII, IX, and X. 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XLIV.** The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa.
Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part V. Books XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. 18s. 6d.
- VOL. XLV.** The Gâina-Sûtras.
Translated from Prakṛit, by HERMANN JACOBI. Part II. The Uttarâdhyayana Sûtra, The Sûtrakṛitâṅga Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XLVI.** Vedic Hymns. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 14s.
- VOL. XLVII.** Pahlavi Texts.
Translated by E. W. WEST. Part V. Marvels of Zoroastrianism. 8s. 6d.
- VOL. XLVIII.** The Vedânta-Sûtras, with Râmânuga's Sribhâshya.
Translated by G. THIBAUT. [In the Press.]
- VOL. XLIX.** Buddhist Mahâyâna Texts. Buddha-karita, translated by E. B. COWELL. Sukhâvatî-vyûha, Vagṛakkhedikâ, &c., translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra, translated by J. TAKAKUSU. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

Anecdota Oxoniensia.

ARYAN SERIES.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. I. Vagrakkhedikâ ; The Diamond-Cutter.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Small 4to, 3s. 6d.

One of the most famous metaphysical treatises of the Mahâyâna Buddhists.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. II. Sukhâvatî-Vyûha : Description of Sukhâvatî, the Land of Bliss.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUXIU NANJIO. With two Appendices: (1) Text and Translation of Saṅghavarman's Chinese Version of the Poetical Portions of the Sukhâvatî-Vyûha; (2) Sanskrit Text of the Smaller Sukhâvatî-Vyûha. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

The editio princeps of the Sacred Book of one of the largest and most influential sects of Buddhism, numbering more than ten millions of followers in Japan alone.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. III. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Pragñâ-Pâramitâ-Hridaya-Sûtra and the Ushnîsha-Vigaya-Dhârani.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER, C.I.E. With many Plates. Small 4to, 10s.

Contains facsimiles of the oldest Sanskrit MS. at present known.

Dharma-Samgraha, an Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms.

Prepared for publication by KENJIU KASAWARA, a Buddhist Priest from Japan, and, after his death, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WENZEL. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

Kâtyâyana's Sarvânukramanî of the Rîgveda.

With Extracts from Shadgurushishya's Commentary entitled Vedârthadîpikâ. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.

The Buddha-Karita of Asvaghosha.

Edited, from three MSS., by E. B. COWELL, M.A. 12s. 6d.

The Mantrapâṭha, or the Prayer Book of the Âpastambins.

Edited, together with the Commentary of Haradatta, and translated by M. WINTERNITZ, Ph.D. *First Part.* Introduction, Sanskrit Text, Varietas Lectionis, and Appendices. Small quarto, 10s. 6d.

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



3 3433 08185315 6

The New York Public Library
Astor, Lenox & Tilden Foundations

* * *

The R. Heber Newton
Collection

Presented by His Children

* 1931 *

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

Not to
be kept

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, E.C.



New York

MACMILLAN & CO., 66 FIFTH AVENUE

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

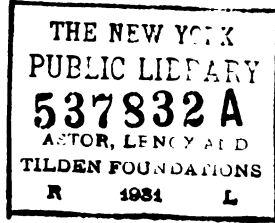
VOL. XLIX

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1894

[*All rights reserved*]



Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

NOV 23 1934
CLARENDON
PRESS

CONTENTS OF THE TWO PARTS.

BUDDHIST MAHÂVÂNA TEXTS.

PART I.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix
THE BUDDHA-KARITA OF ASVAGHOSHA: BOOKS I-XVII	I
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES	203
NOTES AND CORRECTIONS	207

Translated by E. B. COWELL.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION	v
1. THE LARGER SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÔHA	I
INDEX OF WORDS	77
INDEX OF SUBJECTS	85
2. THE SMALLER SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÔHA	87
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS	105
INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS	107
3. THE VAGRAKKHEDIKÂ	109
4. THE LARGER PRAGÑÂ-PÂRAMITÂ-HR/DAYA-SÛTRA	145
5. THE SMALLER PRAGÑÂ-PÂRAMITÂ-HR/DAYA-SÛTRA	151
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS	155
INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS	157

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER.

6. THE AMITÂYUR-DHYÂNA-SÛTRA	159
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS	203

Translated by J. TAKAKUSU.

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the	
Translations of the Sacred Books of the East	205

BUDDHIST MAHÂYÂNA TEXTS

PART I

THE BUDDHA-KARITA

OF

ASVAGHOSHA

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT

BY

E. B. COWELL

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1894

[*All rights reserved*]

INTRODUCTION.

THE Sanskrit text of the *Buddha-karita* was published at the beginning of last year in the 'Anecdota Oxoniensia,' and the following English translation is now included in the series of 'Sacred Books of the East.' It is an early Sanskrit poem written in India on the legendary history of Buddha, and therefore contains much that is of interest for the history of Buddhism, beside its special importance as illustrating the early history of classical Sanskrit literature.

It is ascribed to Arsvaghosha; and, although there were several writers who bore that name, it seems most probable that our author was the contemporary and spiritual adviser of Kanishka in the first century of our era. Hiouen Thsang, who left India in A.D. 645, mentions him with Deva, Nāgārguna, and Kumāralabdha, 'as the four suns which illumine the world¹;' but our fullest account is given by I-tsing, who visited India in 673. He states that Arsvaghosha was an ancient author who composed the *Alamkāra-sāstra* and the *Buddha-karita-kāvya*,—the latter work being of course the present poem. Beside these two works he also composed the hymns in honour of Buddha and the three holy beings Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāsthāma, which were chanted at the evening service of the monasteries. 'In the five countries of India and in the countries of the Southern ocean they recite these poems, because they express a store of ideas and meaning in a few words².' A solitary stanza (VIII, 13) is

¹ Julien's Translation, vol. ii, p. 214.

² See M. Fujishama, *Journal Asiatique*, 1888, p. 425.

quoted from the *Buddha-karita* in Rāyamukuta's commentary on the *Amarakosha* I, 1. 1, 2, and also by Uggvaladatta in his commentary on the *Unādi-sūtras* I, 156; and five stanzas are quoted as from *Asvaghosha* in Vallabha-deva's *Subhāshitāvali*, which bear a great resemblance to his style, though they are not found in the extant portion of this poem¹.

The *Buddha-karita* was translated into Chinese² by Dharmaraksha in the fifth century, and a translation of this was published by the Rev. S. Beal in the present series; it was also translated into Tibetan in the seventh or eighth century. The Tibetan as well as the Chinese version consists of twenty-eight chapters, and carries down the life of Buddha to his entrance into Nirvāṇa and the subsequent division of the sacred relics. The Tibetan version appears to be much closer to the original Sanskrit than the Chinese; in fact from its verbal accuracy we can often reproduce the exact words of the original, since certain Sanskrit words are always represented by the same Tibetan equivalents, as for instance the prepositions prefixed to verbal roots. I may here express an earnest hope that we may still ere long have an edition and translation of the Tibetan version, if some scholar can be found to complete Dr. Wenzel's unfinished labour. He had devoted much time and thought to the work; I consulted him in several of my difficulties, and it is from him that I derived all my information about the Tibetan renderings. This Tibetan version promises to be of great help in restoring the many corrupt readings which still remain in our faulty Nepalese MSS.

Only thirteen books of the Sanskrit poem claim to be *Asvaghosha's* composition; the last four books are an attempt by a modern Nepalese author to supply the loss of the original. He tells us this honestly in the colophon,

¹ Professor Peterson has remarked that two stanzas out of the five occur in Bhartṛhari's *Nīti-sataka*.

² We have for the present classed the *Buddha-karita* with the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* in default of more exact information.

—‘having searched for them everywhere and not found them, four cantos have been made by me, Amṛitānanda,—the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.’ He adds the date 950 of the Nepalese era, corresponding to 1830 A.D.; and we have no difficulty in identifying the author. Rāgendralāl Mitra in his ‘Nepalese Buddhist Literature’ mentions Amṛitānanda as the author of two Sanskrit treatises and one in Newārī; he was probably the father of the old *pandit* of the Residency at Kātmāndu, Guṇānanda, whose son Indrānanda holds the office at present. Dr. D. Wright informs me that the family seem to have been the recognised historians of the country, and keepers of the MS. treasures of sundry temples. The four books are included in this translation as an interesting literary curiosity. The first portion of the fourteenth book agrees partly with the Tibetan and Chinese, and Amṛitānanda may have had access to some imperfect copy of this portion of the original; but after that his account is quite independent, and has no relation to the two versions.

In my preface to the edition of the Sanskrit text I have tried to show that Asvaghosha’s poem appears to have exercised an important influence on the succeeding poets of the classical period in India. When we compare the description in the seventh book of the Raghuvamśa of the ladies of the city crowding to see prince Aśvaś as he passes by from the Svayamvara where the princess Bhogya has chosen him as her husband, with the episode in the third book of the Buddha-karita (ślokas 13–24); or the description of Kāma’s assault on Siva in the Kumārasambhava with that of Māra’s temptation of Buddha in the thirteenth book, we can hardly fail to trace some connection. There is a similar resemblance between the description in the fifth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, where the monkey Hanumat enters Rāvaṇa’s palace by night, and sees his wives asleep in the seraglio and their various unconscious attitudes, and the description in the fifth book of the present poem where Buddha on the night of his leaving his home for ever sees the same unconscious sight in his own palace. Nor may

we forget that in the Rāmāyaṇa the description is merely introduced as an ornamental episode; in the Buddhist poem it is an essential element in the story, as it supplies the final impulse which stirs the Bodhisattva to make his escape from the world. These different descriptions became afterwards commonplaces in Sanskrit poetry, like the catalogue of the ships in Greek or Roman epics; but they may very well have originated in connection with definite incidents in the Buddhist sacred legend.

The Sanskrit MSS. of Nepal are always negligently transcribed and abound with corrupt passages, which it is often very difficult to detect and restore. My printed text leaves many obscure lines which will have to be cleared up hereafter by more skilful emendations. I have given in the notes to the translation some further emendations of my own, and I have also added several happy conjectures which continental scholars have kindly suggested to me by letter; and I gladly take this opportunity of adding in a foot-note some which I received too late to insert in their proper places¹.

I have endeavoured to make my translation intelligible to the English reader, but many of the verses in the original are very obscure. Asvaghosha employs all the resources of Hindu rhetoric (as we might well expect if I-tsing is right in ascribing to him an 'alamkāra-sāstra'), and it is often difficult to follow his subtil turns of thought and remote allusions; but many passages no doubt owe their present obscurity to undetected mistakes in the text of our MSS. In the absence of any commentary (except so far as the diffuse Chinese translation and occasional reference to the Tibetan have supplied the want) I have been necessarily left to my own resources, and I cannot fail to have sometimes missed my author's meaning,

Prāmsulabhye phale mohād udbāhur iva vāmanaḥ ;

¹ Dr. von Boehtlingk suggests 'saugā vīṭakāra' in VIII, 3, and 'vilambakeryo' in VIII, 21,—two certain emendations. Professor Kielhorn would read 'nabhasy eva' in XIII, 47 for 'nayaty eva,' and 'tatraiva nāśnam rīshim' in XIII, 50. Professor Bühler would read 'priyatanayas tanayasya' in I, 87, and 'na tatyāga ka' in IV, 80.

but I have tried to do my best, and no one will welcome more cordially any light which others may throw on the passages which I have misunderstood.

The edition of the original text was dedicated to my old friend Professor F. Max Müller, and it is a sincere gratification to me that this translation will appear in the same volume with similar translations from his pen.

E. B. C.

CAMBRIDGE :

Feb. 1, 1894.

THE BUDDHA-KARITA
OF
ASVAGHOSHA.

THE BUDDHA-KARITA

OF

ASVAGHOSHA.

BOOK I.

1. That Arhat is here saluted, who has no counterpart,—who, as bestowing the supreme happiness, surpasses (Brahman) the Creator,—who, as driving away darkness, vanquishes the sun,—and, as dispelling all burning heat, surpasses the beautiful moon.

2. There was a city, the dwelling-place¹ of the great saint Kapila, having its sides surrounded by the beauty of a lofty broad table-land as by a line of clouds, and itself, with its high-soaring palaces², immersed in the sky.

3. By its pure and lofty system of government it, as it were, stole the splendour of the clouds of Mount Kailâsa, and while it bore the clouds which came to it through a mistake, it fulfilled the imagination which had led them thither³.

4. In that city, shining with the splendour of gems, darkness like poverty could find no place;

¹ Vastu seems used here for vâstu.

^{2 3} They had thought that it was Kailâsa.

² Dhishnya.

prosperity shone resplendently, as with a smile, from the joy of dwelling with such surpassingly excellent citizens.

5. With its festive arbours, its arched gateways and pinnacles¹, it was radiant with jewels in every dwelling; and unable to find any other rival in the world, it could only feel emulation with its own houses.

6. There the sun, even although he had retired, was unable to scorn the moon-like faces of its women which put the lotuses to shame, and as if from the access of passion, hurried towards the western ocean to enter the (cooling) water.

7. 'Yonder Indra has been utterly annihilated by the people when they saw the glories² acquired by the Sākya,'—uttering this scoff, the city strove by its banners with gay-fluttering streamers to wipe away every mark of his existence.

8. After mocking the water-lilies even at night by the moonbeams which rest on its silver pavilions,—by day it assumed the brightness of the lotuses through the sunbeams falling on its golden palaces.

9. A king, by name Suddhodana, of the kindred of the sun, anointed to stand at the head of earth's monarchs,—ruling over the city, adorned it, as a bee-inmate a full-blown lotus³.

10. The very best of kings with his train ever

¹ Or towers? (*simhakaraiḥ*).

² For the genitive *yaśasām*, see *Pāṇ.* II, 3. 52 (*adhīgartha*).

³ *Vā* is used for *iva* in *Sūrup. Badha*, III, 63, IV, 35; *Meghad.* 82. (Cf. *infra*, IV, 44.) *Purādhirāgam* seems used adverbially. Cf. the line in *Vikramorv. kusumāny āserate śaśpadāḥ*. Could it mean 'as a thought the lotus of the heart?'

near him¹,—intent on liberality yet devoid of pride²; a sovereign, yet with an ever equal eye thrown on all³,—of gentle nature and yet with wide-reaching majesty⁴.

11. Falling smitten by his arm in the arena of battle, the lordly elephants of his enemies bowed prostrate with their heads pouring forth quantities of pearls as if they were offering handfuls of flowers in homage.

12. Having dispersed his enemies by his pre-eminent majesty as the sun disperses the gloom of an eclipse, he illuminated his people on every side, showing them the paths which they were to follow.

13. Duty, wealth, and pleasure under his guidance assumed mutually each other's object, but not the outward dress; yet as if they still vied together they shone all the brighter in the glorious career of their triumphant success.

14. He, the monarch of the Sākya, of native pre-eminence, but whose actual pre-eminence was brought about by his numberless councillors of exalted wisdom, shone forth all the more gloriously, like the moon amidst the stars shining with a light like its own⁵.

15. To him there was a queen, named Mâyâ, as if free from all deceit (mâyâ)—an effulgence proceeding

¹ Also 'though the highest of mountains, yet bearing his wings (uncut).'

² Or if applied to an elephant, 'not in rut.'

³ Or with a double meaning in *īśa*, 'though like Śiva, yet with even eyes,' i. e. not three.

⁴ Or 'like the moon, yet widely burning (like the sun).'

⁵ Or perhaps 'shining with undiminished splendour.' If we read *akṛitānyathābhaḥ* it would run, 'shining with its light undimmed by the stars.'

from his effulgence, like the splendour of the sun when it is free from all the influence of darkness,—a chief queen in the united assembly of all queens.

16. Like a mother to her subjects, intent on their welfare,—devoted to all worthy of reverence like devotion itself,—shining on her lord's family like the goddess of prosperity,—she was the most eminent of goddesses to the whole world.

17. Verily the life of women is always darkness, yet when it encountered her, it shone brilliantly; thus the night does not retain its gloom, when it meets with the radiant crescent of the moon.

18. 'This people, being hard to be roused to wonder in their souls, cannot be influenced by me if I come to them as beyond their senses,'—so saying, Duty abandoned her own subtile nature and made her form visible.

19. Then falling from the host of beings in the Tushita heaven¹, and illumining the three worlds, the most excellent of Bodhisattvas suddenly entered at a thought into her womb, like the Nāga-king entering the cave of Nandâ.

20. Assuming the form of a huge elephant white like Himâlaya, armed with six tusks², with his face perfumed with flowing ichor, he entered the womb of the queen of king Suddhodana, to destroy the evils of the world.

21. The guardians of the world hastened from heaven to mount watch over the world's one true ruler; thus the moonbeams, though they shine

¹ For tushitât kâyât, cf. tushite devanikâya upapannâ, Divyâvad. p. 83; and tushitakâyika, Lalitav. p. 142.

² Cf. the Pâli kâhaddanto, and the Lalitav. shaddanta.

everywhere, are especially bright on Mount Kailāsa.

22. Mâyâ also, holding him in her womb, like a line of clouds holding a lightning-flash, relieved the people around her from the sufferings of poverty by raining showers of gifts.

23. Then one day by the king's permission the queen, having a great longing in her mind, went with the inmates of the gynaeceum into the garden Lumbini.

24. As the queen supported herself by a bough which hung laden with a weight of flowers, the Bodhisattva suddenly came forth, cleaving open her womb.

25. ¹At that time the constellation Pushya was auspicious, and from the side of the queen, who was purified by her vow, her son was born for the welfare of the world, without pain and without illness.

26. Like the sun bursting from a cloud in the morning,—so he too, when he was born from his mother's womb, made the world bright like gold, bursting forth with his rays which dispelled the darkness.

27. As soon as he was born the thousand-eyed (Indra) well-pleased took him gently, bright like a golden pillar; and two pure streams of water fell down from heaven upon his head with piles of Mandâra flowers.

28. Carried about by the chief suras, and delighting them with the rays that streamed from his body, he

¹ From this point the Tibetan and Chinese versions agree more or less closely with the Sanskrit text.

surpassed in beauty the new moon as it rests on a mass of evening clouds.

29. As was Aurva's birth from the thigh¹, and Prithu's from the hand², and Māndhātṛ's, who was like Indra himself, from the forehead³, and Kakshtvat's from the upper end of the arm⁴,—thus too was his birth (miraculous).

30. Having thus in due time issued from the womb, he shone as if he had come down from heaven, he who had not been born in the natural way,—he who was born full of wisdom, not foolish,—as if his mind had been purified by countless aeons of contemplation.

31. With glory, fortitude, and beauty he shone like the young sun descended upon the earth; when he was gazed at, though of such surpassing brightness, he attracted all eyes like the moon.

32. With the radiant splendour of his limbs he extinguished like the sun the splendour of the lamps; with his beautiful hue as of precious gold he illuminated all the quarters of space.

33. Unflurried, with the lotus-sign in high relief⁵, far-striding, set down with a stamp,—seven such firm footsteps did he then take,—he who was like the constellation of the seven *rishis*.

34. 'I am born for supreme knowledge, for the welfare of the world,—thus this is my last birth,'—

¹ Mahābh. I, 2610.

² Vishṇu Pur. I, 13.

³ According to the Mahābh. III, l. 10450, he was born from his father's left side, but cf. Vishṇu Pur. IV, 2.

⁴ The MSS. vary between *bhugâmsa* and *bhugâmsa*; we might conjecture *bhugâgradesât*, but *bhugâmsadesât* is the only reading in V, 56. Beal I, 10 has 'the armpit.'

⁵ *Abgasamudgatâni*. Cf. Beal I, 16, note.

thus did he of lion gait, gazing at the four quarters, utter a voice full of auspicious meaning.

35. Two streams of water bursting from heaven, bright as the moon's rays, having the power of heat and cold, fell down upon that peerless one's benign head to give refreshment to his body.

36. His body lay on a bed with a royal canopy and a frame shining with gold, and supported by feet of lapis lazuli, and in his honour the yaksha-lords stood round guarding him with golden lotuses in their hands.

37. The gods in homage to the son of Mâyâ, with their heads bowed at his majesty, held up a white umbrella in the sky and muttered the highest blessings on his supreme wisdom.

38. The great dragons¹ in their great thirst for the Law²,—they who had had the privilege of waiting on the past Buddhas,—gazing with eyes of intent devotion, fanned³ him and strewed Mandâra flowers over him.

39. Gladdened through the influence of the birth of the Tathâgata, the gods of pure natures and inhabiting pure abodes⁴ were filled with joy, though all passion was extinguished, for the sake of the world⁵ drowned in sorrow.

40. When he was born, the earth, though fastened down by (Himâlaya) the monarch of mountains, shook like a ship tossed by the wind; and from a cloudless sky there fell a shower full of lotuses and water-lilies, and perfumed with sandal-wood.

¹ Mahoragâh.

² Cf. *infra*, sloka 54.

³ Avyagan.

⁴ *Suddhâdhivâsâh*.

⁵ Reading *hitâya*.

41. Pleasant breezes blew soft to the touch, dropping down heavenly garments; the very sun, though still the same, shone with augmented light, and fire gleamed, unstirred, with a gentle lustre.

42. In the north-eastern part of the dwelling a well of pure water appeared of its own accord, wherein the inhabitants of the gynaeceum, filled with wonder, performed their rites as in a sacred bathing-place.

43. Through the troops of heavenly visitants, who came seeking religious merit, the pool itself received strength to behold Buddha, and by means of its trees bearing flowers and perfumes it eagerly offered him worship.

44. The flowering trees at once produced their blossoms, while their fragrance was borne aloft in all directions by the wind, accompanied by the songs of bewildered female bees, while the air was inhaled and absorbed by the many snakes (gathering near)¹.

45. Sometimes there resounded² on both sides songs mingled with musical instruments and tabours, and lutes also, drums, tambourines, and the rest,—from women adorned with dancing bracelets.

46. '3 That royal law which neither *Bhrigu* nor *Aṅgiras* ever made, those two great seers the founders of families, their two sons *Sukra* and *Vrihaspati* left revealed at the end.

¹ Serpents are called *vâyubhaksha*. See Ind. Sprüche, III, 4738, and *Raghuvamśa* XIII, 12. Cf. also *infra*, VII, 15.

² *Virâgitam*, 'it was manifested by.' Can *tat* mean 'then' or 'there?'

³ We learn from *sloka* 52 that this is a speech uttered by the Brahmins of the court.

47. 'Yea, the son of Sarasvatī¹ proclaimed that lost Veda which they had never seen in former ages,—Vyāsa rehearsed that in many forms, which Varishṭha helpless could not compile;

48. 'The voice of Vālmīki uttered its poetry which the great seer Kyavana could not compose; and that medicine which Atri never invented the wise son of Atri² proclaimed after him;

49. 'That Brahmanhood which Kusika never attained,—his son, O king, found out the means to gain it; (so) Sagara made a bound for the ocean, which even the Ikshvākus had not fixed before him.

50. 'Ganaka attained a power of instructing the twice-born in the rules of Yoga which none other had ever reached³; and the famed feats of the grandson of Sūra⁴ (*Kṛishṇa*) Sūra and his peers were powerless to accomplish.

51. 'Therefore it is not age nor years which are the criterion; different persons win pre-eminence in the world at different places; those mighty exploits worthy of kings and sages, when left undone by the ancestors, have been done by the sons.'

52. The king, being thus consoled and congratulated by those well-trusted Brahmans, dismissed from his mind all unwelcome suspicion and rose to a still higher degree of joy;

53. And well-pleased he gave to those most excellent of the twice-born rich treasures with all

¹ The Vishṇu Pur. (III, 3) says that Sārasvatā arranged the Vedas in the ninth age, as Varishṭha in the eighth.

² Ātreya is the proclaimer of the *Karaka-samhitā*.

³ Cf. *Khândogya Upan.* V, 3, 7.

⁴ Read Saureḥ for Sauraiḥ.

due honour,—‘ May he become the ruler of the earth according to your words, and may he retire to the woods when he attains old age.’

54. Then having learned by signs and through the power of his penances this birth of him who was to destroy all birth, the great seer Asita in his thirst for the excellent Law¹ came to the palace of the Sākya king.

55. Him shining with the glory of sacred knowledge and ascetic observances, the king’s own priest,—himself a special student among the students of sacred knowledge,—introduced into the royal palace with all due reverence and respect.

56. He entered into the precincts of the king’s gynaeceum, which was all astir with the joy arisen from the birth of the young prince,—grave from his consciousness of power, his pre-eminence in asceticism, and the weight of old age.

57. Then the king, having duly honoured the sage, who was seated in his seat, with water for the feet and an arghya offering, invited him (to speak) with all ceremonies of respect, as did Antideva² in olden time to Vasistha :

58. ‘ I am indeed fortunate, this my family is the object of high favour, that thou shouldst have come to visit me ; be pleased to command what I should do, O benign one ; I am thy disciple, be pleased to show thy confidence in me.’

59. The sage, being thus invited by the king, filled with intense feeling as was due, uttered his

¹ Cf. sloka 38 a.

² See IX, 20, 60. C reads Atideva, i.e. Indra ? [The Tibetan reads Antadeva, ‘in the end dwelling god’ or ‘end having god.’ H. W.]

deep and solemn words, having his large eyes opened wide with wonder :

60. 'This is indeed worthy of thee, great-souled as thou art, fond of guests, liberal and a lover of duty,—that thy mind should be thus kind towards me, in full accordance with thy nature, family, wisdom, and age.

61. 'This is the true way in which those seer-kings of old, rejecting through duty all trivial riches¹, have ever flung them away as was right,—being poor in outward substance but rich in ascetic endurance.

62. 'But hear now the motive for my coming and rejoice thereat ; a heavenly voice has been heard by me in the heavenly path, that thy son has been born for the sake of supreme knowledge.

63. 'Having heard that voice and applied my mind thereto, and having known its truth by signs, I am now come hither, with a longing to see the banner of the Sākya race, as if it were Indra's banner being set up².'

64. Having heard this address of his, the king, with his steps bewildered with joy, took the prince, who lay on his nurse's side, and showed him to the holy ascetic.

65. Thus the great seer beheld the king's son with wonder,—his foot marked with a wheel, his fingers and toes webbed, with a circle of hair between his eyebrows, and signs of vigour like an elephant.

66. Having beheld him seated on his nurse's side,

¹ Or 'all riches which were trifling in comparison with duty.'

² In allusion to a festival in parts of India ; cf. Schol. *Raghuvamśa* IV, 3. (Cf. Mrs. Guthrie's *Year in an Indian Fort*, vol. ii.)

like the son of Agni (Skanda) seated on Devī's side, he stood with the tears hanging on the ends of his eyelashes¹, and sighing he looked up towards heaven.

67. But seeing Asita with his eyes thus filled with tears, the king was agitated through his love for his son, and with his hands clasped and his body bowed he thus asked him in a broken voice choked with weeping,

68. 'One whose beauty has little to distinguish it from that of a divine sage², and whose brilliant birth has been so wonderful, and for whom thou hast prophesied a transcendent future,—wherefore, on seeing him, do tears come to thee, O reverend one ?

69. 'Is the prince, O holy man, destined to a long life ? Surely he cannot be born for my sorrow³. I have with difficulty obtained a handful of water, surely it is not death which comes to drink it.

70. 'Tell me, is the hoard of my fame free from destruction ? Is this chief prize of my family secure ? Shall I ever depart happily to another life,—I who keep one eye ever awake, even when my son is asleep⁴ ?

71. 'Surely this young shoot of my family is not born barren, destined only to wither ! Speak quickly, my lord, I cannot wait ; thou well knowest the love of near kindred for a son.'

72. Knowing the king to be thus agitated through his fear of some impending evil, the sage thus ad-

¹ I adopt Prof. Kielhorn's suggestion, *pakshmântavilambitâsruḥ*. (*Añkita* might mean 'curved on his eyelashes.')

² Or, reading *mune*, 'one whose age is so small, O sage.'

³ *Kaṭkinna sokāya mama prasūtaḥ*.

⁴ Obscure.

dressed him: 'Let not thy mind, O monarch, be disturbed,—all that I have said is certainly true¹.

73. 'I have no feeling of fear as to his being subject to change, but I am distressed for mine own disappointment. It is my time to depart, and this child is now born,—he who knows that mystery hard to attain, the means of destroying birth.

74. 'Having forsaken his kingdom, indifferent to all worldly objects, and having attained the highest truth by strenuous efforts, he will shine forth as a sun of knowledge to destroy the darkness of illusion in the world.

75. 'He will deliver by the boat of knowledge the distressed world, borne helplessly along, from the ocean of misery which throws up sickness as its foam, tossing with the waves of old age, and rushing with the dreadful onflow of death.

76. 'The thirsty world of living beings will drink the flowing stream of his Law, bursting forth with the water of wisdom, enclosed by the banks of strong moral rules, delightfully cool with contemplation, and filled with religious vows as with ruddy geese.

77. 'He will proclaim the way of deliverance to those afflicted with sorrow, entangled in objects of sense, and lost in the forest-paths of worldly existence, as to travellers who have lost their way.

78. 'By the rain of the Law he will give gladness to the multitude who are consumed in this world with that fire of desire whose fuel is worldly objects, as a great cloud does with its showers at the end of the hot season.

¹ I take *asmi* as meaning *aham* (*aham ityarthâvyayam*), or should we read *asti*?

79. 'He will break open for the escape of living beings that door whose bolt is desire and whose two leaves are ignorance and delusion,—with that excellent blow of the good Law which is so hard to find.

80. 'He, the king of the Law, when he has attained to supreme knowledge, will achieve the deliverance from its bonds of the world now overcome by misery, destitute of every refuge, and enveloped in its own chains of delusion.

81. 'Therefore make no sorrow for him,—that belongs rather, kind sire, to the pitiable world of human beings, who through illusion or the pleasures of desire or intoxication refuse to hear his perfect Law.

82. 'Therefore since I have fallen short of that excellence, though I have accomplished all the stages of contemplation, my life is only a failure; since I have not heard his Law, I count even dwelling in the highest heaven a misfortune.'

83. Having heard these words, the king with his queen and his friends abandoned sorrow and rejoiced; thinking, 'such is this son of mine,' he considered that his excellence was his own.

84. But he let his heart be influenced by the thought, 'he will travel by the noble path,'—he was not in truth averse to religion, yet still he saw alarm at the prospect of losing his child.

85. Then the sage Asita, having made known the real fate which awaited the prince to the king who was thus disturbed about his son, departed by the way of the wind as he had come, his figure watched reverentially in his flight.

86. Having taken his resolution and having seen

the son of his younger sister¹, the saint, filled with compassion, enjoined him earnestly in all kinds of ways, as if he were his son, to listen to the sage's words and ponder over them.

87. The monarch also, being well-pleased at the birth of a son, having thrown off all those bonds called worldly objects, caused his son to go through the usual birth-ceremonies in a manner worthy of the family.

88. When ten days were fulfilled after his son's birth, with his thoughts kept under restraint, and filled with excessive joy, he offered for his son most elaborate sacrifices to the gods with muttered prayers, oblations, and all kinds of auspicious ceremonies.

89. And he himself gave to the brahmans for his son's welfare cows full of milk, with no traces of infirmity, golden-horned and with strong healthy calves, to the full number of a hundred thousand.

90. Then he, with his soul under strict restraint, having performed all kinds of ceremonies which rejoiced his heart, on a fortunate day, in an auspicious moment, gladly determined to enter his city.

91. Then the queen with her babe having worshipped the gods for good fortune, occupied a costly palanquin made of elephants' tusks, filled with all kinds of white flowers, and blazing with gems.

92. Having made his wife with her child² enter first into the city, accompanied by the aged attendants, the king himself also advanced, saluted by the

¹ This was Naradatta, see *Lalitavistara*, ch. vii. pp. 103, 110 (Foucaux).

² *Apatyanâthâm* might also mean 'having her child as her protector.'

hosts of the citizens, as Indra entering heaven, saluted by the immortals.

93. The Sākya king, having entered his palace, like Bhava¹ well-pleased at the birth of Kārttikeya², with his face full of joy, gave orders for lavish expenditure, showing all kinds of honour and liberality³.

94. Thus at the good fortune of the birth of the king's son, that city surnamed after Kapila, with all the surrounding inhabitants, was full of gladness like the city of the lord of wealth⁴, crowded with heavenly nymphs, at the birth of his son Nalakūvara.

¹ Sc. Siva.

² Shanmukha.

³ Bahuvidhapush/iyasaskaram seems used as an adverb to vyadhata, 'he made expenditure.'

⁴ Kuvera.

BOOK II.

1. From the time of the birth of that son of his, who, the true master of himself, was to end all birth and old age, the king increased day by day in wealth, elephants, horses, and friends as a river increases with its influx of waters.

2. Of different kinds of wealth and jewels, and of gold, wrought or unwrought, he found¹ treasures of manifold variety², surpassing even the capacity of his desires.

3. Elephants from Himavat, raging with rut, whom not even princes of elephants like Padma³ could teach to go round in circles, came without any effort and waited on him.

4. His city was all astir with the crowds of horses, some adorned with various marks and decked with new golden trappings, others undorned and with long flowing manes,—suitable alike in strength, gentleness, and costly ornaments⁴.

5. And many fertile cows, with tall calves, gathered in his kingdom, well nourished and happy,

¹ I suppose *avâpi* to be used as a middle aorist like *abodhi* (cf. *Sirup.* I, 3). Should we read *avâpa*?

² I take *naikâtman* as 'of manifold nature.'

³ *Mahâpadma* is the name of the elephant which supports the world in the south.

⁴ I read *âptaiḥ*.

gentle and without fierceness, and producing excellent milk.

6. His enemies became indifferent; indifference grew into friendship; his friends became specially united; were there two sides,—one passed into oblivion.

7. Heaven rained in his kingdom in due time and place, with the sound of gentle winds and clouds, and adorned with wreaths of lightning, and without any drawback of showers of stones or thunderbolts.

8. A fruitful crop sprang up according to season, even without the labour of ploughing¹; and the old plants grew more vigorous in juice and substance.

9. Even at that crisis which threatens danger to the body like the collision of battle, pregnant women brought forth in good health, in safety, and without sickness.

10. And whereas men do not willingly ask from others, even where a surety's property is available²,—at that time even one possessed of slender means turned not his face away when solicited.

11. There was no ruin nor murder³,—nay, there was not even one ungenerous to his kinsmen, no breaker of obligations, none untruthful nor injurious,—as in the days of Yayâti the son of Nahusha.

12. Those who sought religious merit performed sacred works and made gardens, temples, and

¹ *Tadâ-kṛtēnâpi kṛśhisramēna.*

² I read *pratibhvo*, though it should be *pratibhuvo*.

³ Could *nâsaubadho* (C) mean 'there was no murderer of any one?'

hermitages, wells, cisterns, lakes, and groves, having beheld heaven as it were visible before their eyes.

13. The people, delivered from famine, fear, and sickness, dwelt happily as in heaven; and in mutual contentment husband transgressed not against wife, nor wife against husband.

14. None pursued love for mere sensual pleasure; none hoarded wealth for the sake of desires; none practised religious duties for the sake of gaining wealth; none injured living beings for the sake of religious duty.

15. On every side theft and its kindred vices disappeared; his own dominion was in peace and at rest from foreign interference¹; prosperity and plenty belonged to him, and the cities in his realm were (healthy) like the forests².

16. When that son was born it was in that monarch's kingdom as in the reign of Manu the son of the Sun,—gladness went everywhere and evil perished; right blazed abroad and sin was still.

17. Since at the birth of this son of the king such a universal accomplishment of all objects took place, the king in consequence caused the prince's name to be Sarvārthasiddha³.

18. But the queen Mâyâ, having seen the great glory of her new-born son, like some *Rishi* of the

¹ The Tibetan seems to have read *parasokamuktam* for *paraṭakramuktam*.

² Cf. VIII, 13. If we read *aranyasya* we must translate these lines, 'the cities in his kingdom seemed part of the forest campaign.' This line appears to be untranslated in the Tibetan.

³ He by whom all objects are accomplished.

gods, could not sustain the joy which it brought ; and that she might not die she went to heaven.

19. Then the queen's sister, with an influence like a mother's, undistinguished from the real mother in her affection or tenderness, brought up as her own son the young prince who was like the offspring of the gods.

20. Then like the young sun on the eastern mountain or the fire when fanned by the wind, the prince gradually grew in all due perfection, like the moon in the fortnight of brightness.

21. Then they brought him as presents from the houses of his friends costly unguents of sandalwood, and strings of gems exactly like wreaths of plants, and little golden carriages yoked with deer ;

22. Ornaments also suitable to his age, and elephants, deer, and horses made of gold¹, carriages and oxen decked with rich garments, and carts² gay with silver and gold.

23. Thus indulged with all sorts of such objects to please the senses as were suitable to his years,—child as he was, he behaved not like a child in gravity, purity, wisdom, and dignity.

24. When he had passed the period of childhood and reached that of middle youth, the young prince learned in a few days the various sciences suitable to his race, which generally took many years to master.

25. But having heard before from the great seer Asita his destined future which was to embrace

¹ Cf. Satyavat's toy horses in Mahābh. III, 16670.

² *Gaṁṭrī* has this meaning in the Amarakośha and Hemaṇḍra.

transcendental happiness, the anxious care¹ of the king of the present Śākya race turned the prince to sensual pleasures.

26. Then he sought for him from a family of unblemished moral excellence a bride possessed of beauty, modesty, and gentle bearing, of wide-spread glory, Yasodharā by name, having a name well worthy of her, a very goddess of good fortune.

27. Then after that the prince, beloved of the king his father, he who was like Sanatkumāra, rejoiced in the society of that Śākya princess as the thousand-eyed (Indra) rejoiced with his bride Sāṅgī.

28. 'He might perchance see some inauspicious sight which could disturb his mind,'—thus reflecting the king had a dwelling prepared for him apart from the busy press in the recesses of the palace.

29. Then he spent his time in those royal apartments, furnished with the delights proper for every season, gaily decorated like heavenly chariots upon the earth, and bright like the clouds of autumn, amidst the splendid musical concerts of singing-women.

30. With the softly-sounding tambourines beaten by the tips of the women's hands, and ornamented with golden rims, and with the dances which were like the dances of the heavenly nymphs, that palace shone like Mount Kailāsa.

31. There the women delighted him with their soft voices, their beautiful pearl-garlands, their playful intoxication, their sweet laughter, and their stolen glances concealed by their brows.

¹ The last pāda seems spurious as it is only found in C. I have tried to make some sense by reading *buddhiḥ* for *vṛiddhiḥ*.

32. Borne in the arms of these women well-skilled in the ways of love, and reckless in the pursuit of pleasure, he fell from the roof of a pavilion and yet reached not the ground, like a holy sage stepping from a heavenly chariot.

33. Meanwhile the king for the sake of ensuring his son's prosperity and stirred in heart by the destiny which had been predicted for him, delighted himself in perfect calm, ceased from all evil, practised all self-restraint, and rewarded the good.

34. He turned to no sensual pleasures like one wanting in self-control; he felt no violent delight in any state of birth¹; he subdued by firmness the restless horses of the senses; and he surpassed his kindred and citizens by his virtues.

35. He sought not learning to vex another; such knowledge as was beneficent, that only he studied; he wished well to all mankind as much as to his own subjects.

36. He worshipped also duly the brilliant (Agni) that tutelary god of the Āṅgirasas, for his son's long life; and he offered oblations in a large fire, and gave gold² and cows to the Brahmans.

37. He bathed to purify his body and mind with the waters of holy places and of holy feelings; and at the same time he drank the soma-juice as enjoined by the Veda, and the heartfelt self-produced happiness of perfect calm.

38. He only spoke what was pleasant and not unprofitable; he discoursed about what was true and not ill-natured; he could not speak even to himself

¹ Can *ganani* mean *mātrigrāma*?

² Or pearls? (*kṛisana*.)

for very shame a false pleasant thing or a harsh truth.

39. In things which required to be done, whether they were pleasant or disagreeable, he found no reason either for desire or dislike; he pursued the advantageous which could be attained without litigation¹; he did not so highly value sacrifice.

40. When a suppliant came to him with a petition, he at once hastened to quench his thirst with the water sprinkled on his gift²; and without fighting, by the battle-axe of his demeanour he smote down the arrogant armed with³ double pride.

41. Thus he took away the one, and protected the seven; he abandoned the seven and kept the five; he obtained the set of three and learned the set of three; he understood the two and abandoned the two⁴.

42. Guilty persons, even though he had sentenced them to death, he did not cause to be killed nor even looked on them with anger; he bound them with gentle words and with the reform produced in their character,—even their release was accompanied by no inflicted injury.

43. He performed great religious vows prescribed by ancient seers; he threw aside hostile feelings long cherished; he acquired glory redolent with the fragrance of virtue; he relinquished all passions involving defilement.

¹ Professor Max Müller would read *vyavahāralabdham*, 'all bliss which could be obtained in the lower or *vyāvahārika* sphere.'

² See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 230, note; *Manu* IX, 168.

³ Cf. *dviśavasam* (madam), *Rig-veda* IX, 104, 2. Professor Kielhorn would suggest *dviḍdarpam*.

⁴ The Tibetan, like the Chinese, gives no help here.

44. He desired not to take his tribute of one-sixth without acting as the guardian of his people¹; he had no wish to covet another's property; he desired not to mention the wrong-doing of his enemies; nor did he wish to fan wrath in his heart.

45. When the monarch himself was thus employed his servants and citizens followed his example, like the senses of one absorbed in contemplation whose mind is abstracted in profound repose.

46. In course of time to the fair-bosomed Yasodharâ,—who was truly glorious in accordance with her name,—there was born from the son of Sudhodana a son named Râhula, with a face like the enemy of Râhu².

47. Then the king who from regard to the welfare of his race had longed for a son and been exceedingly delighted [at his coming],—as he had rejoiced at the birth of his son, so did he now rejoice at the birth of his grandson.

48. 'O how can I feel that love which my son feels for my grandson?' Thus thinking in his joy he at the due time attended to every enjoined rite like one who fondly loves his son and is about to rise to heaven.

49. Standing in the paths of the pre-eminent kings who flourished in primaeval ages, he practised austerities without laying aside his white garments, and he offered in sacrifice only those things which involved no injury to living creatures.

50. He of holy deeds shone forth gloriously, in

¹ Cf. *Indische Sprüche*, 568 (2nd ed.).

² I.e. the sun or the moon, as eclipsed by the demon Râhu.

the splendour of royalty and the splendour of penances, conspicuous by his family and his own conduct and wisdom, and desirous to diffuse brightness like the sun.

51. Having offered worship, he whose own glory was secure muttered repetitions of Vedic texts to Svayambhû for the safety of his son, and performed various ceremonies hard to be accomplished, like the god Ka in the first aeon wishing to create living beings.

52. He laid aside weapons and pondered the Sâstra, he practised perfect calm and underwent various observances, like a hermit he refused all objects of sense, he viewed all his kingdoms¹ like a father.

53. He endured the kingdom for the sake of his son, his son for his family, his family for fame, fame for heaven, heaven for the soul,—he only desired the soul's continuance for the sake of duty.

54. Thus did he practise the various observances as followed by the pious and established from revelation,—ever asking himself, 'now that he has seen the face of his son, how may my son be stopped from going to the forest?'

55. The prudent² kings of the earth, who wish to guard their prosperity, watch over their sons in the world; but this king, though loving religion, kept his son from religion and set him free towards all objects of pleasure.

¹ Vishayâh seems used here in two senses, 'kingdoms' and 'objects of sense.'

² Lit. 'self-possessed,' âtmasamsthâh. Or should we read âtmasamsthâm, 'wishing to keep their prosperity their own?'

56. But all Bodhisattvas, those beings of pre-eminent nature, after knowing the flavour of worldly enjoyments, have departed to the forest as soon as a son is born to them ; therefore he too, though he had accomplished all his previous destiny, even when the (final) motive had begun to germinate, still went on pursuing worldly pleasure up to the time of attaining the supreme wisdom.

BOOK III.

1. On a certain day he heard of the forests carpeted with tender grass, with their trees resounding with the kokilas, adorned with lotus-ponds, and which had been all bound up in the cold season.

2. Having heard of the delightful appearance of the city groves beloved by the women, he resolved to go out of doors, like an elephant long shut up in a house.

3. The king, having learned the character of the wish thus expressed by his son, ordered a pleasure-party to be prepared, worthy of his own affection and his son's beauty and youth.

4. He prohibited the encounter of any afflicted common person in the highroad; 'heaven forbid that the prince with his tender nature should even imagine himself to be distressed.'

5. Then having removed out of the way with the greatest gentleness all those who had mutilated limbs or maimed senses, the decrepit and the sick and all squalid beggars, they made the highway assume its perfect beauty.

6. Along this road thus made beautiful, the fortunate prince with his well-trained attendants came down one day at a proper time from the roof of the palace and went to visit the king by his leave.

7. Then the king, with tears rising to his eyes,

having smelt his son's head¹ and long gazed upon him, gave him his permission, saying, 'Go;' but in his heart through affection he could not let him depart.

8. He then mounted a golden chariot, adorned with reins bright like flashing lightning², and yoked with four gentle horses, all wearing golden trappings.

9. With a worthy retinue he entered the road which was strewn with heaps of gleaming flowers, with garlands suspended and banners waving, like the moon with its asterism entering the sky.

10. Slowly, slowly he passed along the highway, watched on every side by the citizens, and be-showered by their eyes opened wide with curiosity like blue lotuses.

11. Some praised him for his gentle disposition, others hailed him for his glorious appearance, others eulogised his beauty from his fine countenance and desired for him length of days.

12. Hump-backed men coming out from the great families, and troops of foresters and dwarfs³, and women coming out from the meaner houses bowed down like the banners of some procession of the gods.

13. ⁴ Hearing the news, 'the prince is going out,' from the attendants of the female apartments, the women hastened to the roofs of the different mansions, having obtained the leave of their lords.

¹ Cf. Wilson, *Hindu Drama*, vol. ii, p. 45, note.

² *Rasmi* may mean 'rays.' For *aklīva* cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 1455, ἀρσην.

³ These are all mentioned in the *Sāhitya-darpana* among the attendants in a *seraglio* (§ 81).

⁴ With this description cf. *Raghuv.* VII, 5-12; *Kādambarī*, p. 74.

14. Hindered by the strings of their girdles which had slipped down, with their eyes bewildered as just awakened from sleep, and with their ornaments hastily put on in the stir of the news, and filled with curiosity, they crowded round ;

15. Frightening the flocks of birds which lived in the houses, with the noise of their girdles and the jingling of their anklets which resounded on the staircases and roofs of the mansions, and mutually reproaching one another for their hurry.

16. Some of these women, even in their haste as they rushed longing to see, were delayed in their going by the weight of their hips and full bosoms.

17. Another, though well able to go herself, checked her pace and forbore to run, hiding with shame her ornaments hitherto worn only in seclusion, and now too boldly displayed.

18. There they were restlessly swaying about in the windows, crowded together in the mutual press, with their earrings polished by the continual collision and their ornaments all jingling.

19. The lotus-like faces of the women gleamed while they looked out from the windows with their earrings coming into mutual proximity¹, as if they were real lotuses fastened upon the houses.

20. With the palaces all alive with crowds of damsels, every aperture thrown open in eager curiosity, the magnificent city appeared on every side like heaven with its divine chariots thronged with celestial nymphs.

21. The faces of the beautiful women shone like lotuses wreathed in garlands, while through the

¹ Parasparopâsita?

narrowness of the windows their earrings were transferred to each other's cheeks.

22. Gazing down upon the prince in the road, the women appeared as if longing to fall to the earth; gazing up to him with upturned faces, the men seemed as if longing to rise to heaven¹.

23. Beholding the king's son thus radiant in his beauty and glory, those women softly whispered, 'happy is his wife,' with pure minds and from no baser feeling.

24. 'He with the long sturdy arms, who stands in his beauty like the flower-armed god visibly present, will leave his royal pomp and devote himself to religion,' thus thinking, full of kindly feelings towards him, they all offered reverence.

25. Beholding for the first time that high-road thus crowded with respectful citizens, all dressed in white sedate garments, the prince for a while did feel a little pleasure and thought that it seemed to promise a revival of his youth.

26. But then the gods, dwelling in pure abodes², having beheld that city thus rejoicing like heaven itself, created an old man to walk along on purpose to stir the heart of the king's son.

27. The prince having beheld him thus overcome with decrepitude and different in form from other men, with his gaze intently fixed on him, thus addressed his driver³ with simple confidence:

28. 'Who is this man that has come here, O charioteer, with white hair and his hand resting on a staff, his eyes hidden beneath his brows, his

¹ Cf. Uhland's 'Das Schloss am meere.'

² *Suddhâdhi vâsâh*.

³ Cf. *samgâhako* in Pâli.

limbs bent down and hanging loose,—is this a change produced in him or his natural state or an accident?’

29. Thus addressed, the charioteer revealed to the king’s son the secret that should have been kept so carefully, thinking no harm in his simplicity, for those same gods had bewildered his mind :

30. ‘That is old age by which he is broken down,—the ravisher of beauty, the ruin of vigour, the cause of sorrow, the destruction of delights, the bane of memories, the enemy of the senses.

31. ‘He too once drank milk in his childhood, and in course of time he learned to grope on the ground ; having step by step become a vigorous youth, he has step by step in the same way reached old age.’

32. Being thus addressed, the prince, starting a little, spoke these words to the charioteer, ‘What ! will this evil come to me also?’ and to him again spoke the charioteer :

33. ‘It will come without doubt by the force of time through multitude of years even to my long-lived lord ; all the world knows thus that old age will destroy their comeliness and they are content to have it so.’

34. Then he, the great-souled one, who had his mind purified by the impressions of former good actions, who possessed a store of merits accumulated through many preceding aeons, was deeply agitated when he heard of old age, like a bull who has heard the crash of a thunderbolt close by.

35. Drawing a long sigh and shaking his head, and fixing his eyes on that decrepit old man, and looking round on that exultant multitude he then uttered these distressed words :

36. 'Old age thus strikes down all alike, our memory, comeliness, and valour; and yet the world is not disturbed, even when it sees such a fate visibly impending.

37. 'Since such is our condition, O charioteer, turn back the horses,—go quickly home; how can I rejoice in the pleasure-garden, when the thoughts arising from old age overpower me?'

38. Then the charioteer at the command of the king's son turned the chariot back, and the prince lost in thought entered even that royal palace as if it were empty.

39. But when he found no happiness even there, as he continually kept reflecting, 'old age, old age,' then once more, with the permission of the king, he went out with the same arrangement as before.

40. Then the same deities created another man with his body all afflicted by disease; and on seeing him the son of Suddhodana addressed the charioteer, having his gaze fixed on the man:

41. 'Yonder man with a swollen belly, his whole frame shaking as he pants, his arms and shoulders hanging loose, his body all pale and thin, uttering plaintively the word "mother," when he embraces a stranger,—who, pray, is this?'

42. Then his charioteer answered, 'Gentle Sir, it is a very great affliction called sickness, that has grown up, caused by the inflammation of the (three) humours, which has made even this strong man¹ no longer master of himself.'

43. Then the prince again addressed him, looking upon the man compassionately, 'Is this evil peculiar

¹ Sakro-pi.

to him or are all beings alike threatened by sickness ?'

44. Then the charioteer answered, 'O prince, this evil is common to all ; thus pressed round by diseases men run to pleasure, though racked with pain¹.'

45. Having heard this account, his mind deeply distressed, he trembled like the moon reflected in the waves of water ; and full of sorrow he uttered these words in a low voice :

46. 'Even while they see all this calamity of diseases mankind can yet feel tranquillity ; alas for the scattered intelligence of men who can smile when still not free from the terrors of disease !

47. 'Let the chariot, O charioteer, be turned back from going outside, let it return straight to the king's palace ; having heard this alarm of disease, my mind shrinks into itself, repelled from pleasures.'

48. Then having turned back, with all joy departed, he entered his home, absorbed in thought ; and having seen him thus return a second time, the king himself entered the city.

49. Having heard the occasion of the prince's return he felt himself as deserted by him, and, although unused to severe punishment, even when displeased, he rebuked him whose duty it was to see that the road was clear.

50. And once more he arranged for his son all kinds of worldly enjoyments to their highest point ; imploring in his heart, 'Would that he might not be able to forsake us, even though rendered unable only through the restlessness of his senses².'

¹ Rugâturo. [The Tibetan seems to have read rugâmtare,—nad thar-phyin-na, 'having come to the end of illness.' H.W.]

² I would read api nâma sakto—.

51. But when in the women's apartments his son found no pleasure in the several objects of the senses, sweet sounds and the rest, he gave orders for another progress outside, thinking to himself¹, 'It may create a diversion of sentiment².'

52. And in his affection pondering on the condition of his son, never thinking of any ills that might come from his haste, he ordered the best singing-women to be in attendance, as well-skilled in all the soft arts that can please.

53. Then the royal road being specially adorned and guarded, the king once more made the prince go out, having ordered the charioteer and chariot to proceed in a contrary direction (to the previous one).

54. But as the king's son was thus going on his way, the very same deities created a dead man, and only the charioteer and the prince, and none else, beheld him as he was carried dead along the road.

55. Then spoke the prince to the charioteer, 'Who is this borne by four men, followed by mournful companions, who is bewailed, adorned but no longer breathing³?'

56. Then the driver,—having his mind overpowered by the gods who possess pure minds and pure dwellings,—himself knowing the truth, uttered to his lord this truth also which was not to be told:

57. 'This is some poor man who, bereft of his intellect, senses, vital airs and qualities, lying asleep

¹ I would read *manyamānaḥ*.

² A technical term in rhetoric. Cf. *Sāhitya Darpa*. § 220.

³ I would read *asvâsy avarudyate*.

and unconscious, like mere wood or straw, is abandoned alike by friends and enemies after they have carefully swathed and guarded him.'

58. Having heard these words of the charioteer he was somewhat startled and said to him, 'Is this an accident peculiar to him alone, or is such the end of all living creatures?'

59. Then the charioteer replied to him, 'This is the final end of all living creatures; be it a mean man, a man of middle state, or a noble, destruction is fixed to all in this world.'

60. Then the king's son, sedate though he was, as soon as he heard of death, immediately sank down overwhelmed, and pressing the end of the chariot-pole with his shoulder spoke with a loud voice,

61. 'Is this end appointed to all creatures, and yet the world throws off all fear and is infatuated! Hard indeed, I think, must the hearts of men be, who can be self-composed in such a road.

62. 'Therefore, O charioteer, turn back our chariot, this is no time or place for a pleasure-excursion; how can a rational being, who knows what destruction is, stay heedless here, in the hour of calamity¹?'

63. Even when the prince thus spoke to him, the charioteer did not turn the chariot back; but at his peremptorily reiterated command he retired to the forest Padmakhandā.

64. There he beheld that lovely forest like Nandana itself, full of young trees in flower, with intoxicated kokilas wandering joyously about, and

¹ The Tibetan has *ñam thag dus-su*, 'at the time of oppression (as by misfortune).' Does this imply a reading *ārtti-kāle*?

with its bright lakes gay with lotuses and well-furnished with watering-places¹.

65. The king's son was perforce carried away to that wood filled with troops of beautiful women, just as if some devotee who had newly taken his vow were carried off, feeling weak to withstand temptation, to the palace of the monarch of Alakâ², gay with the dancing of the loveliest heavenly nymphs.

¹ Sc. for cattle, cf. Mahâbh. XII, 9270 (in the text read -dîrghikam).

² Kuvera.

BOOK IV.

1. Then from that city-garden, with their eyes restless in excitement, the women went out to meet the prince as a newly-arrived bridegroom ;

2. And when they came up to him, their eyes wide open in wonder, they performed their due homage with hands folded like a lotus-calyx.

3. Then they stood surrounding him, their minds overpowered by passion, as if they were drinking him in with their eyes motionless and blossoming wide with love.

4. Some of the women verily thought that he was Kâma incarnate,—decorated as he was with his brilliant signs as with connate ornaments.

5. Others thought from his gentleness and majesty that it was the moon with its ambrosial beams as it were visibly come down to the earth.

6. Others, smitten by his beauty, yawned¹ as if to swallow him, and fixing their eyes on each other, softly sighed.

7. Thus the women only looked upon him, simply gazing with their eyes,—they spoke not, nor did they smile, controlled by his power.

8. But having seen them thus listless, bewildered in their love, the wise son of the family priest, Udāyin, thus addressed them :

9. 'Ye are all skilled in all the graceful arts,

¹ Cf. Sâhitya Darp. § 155, 13.

proficients in understanding the language of amorous sentiments, possessed of beauty and gracefulness, thorough masters in your own styles.

10. 'With these graces of yours ye may embellish even the Northern Kurus, yea, even the dances¹ of Kuvera, much more this little earth.

11. 'Ye are able to move even sages who have lost all their desires, and to ensnare even the gods who are charmed by heavenly nymphs.

12. 'By your skill in expressing the heart's feelings, by your coquetry, your grace, and your perfect beauty, ye are able to enrapture even women, how much more easily men.

13. 'You thus skilled as ye are, each set² in her own proper sphere,—such as this is your power,—I am not satisfied with your simplicity [when you profess to find him beyond your reach].

14. 'This timid action of yours would be fit for new brides, their eyes closed through shame,—or it might be a blandishment worthy even of the wives of the cowherds³.

15. 'What though this hero be great by his exalted glory, yet "great is the might of women," let this be your firm resolve.

16. 'In olden time a great seer, hard to be conquered even by the gods, was spurned by a harlot, the beauty of Kâsi, planting her feet upon him.

17. 'The Bhikshu Manthâlagautama was also formerly spurned by Bâlamukhyâ with her leg, and

¹ Professor Bühler suggests *kâkrîdam*, cf. sloka 28.

² I read *niyuktânâm* for *viyuktânâm*.

³ Is this a reference to *Krishna's* story? but cf. Weber, *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. v, p. 254.

wishing to please her he carried out dead bodies for her sake to be buried.

18. 'And a woman low in standing and caste fascinated the great seer Gautama, though a master of long penances and old in years.

19. 'So *Sāntā*¹ by her various wiles captivated and subdued the sage's son *Rishyasringa*, unskilled in women's ways.

20. 'And the great seer *Visvāmitra*, though plunged in a profound penance², was carried captive for ten years in the forests by the nymph *Ghrītāki*³.

21. 'Many such seers as these have women brought to shame,—how much more then a delicate prince in the first flower of his age?

22. 'This being so, boldly put forth your efforts that the prosperity of the king's family may not be turned away from him.

23. 'Ordinary women captivate similar lovers; but they are truly women who subdue the natures of high and low.'

24. Having heard these words of *Udāyin* these women as stung to the heart rose even above themselves for the conquest of the prince.

25. With their brows, their glances, their coquetries, their smiles, their delicate movements, they made all sorts of significant gestures like women utterly terrified.

26. But they soon regained their confidence⁴ through the command of the king and the gentle temperament of the prince, and through the power of intoxication and of love.

¹ *Rāmāy.* I, 10 (Schleg. ed.). ² I would read *mahat tapaḥ*.

³ *Rāmāy.* IV, 35. ⁴ Lit. 'dispelled their want of confidence.'

27. Then surrounded by troops of women the prince wandered in the wood like an elephant in the forests of Himavat accompanied by a herd of females.

28. Attended by the women he shone in that pleasant grove, as the sun surrounded by Apsarasas in his royal garden.

29. There some of them, urged by passion, pressed him with their full firm bosoms in gentle collisions.

30. Another violently embraced him after making a pretended stumble,—leaning on him with her shoulders drooping down, and with her gentle creeper-like arms dependent.

31. Another with her mouth smelling of spirituous liquor, her lower lip red like copper, whispered in his ear, 'Let my secret be heard.'

32. Another, all wet with unguents, as if giving him her command, clasped his hand eagerly and said, 'Perform thy rites of adoration here.'

33. Another, with her blue garments continually slipping down in pretended intoxication, stood conspicuous with her tongue visible like the night with its lightning flashing.

34. Others, with their golden zones tinkling, wandered about here and there, showing to him their hips veiled with thin cloth.

35. Others leaned, holding a mango-bough in full flower, displaying their bosoms like golden jars.

36. Another, coming from a lotus-bed, carrying lotuses and with eyes like lotuses, stood like the lotus-goddess Padmā, by the side of that lotus-faced prince.

37. Another sang a sweet song easily understood and with the proper gesticulations, rousing

him, self-subdued though he was, by her glances, as saying, 'O how thou art deluded!'

38. Another, having armed herself¹ with her bright face, with its brow-bow drawn to its full, imitated his action, as playing the hero.

39. Another, with beautiful full bosoms, and having her earrings waving in the wind², laughed loudly at him, as if saying, 'Catch me, sir, if you can!'

40. Some, as he was going away, bound him with strings of garlands,—others punished him with words like an elephant-driver's hook, gentle yet reproachful.

41. Another, wishing to argue with him, seizing a mango-spray, asked, all bewildered with passion, 'This flower, whose is it?'

42. Another, assuming a gait and attitude like those of a man, said to him, 'Thou who art conquered by women, go and conquer this earth!'

43. Then another with rolling eyes, smelling a blue lotus, thus addressed the prince with words slightly indistinct in her excitement,

44. 'See, my lord, this mango covered with its honey-scented flowers, where the kokila sings, as if imprisoned in a golden cage.

45. 'Come and see this asoka tree, which augments lovers' sorrows,—where the bees make a noise as if they were scorched by fire.

46. 'Come and see this tilaka tree, embraced by a slender mango-branch, like a man in a white garment by a woman decked with yellow unguents.

47. 'Behold this kuruvaka in flower, bright like

¹ *Prâvritya*.

² I read *vâtâghûrmita*.

fresh¹ resin-juice, which bends down as if it felt reproached by the colour of women's nails².

48. 'Come and see this young asoka, covered all over with new shoots, which stands as it were ashamed at the beauty of our hands.

49. 'See this lake surrounded by the sinduvâra shrubs growing on its banks³, like a fair woman reclining, clad in fine white cloth.

50. 'See the imperial power of females,—yonder ruddy-goose in the water goes behind his mate following her like a slave.

51. 'Come and listen to the notes of this intoxicated cuckoo as he sings, while another cuckoo sings as if consenting, wholly without care.

52. 'Would that thine was the intoxication of the birds which the spring produces,—and not the thought of a thinking man, ever pondering how wise he is!'

53. Thus these young women, their souls carried away by love, assailed the prince with all kinds of stratagems.

54. But although thus attacked, he, having his senses guarded by self-control, neither rejoiced nor smiled, thinking anxiously, 'One must die.'

55. Having seen them in their real condition⁴, that best of men pondered with an undisturbed⁵ and steadfast mind.

¹ I read *nirmuktam*, which might mean 'just exuded,' or the whole compound may mean (cf. Kum. Sambh. V, 34) 'like a lip which has given up the use of pinguent.'

² Cf. Vikramorvaśī, Act II, *strī-nakha-pâ/alam kuruvakam*.

³ I read *tīragaiḥ sinduvâarakaiḥ*.

⁴ For *vasthānam* cf. Maitri Upan. (Comm.) VI, 1.

⁵ I would read *asamvignena*.

56. 'What is it that these women lack¹ that they perceive not that youth is fickle? for this old age will destroy whatever has beauty.

57. 'Verily they do not see any one's plunge into disease, and so dismissing fear, they are joyous in a world which is all pain.

58. 'Evidently they know nothing of death which carries all away; and so at ease and without distress they can sport and laugh.

59. 'What rational being, who knows of old age, death and sickness, could stand² or sit down at his ease or sleep, far less laugh?

60. 'But he verily is like one bereft of sense, who, beholding another aged or sick or dead, remains self-possessed and not afflicted.

61. '(So) even when a tree is deprived of its flowers and fruits, or if it is cut down and falls, no other tree sorrows.'

62. Seeing him thus absorbed in contemplation, with his desires estranged from all worldly objects, Udāyin, well skilled in the rules of policy, with kindly feelings addressed him :

63. 'Since I was appointed by the king as a fitting friend for thee, therefore I have a wish to speak to thee in this friendliness of my heart.

64. 'To hinder from what is disadvantageous,—to urge to what is advantageous,—and not to forsake in misfortune,—these are the three marks of a friend.

65. 'If I, after having promised my friendship, were not to heed when thou turnest away from the great end of man, there would be no friendship in me.

¹ Kim vinā.

² I would conjecture tish/hen.

66. 'Therefore I speak as thy friend,—such rudeness as this to women is not befitting for one young in years and graceful in person.

67. 'It is right to woo a woman even by guile,—this is useful both for getting rid of shame and for one's own enjoyment.

68. 'Reverential behaviour and compliance with her wishes are what binds a woman's heart; good qualities truly are a cause of love, and women love respect.

69. 'Wilt thou not then, O large-eyed prince, even if thy heart is unwilling, seek to please them with a courtesy worthy of this beauty of thine?

70. 'Courtesy is the balm of women, courtesy is the best ornament; beauty without courtesy is like a grove without flowers.

71. 'But of what use is courtesy by itself? let it be assisted by the heart's feelings; surely, when worldly objects so hard to attain are in thy grasp, thou wilt not despise them.

72. 'Knowing that pleasure was the best of objects, even the god Purāṃdara (Indra) wooed in olden time Ahalyā the wife of the saint Gautama.

73. 'So too Agastya wooed Rohini, the wife of Soma; and therefore, as Sruti saith, a like thing befell Lopāmudrā¹.

74. 'The great ascetic Vṛihaspati begot Bharadvāga on Mamatā the daughter of the Maruts, the wife of Autathya².

¹ Agastya's wife. This seems to refer to Lopāmudrā's words to her husband in Rig-veda I, 179; cf. also Mahābh. III, xcvi.

² This should be Utathya (cf. Mahābh. I, civ). Mamatā had Dīrghatamas by her husband and Bharadvāga by Vṛihaspati. The MSS. read Samatā.

75. 'The Moon, the best of offerers, begat Budha of divine nature on the spouse of *Vṛihaspati* as she was offering a libation ¹.

76. 'So too in old time *Parâsara*, overpowered by passion on the bank of the *Yamunâ*, lay with the maiden *Kâlti* who was the daughter of the son of the Water (*Agni*).

77. 'The sage *Vasishtha* through lust begot a son *Kapiṅgalâda* on *Akshamâlâ* a despised low-caste woman ².

78. 'And the seer-king *Yayâti*, even when the vigour of his prime was gone, sported in the *Kaitraratha* forest with the *Apsaras Visvâti*.

79. 'And the Kaurava king *Pându*, though he knew that intercourse with his wife would end in death, yet overcome by the beauty and good qualities of *Mâdri* yielded to the pleasures of love.

80. 'And so *Karâlaganaka*, when he carried off the *Brâhman's* daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up his love.

81. 'Great heroes such as these pursued even contemptible desires for the sake of pleasure, how much more so when they are praiseworthy of their kind?

82. 'And yet thou, a young man, possessed of strength and beauty, despisest enjoyments which rightly belong to thee, and to which the whole world is devoted.'

83. Having heard these specious words of his, well-supported by sacred tradition, the prince made reply, in a voice like the thundering of a cloud :

¹ She is called *Târâ*, *Vishṇu Pur.* IV, 6.

² *Manu* IX, 23.

84. 'This speech manifesting affection is well-befitting in thee; but I will convince thee as to where thou wrongly judgest me.

85. 'I do not despise worldly objects, I know that all mankind are bound up therein; but remembering that the world is transitory, my mind cannot find pleasure in them.

86. 'Old age, disease, and death—if these three things did not exist, I too should find my enjoyment in the objects that please the mind.

87. 'Yet even though this beauty of women were to remain perpetual, still delight in the pleasures of desire would not be worthy of the wise man.

88. 'But since their beauty will be drunk up by old age, to delight therein through infatuation cannot be a thing approved even by thyself¹.

89. 'He who himself subject to death, disease, and old age, can sport undisturbed with those whose very nature implies death, disease, and old age,—such a man is on a level with birds and beasts.

90. 'And as for what thou sayest as to even those great men having become victims to desire,—do not be bewildered by them, for destruction was also their lot.

91. 'Real greatness is not to be found there, where there is universally destruction, or where there is attachment to earthly objects, or a want of self-control.

92. 'And when thou sayest, "Let one deal with women even by guile," I know nought about guile, even if it be accompanied with courtesy.

93. 'That compliance too with a woman's wishes

¹ Or 'even by the soul.'

pleases me not, if truthfulness be not there ; if there be not a union with one's whole soul and nature, then "out upon it" say I.

94. 'A soul overpowered by passion, believing in falsehood, carried away by attachment and blind to the faults of its objects,—what is there in it worth being deceived ?

95. 'And if the victims of passion do deceive one another,—are not men unfit for women to look at and women for men ?

96. 'Since then these things are so, thou surely wouldest not lead me astray into ignoble pleasures,—me afflicted by sorrow, and subject to old age and death ?

97. 'Ah ! thy mind must be very firm and strong, if thou canst find substance in the transitory pleasures of sense ; even in the midst of violent alarm thou canst cling to worldly objects, when thou seest all created beings in the road of death.

98. 'But I am fearful and exceedingly bewildered, as I ponder the terrors of old age, death, and disease ; I can find no peace, no self-command, much less can I find pleasure, while I see the world as it were ablaze with fire.

99. 'If desire arises in the heart of the man, who knows that death is certain,—I think that his soul must be made of iron, who restrains it in this great terror and does not weep.'

100. Then the prince uttered a discourse full of resolve and abolishing the objects of desire ; and the lord of day, whose orb is the worthy centre of human eyes, departed to the Western Mountain.

101. And the women, having worn their garlands and ornaments in vain, with their graceful arts and

endearments all fruitless, concealing their love deep in their hearts¹, returned to the city with broken hopes.

102. Having thus seen the beauty² of the troop of women who had gone out to the city-garden, now withdrawn in the evening,—the prince, pondering the transitoriness which envelopes all things, entered his dwelling.

103. Then the king, when he heard how his mind turned away from all objects of sense, could not lie down all that night, like an elephant with an arrow in its heart; but wearied in all sorts of consultation, he and his ministers could find no other means beside these (despised) pleasures to restrain his son's purpose.

¹ Reading *sva eva bhâve* from the Tibetan.

² Reading *sriyam* for *striyam*.

BOOK V.

1. He, the son of the Sākya king, even though thus tempted by the objects of sense which infatuate others, yielded not to pleasure and felt not delight, like a lion deeply pierced in his heart by a poisoned arrow.

2. Then one day accompanied by some worthy sons of his father's ministers, friends full of varied converse,—with a desire to see the glades of the forest and longing for peace, he went out with the king's permission.

3. Having mounted his good horse *Kamthaka*, decked with bells and bridle-bit of new gold, with beautiful golden harness and the chowrie waving¹, he went forth like the moon² mounted on a comet.

4. Lured by love of the wood and longing for the beauties of the ground³, he went to a spot near at hand⁴ on the forest-outskirts; and there he saw a piece of land being ploughed, with the path of the plough broken like waves on the water.

¹ 'The white bushy tail of the Tibet cow, fixed on a gold or ornamented shaft, rose from between the ears of the horse.' Wilson, *Hindu Drama*, I, p. 200.

² The Tibetan has *tog-la ljon-dan chu-skyes tog-can*, 'like him who has the sign of a tree and water-born (lotus,) (mounted) on a comet,' but with no further explanation. Could this mean the moon as *oshadhipati* and as *kumu esa*?

³ Should we read *-gunekkkhu* for *-gunâkkha*?

⁴ *Nikrīśhātārām*; one MS. reads *vikrīśha-*, 'ploughed.'

5. Having beheld the ground in this condition, with its young grass scattered and torn by the plough, and covered with the eggs and young of little insects which were killed, he was filled with deep sorrow as for the slaughter of his own kindred.

6. And beholding the men as they were ploughing, their complexions spoiled by the dust, the sun's rays, and the wind, and their cattle bewildered with the burden of drawing, the most noble one felt extreme compassion.

7. Having alighted from the back of his horse, he went over the ground slowly, overcome with sorrow, —pondering the birth and destruction of the world, he, grieved, exclaimed, 'this is indeed pitiable.'

8. Then desiring to become perfectly lonely in his thoughts, having stopped those friends who were following him, he went to the root of a rose-apple in a solitary spot, which had its beautiful leaves all tremulous (in the wind).

9. There he sat down on the ground covered with leaves¹, and with its young grass bright like lapis lazuli; and, meditating on the origin and destruction of the world, he laid hold of the path that leads to firmness of mind.

10. Having attained to firmness of mind², and being forthwith set free from all sorrows such as the desire of worldly objects and the rest, he attained

¹ The MSS. add -*koravatyâm*, an obscure word, which may be connected with *khura* or perhaps should be altered to -*koravatyâm*, i.e. 'covered with sharp-pointed leaves,' or 'covered with leaves and buds.' [The Tibetan has *gcañ-mar ldan-pai sa-gzhi der-ni de zhugs-te*, 'on the pure ground here he sitting.' This might point to so-tra *saukavatyâm*. H.W.]

² Query, *samavāptamāṅsthitiḥ* for -*manāṅsthiteḥ*.

the first stage of contemplation, unaffected by sin, calm, and 'argumentative'¹.

11. Having then obtained the highest happiness sprung from deliberation², he next pondered this meditation,—having thoroughly understood in his mind the course of the world :

12. 'It is a miserable thing that mankind, though themselves powerless³ and subject to sickness, old age, and death, yet, blinded by passion and ignorant, look with disgust on another who is afflicted by old age or diseased or dead.

13. 'If I here, being such myself, should feel disgust for another who has such a nature, it would not be worthy or right in me who know this highest duty.'

14. As he thus considered thoroughly these faults of sickness, old age, and death which belong to all living beings, all the joy which he had felt in the activity of his vigour, his youth, and his life, vanished in a moment.

15. He did not rejoice, he did not feel remorse ; he suffered no hesitation, indolence, nor sleep ; he felt no drawing towards the qualities of desire ; he hated not nor scorned another.

16. Thus did this pure passionless meditation grow within the great-souled one ; and unobserved by the other men, there crept up a man in a beggar's dress.

17. The king's son asked him a question,—he said to him, 'Tell me, who art thou ?' and the other replied, 'Oh bull of men, I, being terrified at birth

¹ Savitarka, cf. Yoga-sūtras I, 42. (Read anāsrava-.)

² Two syllables are lost in this line.

³ Arasaḥ.

and death, have become an ascetic for the sake of liberation.

18. 'Desiring liberation in a world subject to destruction, I seek that happy indestructible abode,—isolated from mankind, with my thoughts unlike those of others, and with my sinful passions turned away from all objects of sense

19. 'Dwelling anywhere, at the root of a tree, or in an uninhabited house, a mountain or a forest,—I wander without a family and without hope, a beggar ready for any fare, seeking only the highest good.'

20. When he had thus spoken, while the prince was looking on, he suddenly flew up to the sky; it was a heavenly inhabitant who, knowing that the prince's thoughts were other than what his outward form promised, had come to him for the sake of rousing his recollection.

21. When the other was gone like a bird to heaven, the foremost of men was rejoiced and astonished; and having comprehended the meaning of the term *dharma*¹, he set his mind on the manner of the accomplishment of deliverance.

22. Then like Indra himself, and having tamed his senses,—desiring to return home he mounted his noble steed; and having made him turn back as he looked for his friends, from that moment he sought no more the desired forest.

23. Ever seeking to make an end of old age and death, fixing his thoughts in memory on dwelling in the woods, he entered the city again but with no feelings of longing, like an elephant entering an exercise-ground² after roaming in a forest-land.

24. 'Happy truly and blessed is that woman whose

¹ *Dharmasamgñâm ?*

² Cf. II, 3.

husband is such as thou, O long-eyed prince!' So, on seeing him, the princess exclaimed, folding her hands to welcome him, as he entered the road.

25. He whose voice was deep-sounding like a cloud heard this address and was filled with profound calm; and as he heard the word 'blessed'¹ he fixed his mind on the attainment of Nirvâṇa.

26. Then the prince whose form was like the peak of a golden mountain,—whose eye, voice, and arm resembled a bull, a cloud, and an elephant²,—whose countenance and prowess were like the moon and a lion,—having a longing aroused for something imperishable,—went into his palace.

27. Then stepping like a lion he went towards the king who was attended by his numerous counsellors, like Sanatkumâra in heaven waiting on Indra resplendent in the assembly³ of the Maruts.

28. Prostrating himself, with folded hands, he addressed him, 'Grant me graciously thy permission, O lord of men,—I wish to become a wandering mendicant for the sake of liberation, since separation is appointed for me.'

29. Having heard his words, the king shook like a tree struck by an elephant, and having seized his folded hands which were like a lotus, he thus addressed him in a voice choked with tears:

30. 'O my son, keep back this thought, it is not the time for thee to betake thyself to dharma; they say that the practice of religion is full of evils in the first period of life when the mind is still fickle.

¹ Sc. nirvr̥ta.

² Gagamegharshabhabâhunisvanâkshaṇḍ? So Chinese translation, Beal, st. 356.

³ I read samitau.

31. 'The mind of the thoughtless ignorant young man whose senses are eager for worldly objects, and who has no power of settled resolution for the hardships of vows of penance, shrinks back from the forest, for it is especially destitute of discrimination.

32. 'It is high time for me to practise religion, O my child of loved qualities¹, leaving my royal glory to thee who art well worthy to be distinguished by it; but thy religion, O firm-striding hero, is to be accomplished by heroism; it would be irreligion if thou wert to leave thine own father.

33. 'Do thou therefore abandon this thy resolution; devote thyself for the present to the duties of a householder; to a man who has enjoyed the pleasures of his prime, it is delightful to enter the penance-forest.'

34. Having heard these words of the king, he made his reply in a voice soft like a sparrow's: 'If thou wilt be my surety, O king, against four contingencies, I will not betake myself to the forest.

35. 'Let not my life be subject to death, and let not disease impair this health of mine; let not old age attack my youth, and let not misfortune destroy my weal.'

36. When his son uttered a speech so hard to be understood, the king of the Sākya thus replied: 'Abandon this idea bent upon departure; extravagant desires are only ridiculous.'

37. Then he who was firm as Mount Meru addressed his father: 'If this is impossible, then this course of mine is not to be hindered; it is not right to lay hold of one who would escape² from a house that is on fire.

¹ Or 'lover of religion.'

² Read *nirāṅkramishum*.

38. 'As separation is inevitable to the world, but not for Dharma¹, this separation is preferable; will not death sever me helplessly, my objects unattained, and myself unsatisfied?'

39. The monarch, having heard this resolve of his son longing for liberation, and having again exclaimed, 'He shall not go,' set guards round him and the highest pleasures.

40. Then having been duly instructed² by the counsellors, with all respect and affection, according to the *śāstras*, and being thus forbidden with tears by his father, the prince, sorrowing, entered into his palace.

41. There he was gazed at by his wives with restless eyes, whose faces were kissed by their dangling earrings, and whose bosoms were shaken with their thick-coming sighs,—as by so many young fawns.

42. Bright like a golden mountain, and bewitching the hearts of the noble women, he enraptured their ears, limbs, eyes, and souls by his speech, touch, form, and qualities.

43. When the day was gone, then, shining with his form like the sun, he ascended the palace, as the rising sun ascends Mount Meru, desiring to dispel the darkness by his own splendour.

44. Having ascended, he repaired to a special golden seat decorated with embellishments of diamond, with tall lighted candlesticks ablaze with gold, and its interior filled with the incense of black aloë-wood.

45. Then the noblest of women waited during the

¹ This accompanies the soul at death; cf. *Manu* VIII, 17.

² Does this allude to *Udāyin*? or should we translate it 'being shown the way?'

night on the noblest of men who was like Indra himself, with a concert of musical instruments, as the crowds of heavenly nymphs wait on the son of the Lord of wealth¹ upon the summit of Himavat, white like the moon.

46. But even by those beautiful instruments like heavenly music he was not moved to pleasure or delight; since his desire to go forth from his home to seek the bliss of the highest end was never lulled.

47. Then by the power of the heavenly beings most excellent in self-mortification, the Akanishtha², who knew the purpose of his heart, deep sleep was suddenly thrown on that company of women and their limbs and gestures became distorted³.

48. One was lying there, resting her cheek on her trembling arm; leaving as in anger her lute, though dearly loved, which lay on her side, decorated with gold-leaf.

49. Another shone with her flute clinging to her hand, lying with her white garments fallen from her bosom,—like a river whose banks are smiling with the foam of the water and whose lotuses are covered with a straight line of bees⁴.

50. Another was sleeping⁴, embracing her drum as a lover, with her two arms tender like the shoot of a young lotus and bearing their bracelets closely linked, blazing with gold.

51. Others, decked with new golden ornaments

¹ Sc. Kuvera. I follow Professor Max Müller's suggested reading himavakkhiraśiva for the MS. himavadgirisira.

² With this description of the sleeping women compare that in the Rāmāyaṇa, V, 10.

³ The bees represent the flute held in the lotus-like hand.

⁴ I would read tathāparā.

and wearing peerless yellow garments, fell down alas! helpless with sleep, like the boughs of the Karṣikāra broken by an elephant.

52. Another, leaning on the side of a window, with her willow-form bent like a bow, shone as she lay with her beautiful necklace hanging down, like a statue¹ in an archway made by art.

53. The lotus-face of another, bowed down, with the pinguent-lines on her person rubbed by the jewelled earrings, appeared to be a lotus with its stalk bent into a half-circle, and shaken by a duck standing on it².

54. Others, lying as they sat, with their limbs oppressed by the weight of their bosoms, shone in their beauty, mutually clasping one another with their twining arms decorated with golden bracelets.

55. And another damsel lay sound asleep, embracing her big lute as if it were a female friend, and rolled it about, while its golden strings trembled, with her own face bright with her shaken earrings.

56. Another lay, with her tabour, . . .

57. Others showed no lustre with their eyes shut, although they were really full-eyed and fair-browed, —like the lotus-beds with their buds closed at the setting of the sun.

58. Another, with her hair loose and dishevelled, and her skirts and ornaments fallen from her loins, lay with her necklace in confusion, like a woman crushed by an elephant and then dropped.

59. Others, helpless and lost to shame, though

¹ *Sālabhaṃgikā*?

² This is a hard verse, but the woman's face above the bent body seems to be compared to the duck standing on the flower and bending its stalk.

naturally self-possessed and endued with all graces of person, breathed violently as they lay and yawned with their arms distorted and tossed about.

60. Others, with their ornaments and garlands thrown off,—unconscious, with their garments spread out unfastened,—their bright eyes wide open and motionless,—lay without any beauty as if they were dead.

61. Another, with fully-developed limbs, her mouth wide open, her saliva dropping, and her person exposed, lay as though sprawling in intoxication,—she spoke not, but bore every limb distorted.

62. Thus that company of women, lying in different attitudes, according to their disposition and family, bore the aspect of a lake whose lotuses were bent down and broken by the wind.

63. Then having seen these young women thus lying distorted and with uncontrolled gestures,—however excellent their forms and graceful their appearance,—the king's son felt moved with scorn.

64. 'Such is the nature of women, impure and monstrous in the world of living beings; but deceived by dress and ornaments a man becomes infatuated by a woman's attractions.

65. 'If a man would but consider the natural state of women and this change produced in them by sleep, assuredly he would not cherish his folly; but he is smitten from a right will and so succumbs to passion.'

66. Thus to him having recognised that difference there arose a desire to escape in the night; and then the gods, knowing his purpose, caused the door of the palace to fly open.

67. Then he went down from the roof of the

palace, scorning those women who lay thus distorted; and having descended, undauntedly he went out first into the courtyard¹.

68. Having awakened his horse's attendant, the swift *Khamdaka*, he thus addressed him: 'Bring me quickly my horse *Kamthaka*², I wish to-day to go hence to attain immortality.

69. 'Since such is the firm content which to-day is produced in my heart, and since my determination is settled in calm resolve, and since even in loneliness I seem to possess a guide,—verily the end which I desire is now before me.

70. 'Since abandoning all shame and modesty these women lay before me as they did, and the two doors opened of their own accord, verily the time is come to depart for my true health.'

71. Then, accepting his lord's command, though he knew the purport of the king's injunctions, as being urged by a higher power in his mind, he set himself to bring the horse.

72. Then he brought out for his master that noble steed, his mouth furnished with a golden bit, his back lightly touched by the bed on which he had been lying, and endued with strength, vigour, speed, and swiftness³;

73. With a long chine, and root of the tail and heel,—gentle, with short hair, back, and ears,—with his back, belly, and sides depressed and elevated,—with broad nostrils, forehead, hips, and breast⁴.

74. The broad-chested hero, having embraced him,

¹ Cf. Mahābh. II, 32.

² Spelt in the MSS. sometimes *Kamthaka*, but not always clear.

³ Read *gavatvaropapannam* for MS. *gavatvalo-*.

⁴ Cf. the description in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*.

and caressing him with his lotus-like hand, ordered him with a gentle-toned voice, as if he were desirous to plunge into the middle of an army :

75. ' Oftentimes have evil enemies been overthrown by the king when mounted on thee ; do thou, O best of steeds, so exert thyself that I too may obtain the highest immortality ¹.

76. ' Companions are easy to be found in battle or in the happiness obtained by winning worldly objects or in attaining wealth ; but companions are hard for a man to find who has fallen into misfortune or when he flies for refuge to Dharma.

77. ' And yet all those who in this world are companions, whether in sinful custom or in seeking for Dharma,—as my inner soul now recognises,—they too are verily sharers in the common aim.

78. ' Since then, when I attain this righteous end, my escape from hence will be for the good of the world,—O best of steeds, by thy speed and energy, strive for thine own good and the good of the world.'

79. Thus having exhorted the best of steeds like a friend to his duty, he, the best of men, longing to go to the forest, wearing a noble form, in brightness like fire ², mounted the white horse as the sun an autumnal cloud.

80. Then that good steed, avoiding all noises which would sound startling in the dead of night and awaken the household,—all sound of his jaws hushed and his neighing silenced,—went forth, planting his hurrying steps at full speed.

81. With their lotus-like hands, whose fore-arms

¹ Yathâvat=yathâ.

² Asitagati seems here used like *krîshnagati*, 'fire.'

were adorned with golden bracelets, the Yakshas, with their bodies bent down, threw lotuses and bore up his hoofs as he rushed in startled haste.

82. The city-roads which were closed with heavy gates and bars, and which could be with difficulty opened¹ even by elephants, flew open of their own accord without noise, as the prince went through.

83. Firm in his resolve and leaving behind without hesitation his father who turned ever towards him², and his young son, his affectionate people and his unparalleled magnificence, he then went forth out of his father's city.

84. Then he with his eyes long and like a full-blown lotus, looking back on the city, uttered a sound like a lion, 'Till I have seen the further shore of birth and death I will never again enter the city called after Kapila.'

85. Having heard this his utterance, the troops of the court of the Lord of wealth³ rejoiced; and the hosts of the gods, triumphing, wished him a successful accomplishment of his purpose.

86. Other heavenly beings with forms bright like fire, knowing that his purpose was hard to fulfil, produced a light on his dewy path like the rays of the moon issuing from the rift of a cloud.

87. But he with his horse like the horse of Indra, the lord of bay horses, hurrying on as if spurred in his mind, went over the leagues full of many conflicting emotions⁴,—the sky all the while with its cloud-masses checkered with the light of the dawn.

¹ Apâdhriyante MSS., but I read apâvri-.

² Abhimukham.

³ Sc. the Yakshas.

⁴ Or perhaps 'six leagues.'

BOOK VI.

1. Then when the sun, the eye of the world, was just risen, he, the noblest of men, beheld the hermitage of the son of *Bhrigu*,

2. Its deer all asleep in quiet trust, its birds tranquilly resting,—seeing it he too became restful, and he felt as if his end was attained.

3. For the sake of ending his wonder and to show reverence for the penances observed, and as expressing his own conformity therewith¹, he alighted from the back of his horse.

4. Having alighted, he stroked the horse, exclaiming, 'All is saved,' and he spoke well-pleased to *Khamdaka*, bedewing him as it were with tears from his eyes :

5. 'Good friend, thy devotion to me and thy courage of soul have been proved by thy thus following this steed whose speed is like that of *Tārکشya*².

6. 'Bent even though I am on other business, I am wholly won in heart by thee,—one who has such a love for his master, and at the same time is able to carry out his wish.

7. 'One can be able without affection, and affectionate though unable; but one like thee, at once affectionate and able, is hard to find in the world.

¹ *Svām kānuvartitām rakshan*. [The Tibetan has the obscure *rañ-gi rjes-su bsrūn-va la=sva+anu+rakshan?* H. W.]

² An old mythic representation of the sun as a horse.

8. 'I am pleased with this noble action of thine; this feeling is seen towards me, even though I am regardless of conferring rewards.

9. 'Who would not be favourably disposed to one who stands to him as bringing him reward? but even one's own people commonly become mere strangers in a reverse of fortune¹.

10. 'The son is maintained for the sake of the family, the father is honoured for the sake of our own (future) support; the world shows kindness for the sake of hope; there is no such a thing as unselfishness without a motive.

11. 'Why speak many words? in short, thou hast done me a very great kindness; take now my horse and return, I have attained the desired wood.'

12. Thus having spoken, the mighty hero in his desire to show perfect gentleness² unloosed his ornaments and gave them to the other, who was deeply grieved.

13. Having taken a brilliant jewel whose effect illumined his diadem, he stood, uttering these words, like the mountain *Mam̐dara* with the sun resting on it:

14. 'By thee with this jewel, O *Kham̐da*, having offered him repeated obeisance, the king, with his loving confidence still unshaken, must be enjoined to stay his grief.

15. "'I have entered the ascetic-wood to destroy old age and death,—with no thirst for heaven, with no lack of love nor feeling of anger.

¹ *Gant̐bhavati* may be a quaint expression for *paragano bhavati*,—this seems the meaning of the Tibetan. Or we might read *ganyo bhavati*.

² *Ān̐r̐isamsa* (for *ān̐r̐isamsya*), see *Pāṇini* V, 1, 130 *gana*.

16. "Do not think of mourning for me who am thus gone forth from my home ; union, however long it may last, in time will come to an end.

17. "Since separation is certain, therefore is my mind fixed on liberation ; how shall there not be repeated severings from one's kindred ?

18. "Do not think of mourning for me who am gone forth to leave sorrow behind ; it is the thralls of passion, who are attached to desires, the causes of sorrow, for whom thou shouldst mourn.

19. "This was the firm persuasion of our predecessors,—I as one departing by a common road am not to be mourned for by my heir.

20. "At a man's death there are doubtless heirs to his wealth ; but heirs to his merit are hard to find on the earth or exist not at all.

21. "Even though thou sayest, 'He is gone at a wrong time to the wood,'—there is no wrong time for religious duty (dharma), life being fragile as it is.

22. "Therefore my determination is, 'I must seek my supreme good this very day ;' what confidence can there be in life, when death stands as our adversary ?"

23. 'Do thou address the king, O friend, with these and such-like words ; and do thou use thy efforts so that he may not even remember me.

24. 'Yea, do thou repeat to the king our utter unworthiness ; through unworthiness affection is lost, —and where affection is lost, there is no sorrow.'

25. Having heard these words, *Khamda*, overwhelmed with grief, made reply with folded hands, his voice choked by tears :

26. 'At this state of mind of thine, causing afflic-

tion to thy kindred, my mind, O my lord, sinks down like an elephant in the mud of a river.

27. 'To whom would not such a determination as this of thine cause tears, even if his heart were of iron,—how much more if it were throbbing with love?

28. 'Where¹ is this delicacy of limb, fit to lie only in a palace,—and where is the ground of the ascetic-forest, covered with the shoots of rough kusa grass?

29. 'When, on hearing thy resolve, I first brought thee this horse,—it was fate only, O my lord, which made me do it, mastering my will.

30. 'But how could I, O king, by mine own will,—knowing this thy decision,—carry back the horse to the sorrow of Kapilavastu?

31. 'Surely thou wilt not abandon, O hero, that fond old king, so devoted to his son, as a heretic might the true religion?

32. 'And her, thy second mother, worn with the care of bringing thee up,—thou wilt not surely forget her, as an ingrate a benefit?

33. 'Thou wilt not surely abandon thy queen, endowed with all virtues, illustrious for her family, devoted to her husband and with a young son, as a coward the royal dignity within his reach?

34. 'Thou wilt not abandon the young son of Yasodharâ, worthy of all praise, thou the best of the cherishers of religion and fame, as a dissolute spend-thrift his choicest glory?

35. 'Or even if thy mind be resolved to abandon thy kindred and thy kingdom, thou wilt not, O master, abandon me,—thy feet are my only refuge.

¹ A common expression (which occurs also in Persian poetry) to imply the incompatibility of two things.

36. 'I cannot go to the city with my soul thus burning, leaving thee behind in the forest as Sumitra¹ left the son of Raghu.

37. 'What will the king say to me, returning to the city without thee? or what shall I say to thy queens by way of telling them good news?

38. 'As for what thou saidst, "thou must repeat my unworthiness to the king"—how shall I speak what is false of thee as of a sage without a fault?

39. 'Or even if I ventured to speak it with a heart ashamed and a tongue cleaving to my mouth, who would think of believing it?

40. 'He who would tell of or believe the fierceness of the moon, might tell of or believe thy faults, O physician of faults.

41. 'Him who is always compassionate and who never fails to feel pity, it ill befits to abandon one who loves;—turn back and have mercy on me.'

42. Having heard these words of *Khamda* overcome with sorrow,—self-possessed with the utmost firmness the best of speakers answered:

43. 'Abandon this distress, *Khamda*, regarding thy separation from me,—change is inevitable in corporeal beings who are subject to different births.

44. 'Even if I through affection were not to abandon my kindred in my desire for liberation, death would still make us helplessly abandon one another.

45. 'She, my mother, by whom I was borne in the womb with great thirst and pains,—where am I now with regard to her, all her efforts fruitless, and where is she with regard to me?

46. 'As birds go to their roosting-tree and then

¹ This is the Sumantra of the *Rāmāyana* II, 57.

depart, so the meeting of beings inevitably ends in separation.

47. 'As clouds, having come together, depart asunder again, such I consider the meeting and parting of living things.

48. 'And since this world goes away, each one of us deceiving the other,—it is not right to think anything thine own in a time of union which is a dream.

49. 'Since the trees are parted from the innate colour of their leaves, why should there not still more be the parting of two things which are alien to each other?

50. 'Therefore, since it is so, grieve not, my good friend, but go; or if thy love lingers, then go and afterwards return.

51. 'Say, without reproaching us, to the people in Kapilavastu, "Let your love for him be given up, and hear his resolve.

52. "'Either he will quickly come back, having destroyed old age and death; or else he will himself perish, having failed in his purpose and lost hold of every support."

53. Having heard his words, Kamthaka, the noblest of steeds, licked his feet with his tongue and dropped hot tears.

54. With his hand whose fingers were united with a membrane and which was marked with the auspicious svastika, and with its middle part curved¹, the prince stroked him and addressed him like a friend:

55. 'Shed not tears, Kamthaka, this thy perfect

¹ Professor Kielhorn suggests *ākra-madhyena*, 'with a wheel in its centre,' cf. VIII, 55.

equine nature has been proved,—bear with it, this thy labour will soon have its fruit.’

56. Then seizing the sharp jewelled sword which was in *Khamdaka*’s hand, he resolutely drew out from the sheath the blade decked with golden ornaments, like a serpent from its hole.

57. Having drawn it forth, dark blue like a blue lotus petal, he cut his decorated tiara and his hair, and he tossed it with its scattered muslin into the air as a grey goose into a lake.

58. And the heavenly beings, with a longing to worship it, seized it respectfully as it was thrown up; and the divine hosts paid it due adoration in heaven with celestial honours.

59. Having thus divorced his ornaments and banished all royal magnificence from his head, and seeing his muslin floating away like a golden goose, the stedfast prince desired a sylvan dress.

60. Then a celestial being, wearing the form of a hunter, pure in heart, knowing his thoughts, approached near him in dark-red garments; and the son of the *Sākya* king thus addressed him:

61. ‘Thy red garments are auspicious, the sign of a saint; but this destructive bow is not befitting; therefore, my good friend, if there is no strong preference in the matter, do thou give me that dress and take this of mine.’

62. The hunter replied, ‘It has given me my desire¹, O giver of desires, as by this I have inspired

¹ I have taken *ârât* as from *â + râ*, but Professor Kielhorn suggests that it might mean ‘near.’ ‘Although in this dress I make the deer come confidently close to me and then kill them, yet take it if you want it.’ [The Tibetan seems to have read *kâmasârât*,—*dod-pa sñin-po las*, ‘from essence of desire.’ H.W.]

animals with confidence and then killed them ; but if thou hast need of it, O thou who art like Indra, accept it at once and give me the white dress.'

63. With extreme joy he then took that sylvan dress and gave away the linen one ; and the hunter, assuming his heavenly form, having taken the white garment, went to heaven.

64. Then the prince and the attendant of the horse were filled with wonder as he was thus going, and forthwith they paid great honour anew to that sylvan dress.

65. Then the great-souled one, having dismissed the weeping *Khamda*, and wearing his fame veiled by the sign of the red garment, went towards the hermitage, like the king of mountains wrapped in an evening cloud.

66. While his master, thus regardless of his kingdom, was going to the ascetic-wood in mean garments, the groom, tossing up his arms, wailed bitterly and fell on the ground.

67. Having looked again he wept aloud, and embraced the horse *Kamthaka* with his arms ; and then, hopeless and repeatedly lamenting, he went in body to the city, not in soul.

68. Sometimes he pondered, sometimes he lamented, sometimes he stumbled, and sometimes he fell ; and so going along, wretched through his devoted attachment, he performed all kinds of actions in the road without conscious will.

BOOK VII.

1. Then having left the weeping tear-faced *Khamda*,—indifferent to all things in his longing for the forest, he by whom all objects are accomplished, overpowering the place by his beauty, entered that hermitage as if it were fully blessed.

2. He the prince with a gait like the lion's, having entered that arena of deer, himself like a deer,—by the beauty of his person, even though bereft of his magnificence, attracted the eyes of all the dwellers in the hermitage.

3. The drivers of wheeled carriages also, with their wives, stood still in curiosity, holding the yokes in their hands,—they gazed on him who was like Indra, and moved not, standing like their beasts of burden with their heads half bent down.

4. And the Brâhmans who had gone outside for the sake of fuel, having come with their hands full of fuel, flowers, and kusa grass,—pre-eminent as they were in penances, and proficient in wisdom, went to see him, and went not to their cells.

5. Delighted the peacocks uttered their cries, as if they had seen a dark-blue cloud rising up; and leaving the young grass and coming forward, the deer with restless eyes and the ascetics who grazed like deer¹ stood still.

¹ A form of ascetic observance, see *Mahâbh.* I, 3644; V, 4072. Cf. *infra*, *sloka* 15.

6. Beholding him, the lamp of the race of Ikshvāku, shining like the rising sun,—even though their milking was over, being filled with joy, the oblation-giving cows poured forth their milk.

7. 'It is one of the eight Vasus or one of the two Asvins, descended here,'—these words arose, uttered aloud by the sages in their astonishment at seeing him.

8. Like a second form of the lord of the gods¹, like the personified glory of the universe, he lighted up the entire wood like the sun come down of his own accord.

9. Then he, being duly honoured and invited to enter by those dwellers in the hermitage, paid his homage to the saints, with a voice like a cloud in the rainy season².

10. He, the wise one, longing for liberation, traversed that hermitage filled with the holy company desirous of heaven,—gazing at their strange penances.

11. He, the gentle one, having seen the different kinds of penance practised by the ascetics in that sacred grove,—desiring to know the truth, thus addressed one of the ascetics who was following him :

12. 'Since this to-day is my first sight of a hermitage I do not understand this rule of penance ; therefore will your honour kindly explain to me what resolve possesses each one of you.'

13. Then the Brāhman well-versed in penance told in order to that bull of the Sākya, a very bull in prowess, all the various kinds of penance and the fruit thereof.

¹ Lekharshabha is a rare name of Indra.

² A conjectural reading.

14. 'Uncultivated food, growing out of the water, leaves, water, and roots and fruits,—this is the fare of the saints according to the sacred texts; but the different alternatives of penance vary.

15. 'Some live like the birds on gleaned corn, others graze on grass like the deer, others live on air with the snakes, as if turned into ant-hills¹.

16. 'Others win their nourishment with great effort from stones, others eat corn ground with their own teeth; some, having boiled for others, dress for themselves what may chance to be left.

17. 'Others, with their tufts of matted hair continually wet with water, twice offer oblations to Agni with hymns; others plunging like fishes into the water dwell there with their bodies scratched by tortoises.

18. 'By such penances endured for a time,—by the higher they attain heaven, by the lower the world of men; by the path of pain they eventually dwell in happiness,—pain, they say, is the root of merit.'

19. The king's son, having heard this speech of the ascetic, even though he saw no lofty truth in it², was not content, but gently uttered these thoughts to himself:

20. 'The penance is full of pain and of many kinds, and the fruit of the penance is mainly heaven at its best, and all the worlds are subject to change; verily the labour of the hermitages is spent for but little gain.

¹ Cf. the legend of the princess Sukanyā, given in Wilson's note, *Hindu Drama*, I, p. 263.

² Cf. Beal, 517 (or perhaps 'though he had not himself yet attained the highest truth').

21. 'Those who abandoning wealth, kindred, and worldly objects, undertake vows for the sake of heaven,—they, when parted, only wish to go to a still greater wood of their own again ¹.

22. 'He who by all these bodily toils which are called penances, seeks a sphere of action for the sake of desire,—not examining the inherent evils of mundane existence, he only seeks pain by pain.

23. 'There is ever to living creatures fear from death, and they with all their efforts seek to be born again; where there is action, there must inevitably be death,—he is always drowned therein, just because he is afraid.

24. 'Some undergo misery for the sake of this world, others meet toil for the sake of heaven; all living beings, wretched through hope and always missing their aim, fall certainly for the sake of happiness into misery.

25. 'It is not the effort itself which I blame,—which flinging aside the base pursues a high path of its own; but the wise, by all this common toil, ought to attain that state in which nothing needs ever to be done again.

26. 'If the mortification of the body here is religion, then the body's happiness is only irreligion; but by religion a man obtains happiness in the next world, therefore religion here bears irreligion as its fruit.

27. 'Since it is only by the mind's authority that the body either acts or ceases to act, therefore to control the thought is alone befitting,—without the thought the body is like a log.

¹ Their desired heaven will only be a fresh penance-grove.

28. 'If merit is gained by purity of food, then there is merit also in the deer; and in those men also who live as outcasts from all enjoyments, through being estranged from them by the fault of their destiny.

29. 'If the deliberate choice of pain is a cause of merit, why should not that same choice be directed to pleasure? If you say that the choice of pleasure carries no authority, is not the choice of pain equally without authority?

30. 'So too those who for the sake of purifying their actions, earnestly sprinkle water on themselves, saying, "this is a sacred spot,"—even there this satisfaction resides only in the heart,—for waters will not cleanse away sin.

31. 'The water which has been touched by the virtuous,—that is the spot, if you wish for a sacred spot on the earth; therefore I count as a place of pilgrimage only the virtues of a virtuous man¹,—water without doubt is only water.'

32. Thus he uttered his discourse full of various arguments, and the sun went down into the west; then he entered the grove where penances had now ceased and whose trees were gray with the smoke of the (evening) oblations;

33. Where the sacred fires had been duly transferred when kindled to other spots,—all crowded with the holy hermits who had performed their ablutions, and with the shrines of the gods murmuring with the muttered prayers,—it seemed all alive like the full service of religion in exercise.

34. He spent several nights there, himself like

¹ Guṇān eva?

the moon, examining their penances; and he departed from that penance-field, feeling that he had comprehended the whole nature of penance.

35. The dwellers of the hermitage followed him with their minds fixed on the greatness of soul visible in his person, as if they were great seers beholding Religion herself, withdrawn from a land invaded by the base.

36. Then he looked on all those ascetics with their matted hair, bark garments, and rag-strips waving, and he stood considering their penances under an auspicious and noble tree by the way-side.

37. Then the hermits having approached stood surrounding the best of men; and an old man from among them thus addressed him respectfully in a gentle voice:

38. 'At thy coming the hermitage seems to have become full, it becomes as it were empty when thou art gone,—therefore, my son, thou wilt not surely desert it, as the loved life the body of one who wishes to live.

39. 'In front stands the holy mountain Himavat, inhabited by Brahmarshis, rāgarshis, and surarshis; by whose mere presence the merit of these penances becomes multiplied to the ascetics.

40. 'Near us also are holy spots of pilgrimage, which become ladders to heaven; loved by divine sages and saints whose souls are intent on devotion and who keep their souls in perfect control.

41. 'From hence, again, the Northern quarter is especially to be fitly followed for the sake of pre-eminent merit; even one who was wise starting towards the south could not advance one single step.

42. 'Hast thou seen in this sacred grove one who

neglects all ceremonies or who follows confused ceremonies or an outcast or one impure, that thou dost not desire to dwell here? Speak it out, and let the abode be welcomed.

43. 'These hermits here desire thee as their companion in penance, thee who art like a store-house of penance,—to dwell with thee who art like Indra would bring prosperity even to Vṛihaspati.'

44. He, the chief of the wise, when thus addressed in the midst of the ascetics by their chief—having resolved in his mind to put an end to all existence—thus uttered his inward thought :

45. 'The upright-souled saints, the upholders of religion, become the very ideal of our own kindred through their delight in showing hospitality; by all these kind feelings of thine towards me affection is produced in me and the path which regards the self as supreme¹ is revealed.

46. 'I seem to be all at once bathed by these gentle heart-touching words of thine, and the joy now throbs in me once more which I felt when I first grasped the idea of dharma.

47. 'There is sorrow to me when I reflect that I shall have to depart, leaving you who are thus engaged, you who are such a refuge and who have shown such excessive kindness to me,—just as there was when I had to leave my kindred behind.

48. 'But this devotion of yours is for the sake of heaven,—while my desire is that there may be no fresh birth; therefore I wish not to dwell in this wood; the nature of cessation is different from that of activity.

49. 'It is not therefore any dislike on my part or

¹ Obscure, cf. Mahābh. V, 1593.

the wrong conduct of another, which makes me go away from this wood ; for ye are all like great sages, standing fast in the religious duties which are in accordance with former ages.'

50. Then having heard the prince's discourse, gracious and of deep meaning, gentle, strong, and full of dignity, the ascetics paid him especial honour.

51. But a certain Brāhman who was lying there in the ashes, tall and wearing his hair in a tuft, and clothed in the bark of trees, with reddish eyes and a thin long nose, and carrying a pot with water¹ in his hand, thus lifted his voice :

52. 'O sage, brave indeed is thy purpose, who, young as thou art, hast seen the evils of birth; he who, having pondered thoroughly heaven and liberation, makes up his mind for liberation,—he is indeed brave !

53. 'By all those various sacrifices, penances, and vows the slaves of passion desire to go to heaven; but the strong, having battled with passion as with an enemy, desire to obtain liberation.

54. 'If this is thy settled purpose, go quickly to Vindhyakosh¹/_{tha}; the Muni Arāḍa lives there who has gained an insight into absolute bliss.

55. 'From him thou wilt hear the path to truth, and if thou hast a desire for it, thou wilt embrace it; but as I foresee, this purpose of thine will go on further, after having rejected his theory.

56. 'With the nose of a well-fed horse, large long eyes, a red lower lip, white sharp teeth, and a thin red tongue,—this face of thine will drink up the entire ocean of what is to be known.

¹ Conjectural. Dr. von Böhtlingk suggests *kumḍāvahasto*, 'the back of whose hand was like a *kumḍa*.'

57. 'That unfathomed depth which characterises thee, that majesty and all those signs of thine,— they shall win a teacher's chair in the earth which was never won by sages even in a former age.'

58. The prince replied, 'Very well,' and having saluted the company of sages he departed; the hermits also having duly performed to him all the rites of courtesy entered again into the ascetic-grove.

BOOK VIII.

1. Meanwhile the attendant of the horse, in deep distress, when his unselfish master thus went into the forest, made every effort in the road to dissolve¹ his load of sorrow, and yet in spite of it all not a tear dropped from him.

2. But the road which by his lord's command he had traversed in one night with that horse,—that same road he now travelled in eight days, pondering his lord's absence.

3. And the horse *Kamthaka*, though he still went on bravely, flagged and had lost all spirit in his heart; and decked though he was with ornaments, he had lost all his beauty when bereft of his master.

4. And turning round towards that ascetic-grove, he neighed repeatedly with a mournful sound; and though pressed with hunger, he welcomed not nor tasted any grass or water on the road, as before².

5. Slowly they two at last came back to the city called after *Kapila*, which seemed empty when deserted by that hero who was bent on the

¹ *Vigraha* seems here used in an unusual sense. Cf. Tennyson's 'Home they brought her warrior dead, &c.'

² I read *nâbhinananda*, supposing *na* to have been written on the margin and inserted in the wrong place, otherwise *abhis* must be used for *abhi*. [This is confirmed by the Tibetan, which translates *abhinananda* by *mñon-par ma dga*, where *mñon-par* is the usual translation of the preposition *abhi*. H.W.]

salvation of the world,—like the sky bereft of the sun.

6. Bright as it was with lotus-covered waters, adorned also with trees full of flowers, that garden of his, which was now like a forest, was no longer gay with citizens who had lost all their gladness.

7. Then those two,—who were as it were silently forbidden by the sad inhabitants who were wandering in that direction, their brightness gone and their eyes dim with tears,—slowly entered the city which seemed all bathed in gloom.

8. Having heard that they had returned with their limbs all relaxed, coming back without the pride of the Sākya race, the men of the city shed tears in the road, as when in old days the chariot of the son of Dasaratha came back.

9. Full of wrath, the people followed *Khamdaka* in the road, crying behind him with tears, 'Where is the king's son, the glory of his race and kingdom? he has been stolen away by thee.'

10. Then he said to those faithful ones, 'I have not left the king's son; but by him in the uninhabited forest I weeping and the dress of a householder were abandoned together.'

11. Having heard these words of his those crowds adopted a most difficult resolve; they did not wipe away the tears which fell from their eyes, and they blamed their own (evil) hearts on account of the consequences of their actions;

12. Then they said, 'Let us go this very day into that forest, whither he is gone, whose gait is like the king of elephants; without him we have no wish to live, like the senses when the souls depart.'

13. 'This city bereft of him is a forest, and that forest which possesses him is a city; the city without him has no charms for us, like heaven without the lord of the Maruts, when *Vṛitra* was slain¹.'

14. Next the women crowded to the rows of windows, crying to one another, 'The prince has returned;' but having heard that his horse had an empty back, they closed the windows again and wailed aloud.

15. But the king, having undertaken religious observances for the recovery of his son, with his mind distressed by the vow and the sorrow, was muttering prayers in the temple, and performing such rites as suited the occasion.

16. Then with his eyes filled with tears,—taking the horse, his whole soul fixed on the horse,—overcome with grief he² entered the palace as if his master had been killed by an enemy.

17. And entering the royal stable, looking about with his eyes full of tears, *Kamthaka* uttered a loud sound, as if he were uttering his woe to the people.

18. Then the birds that fed in the middle of the house, and the carefully cherished horses that were tied near by, re-echoed the sound of that horse, thinking that it might be the return of the prince.

19. And the people, deceived by an excessive joy, who were in the neighbourhood of the king's inner apartments, thought in their hearts, 'Since the horse *Kamthaka* neighs, it must be that the prince is coming.'

20. Then the women, who were fainting with

¹ Quoted by *Ugavaladatta*, on *Unādi-sūtras* I, 156.

² Sc. *Kṛhandaka*.

sorrow, now in wild joy, with their eyes rolling to see the prince, rushed out of the palace full of hope, like flickering lightnings from an autumn cloud.

21. With their dress hanging down, and their linen garments soiled, their faces untouched by collyrium and with eyes dimmed by tears; dark and discoloured and destitute of all painting¹, like the stars in the sky, pale-red with the ending of night;

22. With their feet unstained by red, and undecked by anklets,—their faces without earrings, and their ears in their native simplicity,—their loins with only nature's fulness, and uncircled by any girdle,—and their bosoms bare of strings of pearls as if they had been robbed.

23. But when they saw *Khandaka* standing helpless, his eyes filled with tears, and the horse, the noble women wept with pale faces, like cows abandoned by the bull in the midst of the forest.

24. Then the king's principal queen Gautamī, like a fond cow that has lost her calf, fell bursting into tears on the ground with outstretched arms, like a golden plantain-tree with trembling leaves.

25. Some of the other women, bereft of their brightness and with arms and souls lifeless, and seeming to have lost their senses in their despondency, raised no cry, shed no tear, and breathed not, standing senseless as if painted².

26. Others as having lost all self-control, fainting in their sorrow for their lord, their faces pouring tears from their eyes, watered their bosoms from

¹ Is a *ñganayā* used here irregularly in the fem. to distinguish it from a *ñgana*, 'the pinguent?'

² Conjectural.

which all sandal-wood was banished, like a mountain the rocks with its streams.

27. Then that royal palace was illumined with their faces pelted by the tears from their eyes, as a lake in the time of the first rains with its dripping lotuses pelted by the rain from the clouds.

28. The noble women beat their breasts with their lotus-like hands, falling incessantly, whose fingers were round and plump, which had their arteries hidden and bore no ornaments,—as creepers tossed by the wind strike themselves with their shoots.

29. And again how those women shone forth, as their bosoms rose up together after the blow from the hand, and trembled with the shock,—like the streams, when their pairs of ruddy geese shake, as the lotuses on which they sit wave about with the wind from the wood¹.

30. As they pressed their breasts with their hands, so too they pressed their hands with their breasts,—dull to all feelings of pity, they made their hands and bosoms inflict mutual pains on each other.

31. Then thus spoke Yasodharâ, shedding tears with deep² sorrow, her bosom heaving with her sighs, her eyes discoloured with anger, and her voice choking with emotion through the influence of despondency:

32. 'Leaving me helplessly asleep in the night, whither, O *Khamdaka*, is he, the desire of my heart,

¹ This is an obscure verse,—*yathâpi* is not clear; I have taken *yathâ* as a 'how' of admiration. The latter lines seem to compare the hand swaying with the motion of the bosom to the bird seated on the tossed lotus.

² Is *vigâdha* for *agâdha*, or should we read *vigâdha*?

gone? and when thou and Kamthaka are alone come back, while three went away together, my mind trembles.

33. 'Why dost thou weep to-day, O cruel one, having done a dishonourable, pitiless, and unfriendly deed to me? Cease thy tears and be content in thy heart,—tears and that deed of thine ill agree.

34. 'Through thee, his dear obedient faithful loyal companion, always doing what was right, the son of my lord is gone never to return,—rejoice,—all hail! thy pains have gained their end.

35. 'Better for a man a wise enemy rather than a foolish friend unskilled in emergencies; by thee, the unwise self-styled friend, a great calamity has been brought upon this family.

36. 'These women are sorely to be pitied who have put away their ornaments, having their eyes red and dimmed with continuous tears, who are as it were desolate widows, though their lord still stands as unshaken as the earth or Mount Himavat.

37. 'And these lines of palaces seem to weep aloud, flinging up their dovecots for arms, with the long unbroken moan of their doves,—separated verily, with him, from all who could restrain them.

38. 'Even that horse Kamthaka without doubt desired my utter ruin; for he bore away from hence my treasure when all were sound asleep in the night,—like one who steals jewels.

39. 'When he was able to bear even the onsets of arrows, and still more the strokes of whips,—how then for fear of the fall of a whip, could he go carrying with him my prosperity and my heart together?

40. 'The base creature now neighs loudly, filling the king's palace with the sound; but when he

carried away my beloved, then this vilest of horses was dumb.

41. 'If he had neighed and so woke up the people, or had even made a noise with his hoofs on the ground, or had made the loudest sound he could with his jaws, my grief would not have been so great.'

42. Having thus heard the queen's words, their syllables choked with tears and full of lament, slowly *Kkamdaka* uttered this answer, with his face bent down, his voice low with tears, and his hands clasped in supplication :

43. 'Surely, O queen, thou wilt not blame *Kam-thaka* nor wilt thou show thy anger against me,—know that we two are entirely guiltless,—that god amongst men, O queen, is gone away like a god.

44. 'I indeed, though I well knew the king's command, as though dragged by force by some divine powers, brought quickly to him this swift steed, and followed him on the road unwearied.

45. 'And this best of horses as he went along touched not the ground with the tips of his hoofs as if they were kept aloft from it ; and so too, having his mouth restrained as by fate, he made no sound with his jaws and neighed not.

46. 'When the prince went out, then the gate was thrown open of its own accord ; and the darkness of the night was, as it were, pierced by the sun,—we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.

47. 'When also by the king's command, in palace and city, diligent guards had been placed by thousands, and at that time they were all overcome by sleep and woke not,—we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.

48. 'When also the garment, approved for a

hermit's dwelling in the forest, was offered to him at the moment by some denizen of heaven, and the tiara which he threw into the sky was carried off,—we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.

49. 'Do not therefore assume¹ that his departure arises from the fault of either of us, O queen; neither I nor this horse acted by our own choice; he went on his way with the gods as his retinue.'

50. Having thus heard the history of the prince's departure, so marvellous in many ways, those women, as though losing their grief, were filled with wonder, but they again took up their distress at the thought of his becoming an ascetic.

51. With her eyes filled with the tears of despondency, wretched like an osprey who has lost her young,—Gautamī abandoning all self-control wailed aloud,—she fainted, and with a weeping face exclaimed:

52. 'Beautiful, soft, black, and all in great waves, growing each from its own special root,—those hairs of his are tossed on the ground, worthy to be encircled by a royal diadem.

53. 'With his long arms and lion-gait, his bull-like eye, and his beauty bright like gold, his broad chest, and his voice deep as a drum or a cloud,—should such a hero as this dwell in a hermitage?

54. 'This earth is indeed unworthy as regards that peerless doer of noble actions, for such a virtuous hero has gone away from her,—it is the merits and virtues of the subjects which produce their king.

55. 'Those two feet of his, tender, with their

¹ Should we read *pratipattum* for *pratigantum*?

beautiful web spread between the toes, with their ankles concealed, and soft like a blue lotus,—how can they, bearing a wheel marked in the middle, walk on the hard ground of the skirts of the forest ?

56. 'That body, which deserves to sit or lie on the roof of a palace,—honoured with costly garments, aloes, and sandal-wood,—how will that manly body live in the woods, exposed to the attacks of the cold, the heat, and the rain ?

57. 'He who was proud of his family, goodness, strength, energy, sacred learning, beauty, and youth,—who was ever ready to give, not to ask,—how will he go about begging alms from others ?

58. 'He who, lying on a spotless golden bed, was awakened during the night by the concert of musical instruments,—how alas ! will he, my ascetic, sleep to-day on the bare ground with only one rag of cloth interposed ?'

59. Having heard this piteous lamentation, the women, embracing one another with their arms, rained the tears from their eyes, as the shaken creepers drop honey from their flowers.

60. Then Yasodharâ fell upon the ground, like the ruddy goose parted from her mate, and in utter bewilderment she slowly lamented, with her voice repeatedly stopped by sobs :

61. 'If he wishes to practise a religious life after abandoning me his lawful wife widowed,—where is his religion, who wishes to follow penance without his lawful wife to share it with him ?

62. 'He surely has never heard of the monarchs of olden times, his own ancestors, Mahâsudarsa¹ and

¹ Mahâsudassana is the name of a king in *Gâtaka* I, 95.

the rest,—how they went with their wives into the forest,—that he thus wishes to follow a religious life without me.

63. 'He does not see that husband and wife are both consecrated in sacrifices, and both purified by the performance of the rites of the Veda, and both destined to enjoy¹ the same results afterwards,—he therefore grudges me a share in his merit.

64. 'Surely it must be that this fond lover of religion, knowing that my mind was secretly quarrelling even with my beloved, lightly and without fear has deserted me thus angry, in the hope to obtain heavenly nymphs in Indra's world!

65. 'But what kind of a thought is this of mine? those women even there have the attributes which belong to bodies,—for whose sake he thus practises austerities in the forest, deserting his royal magnificence and my fond devotion.

66. 'I have no such longing for the joy of heaven, nor is that hard for even common people to win if they are resolute²; but my one desire is how he my beloved may never leave me either in this world or the next.

67. 'Even if I am unworthy to look on my husband's face with its long eyes and bright smile, still is this poor Râhula never to roll about in his father's lap?

68. 'Alas! the mind of that wise hero is terribly stern,—gentle as his beauty seems, it is pitilessly cruel,—who can desert of his own accord such an infant son with his inarticulate talk, one who would charm even an enemy.

69. 'My heart too is certainly most stern, yea,

¹ I read *bubhukshû* for *bubhukshuḥ*.

² *Api*, I think, should properly follow *ganasya*.

made of rock or fashioned even of iron, which does not break when its lord is gone to the forest, deserted by his royal glory like an orphan,—he so well worthy of happiness.’

70. So the queen, fainting in her woe, wept and pondered and wailed aloud repeatedly,—self-possessed as she was by nature, yet in her distress she remembered not her fortitude and felt no shame.

71. Seeing Yasodharā thus bewildered with her wild utterances of grief and fallen on the ground, all the women cried out with their faces streaming with tears like large lotuses beaten by the rain.

72. But the king, having ended his prayers, and performed the auspicious rites of the sacrifice, now came out of the temple; and being smitten by the wailing sound of the people, he tottered like an elephant at the crash of a thunderbolt.

73. Having heard (of the arrival) of both *Khamdaka* and *Kamthaka*, and having learned the fixed resolve of his son, the lord of the earth fell struck down by sorrow like the banner of Indra when the festival is over¹.

74. Then the king, distracted by his grief for his son, being held up for a moment by his attendants all of the same race, gazed on the horse with his eyes filled with tears, and then falling on the ground wailed aloud:

75. ‘After having done many dear exploits for me in battle, one great deed of cruelty, O *Kamthaka*, hast thou done,—for by thee that dear son of mine, dear for his every virtue, has been tossed down in the wood, dear as he was, like a worthless thing.

¹ Cf. I, 63.

76. 'Therefore either lead me to-day where he is, or go quickly and bring him back again; without him there is no life left to me, as to one plunged in sickness without the true medicine.

77. 'When Suvarnanishth¹vin was carried away by death, it seemed impossible that Srimgaya¹ should not die; and shall I, when my duty-loving son is gone, fear to set my soul free, like any coward?

78. 'How should not the mind of Manu himself be distracted, when parted from his dear virtuous son², —(Manu) the son of Vivasvat, who knew the higher and the lower, the mighty lord of creatures, the institutor of the ten chieftains³.

79. 'I envy the monarch, that friend of Indra, the wise son of king Aga⁴, who, when his son went into the forest, went himself to heaven, and dragged out no miserable life here with vain tears.

80. 'Describe to me, O beloved one, the court of that hermitage, whither thou hast carried him who is as my funeral oblation of water; these my vital airs are all ready to depart, and are eager for it, longing to drink it.'

81. Thus the king, in his grief for his separation from his son,—losing all his innate firmness which was steadfast like the earth,—loudly lamented as one distraught, like Dasaratha, a prey to his sorrow for Râma.

¹ See Mahâbh. XII, 31. The MSS. read *Samgaya* for *Srimgaya*.

² Does this refer to his losing his son Sudyumna, who was changed to a woman, Vishnu Pur. IV, 1?

³ *Dasakshatrakrit* is an obscure phrase; [the Tibetan renders it by *rgyal-rigs bcu byas*, 'king-race ten made;'⁴ *rgyal-rigs* is the ordinary translation of *kshatriya*. H. W.]

⁴ Dasaratha.

82. Then the wise counsellor, endued with religious learning, courtesy, and virtue, and the old family priest, spoke to him as was befitting in these well-weighed words, neither with their faces overwhelmed by grief nor yet wholly unmoved :

83. 'Cease, O noblest of men, thy grief, regain thy firmness,—surely thou wilt not, O firm hero, shed tears like one of no self-control ; many kings on this earth have gone into the forests, throwing away their royal pomp like a crushed wreath.

84. 'Moreover, this his state of mind was all pre-determined ; remember those words long ago of the holy sage Asita ; "He will never be made to dwell even for a moment contentedly in heaven or in an emperor's domain."

85. 'But if, O best of men, the effort must be made, quickly speak the word, we two will at once go together ; let the battle be waged in every way with thy son and his fate whatever it be.'

86. Then the king commanded them both, 'Do you both go quickly hence,—my heart will not return to quiet, any more than a bird's in the woods longing for its young.'

87. With a prompt acquiescence at the king's order the counsellor and the family priest went to that forest ; and then with his wives and his queen the king also, saying, 'It is done,' performed the remainder of the rites.

BOOK IX.

1. Then the two, the counsellor and the family priest, beaten by the king with his scourge of tears, went with every effort to that forest in the hurry of affection, like two noble horses goaded.

2. Having come at last full of weariness to that hermitage, accompanied by a fitting train,—they dismissed their royal pomp and with sober gestures entered the abode of Bhārgava.

3. Having saluted that Brāhman with due respect, and having been honoured by him with due reverence in return, having seated themselves, plunging at once into the subject, they addressed Bhārgava, who was likewise seated, concerning their errand.

4. 'Let your honour know us to be respectively imperfect proficient in preserving the sacred learning and in retaining the state-counsels,—in the service of the monarch of the Ikshvāku race, pure in his valour and pure and wide in his glory.

5. 'His son, who is like Gayanta, while he himself is like Indra, has come here, it is said, desirous to escape from the fear of old age and death,—know that we two are come here on account of him.'

6. He answered them, 'That prince of the long arms did indeed come here, but not as one unawakened; "this dharma only brings us back again,"—recognising this, he went off forthwith towards Arāḍa, seeking liberation.'

7. Then they two, having understood the true

state of things, bade that Brâhman at once farewell, and wearied though they were, went on as if they were unwearied, thither whither the prince was gone.

8. As they were going, they saw him bereft of all ornaments¹, but still radiant with his beauty, sitting like a king in the road at the foot of a tree, like the sun under the canopy of a cloud.

9. Leaving his chariot, the family priest then went up to the prince with the counsellor, as the saint Aurvaseya² went with Vâmadeva, wishing to see Râma when he dwelt in the forest.

10. They paid him honour as was fitting, as Sukra and Amgiras honoured Indra in heaven; and he in return paid due honour to them, as Indra in heaven to Sukra and Amgiras.

11. Then they, having obtained his permission, sat down near him who was the banner of the Sâkya race; and they shone in his proximity like the two stars of the asterism Punarvasû in conjunction with the moon.

12. The family priest addressed the prince who shone brightly as he sat at the foot of the tree, as Vrihaspati addressed Indra's son Gayanta, seated in heaven under the heavenly tree pârigâta:

13. 'O prince, consider for a moment what the king with his eyes raining tears said to thee, as he lay fainting on the ground with the arrow of thy sorrow plunged into his heart.

14. "I know that thy resolve is fixed upon religion, and I am convinced that this purpose of thine is unchanging³; but I am consumed with a flame of

¹ Is *srigayâ* for *sragâ*?

² Agastya, the son of Urvarî. Vâmadeva was Dasaratha's counsellor.

³ Conjectural. [The Tibetan reads the second line, khyod-kyi

anguish like fire at thy flying to the woods at an inopportune time.

15. “Come, thou who lovest duty, for the sake of what is my heart’s desire,—abandon this purpose for the sake of duty; this huge swollen stream of sorrow sweeps me away as a river’s torrent its bank.

16. “That effect¹ which is wrought in the clouds, water, the dry grass, and the mountains by the wind, the sun, the fire, and the thunderbolt,—that same effect this grief produces in us by its tearing in pieces, its drying up, its burning, and its cleaving.

17. “Enjoy therefore for a while the sovereignty of the earth,—thou shalt go to the forest at the time provided by the *sâstras*,—do not show disregard for thy unhappy kindred,—compassion for all creatures is the true religion.

18. “Religion is not wrought out only in the forests, the salvation of ascetics can be accomplished even in a city; thought and effort are the true means; the forest and the badge are only a coward’s signs.

19. “Liberation has been attained even by householders, Indras among men, who wore diadems, and carried strings of pearls suspended on their shoulders, whose garlands were entangled with bracelets, and who lay cradled in the lap of Fortune.

20. “Bali and Vagrabâhu, the two younger brothers of Dhruva, Vaibhrâga, Âshâdha, and Amti-

byuñ-var gyur-var don-ni ces-pao, ‘I know thy purpose which is about to arise (or which has arisen) in thy mind.’ Can they have read *bhâvinam* or *bhâvitam*? H.W.]

¹ I read *vr̥ttik̐*.

deva¹, and Ganaka also, the king of the Videhas, and king Senagit's son, his tree of ripe blessing²;

21. "Know that all these great kings who were householders were well skilled in attaining the merit which leads to final bliss,—do thou also therefore obtain both³ simultaneously—royal magnificence and the control over the mind.

22. "I desire,—when I have once closely embraced thee after thy kingly consecration is once performed, and while thou art still wet with the sacred water,—when I behold thee with the pomp of the royal umbrella,—in the fulness of that joy to enter the forest."

23. 'Thus did the king say to thee in a speech whose words were stopped by tears,—surely having heard it, for the sake of what is so dear to him, thou wilt with all affection follow his affection.

24. 'The king of the Sākya is drowned in a deep sea of sorrow, full of waves of trouble, springing from thee; do thou therefore deliver him helpless and protectorless like an ox drowning in the sea.

25. 'Having heard that Bhtshma who sprang from Gaṅgā's womb, Râma, and Râma the son of Bhrigu,—all did what would please their fathers;—surely thou too wilt do thy father's desire.

26. 'Consider also the queen, who brought thee

¹ Cf. I, 57; IX, 60.

² My reading *pâkadrumam* is conjectural, *Pâradrumau* as two old kings would be a possible reading. Senagit's son is praised for his philosophical depth in Mahâbh. XII, 6524, &c.; he is there called Medhâvin. [The Tibetan has *brtan-pai* (*dhruva*) *nu vo*, 'the firm one's younger brother (?);' it also has *gro dan ljon-çin-can* for *pâkadruma*, 'having a tree of—?' It takes *senagitaśka râgñāś* as acc. plural. H.W.]

³ *Ubhe=pi*, although with *pragrīhya* e.

up, who has not yet gone to the region inhabited by Agastya¹—wilt thou not take some heed of her, who ceaselessly grieves like a fond cow that has lost her calf?

27. 'Surely thou wilt succour thy wife by the sight of thee, who now mourns widowed yet with her lord still alive,—like a swan separated from her mate or a female elephant deserted in the forest by her companion.

28. 'Thy only son, a child little deserving such woe, distressed with sorrow, and² . . . —O deliver Râhula from the grief of his kindred like the full moon from the contact of Râhu!

29. 'Burned with the fire of anguish within him, to which thy absence adds fresh fuel,—a fire whose smoke is sighs and its flame despair,—he wanders for a sight of thee through the women's apartments and the whole city.'

30. The Bodhisattva,—whose perfection was absolute,—having heard the words of the family priest, reflected for a moment, knowing all the virtues of the virtuous, and then thus uttered his gentle reply:

31. 'I well know the paternal tenderness³ of the king, especially that which he has displayed towards me; yet knowing this as I do, still alarmed at sickness, old age, and death, I am inevitably forced to leave my kindred.

32. 'Who would not wish to see his dear kindred, if but this separation from beloved ones did not exist? but since even after it has been once, separa-

¹ The south,—the region of the god of death.

² Five syllables are here lost,—apakvasattvam?

³ Should we read tanayaprasaktam?

38. 'There may be an "ill time" in one's attaining a worldly object,—time indeed is described as

H

inseparably connected with all things¹; time drags the world into all its various times; but all time suits a bliss which is really worthy of praise².

39. 'That the king should wish to surrender to me his kingdom,—this is a noble thought, well worthy of a father; but it would be as improper for me to accept it, as for a sick man through greed to accept unwholesome food.

40. 'How can it be right for the wise man to enter royalty, the home of illusion, where are found anxiety, passion, and weariness, and the violation of all right through another's service?

41. 'The golden palace seems to me to be on fire; the daintiest viands seem mixed with poison; infested with crocodiles³ [is the tranquil lotus-bed].'

42. Having heard the king's son uttering this discourse, well suitable to his virtues and knowledge of the soul, freed from all desires, full of sound reasons, and weighty,—the counsellor thus made answer:

43. 'This resolve of thine is an excellent counsel, not unfit in itself but only unfit at the present time; it could not be thy duty, loving duty as thou dost, to leave thy father in his old age to sorrow.

44. 'Surely thy mind is not very penetrating, or it is ill-skilled in examining duty, wealth, and pleasure⁴,—when for the sake of an unseen result thou departest disregarding a visible end.

¹ Cf. *Pāṇ.* III, 3, 44.

² I.e. *mukti* can never be ill-timed. But this is an obscure *sloka*.

³ The remainder of the prince's speech is lost. By Beal's translation from the Chinese, fifteen verses are wanting.

⁴ The three well-known 'secular' ends of human action.

45. 'Again, some say that there is another birth,—others with confident assertion say that there is not; since then the matter is all in doubt, it is right to enjoy the good fortune which comes into thy hand.

46. 'If there is any activity hereafter, we will enjoy ourselves in it as may offer; or if there is no activity beyond this life, then there is an assured liberation to all the world without any effort.

47. 'Some say there is a future life, but they do not allow the possibility of liberation; as fire is hot by nature and water liquid, so they hold that there is a special nature in our power of action¹.

48. 'Some maintain that all things arise from inherent properties,—both good and evil and existence and non-existence; and since all this world thus arises spontaneously, therefore also all effort of ours is vain.

49. 'Since the action of the senses is fixed, and so too the agreeableness or the disagreeableness of outward objects,—then for that which is united to old age and pains, what effort can avail to alter it? Does it not all arise spontaneously?

50. 'The fire becomes quenched by water, and fire causes² water to evaporate; and different elements, united in a body, producing unity, bear up the world.

51. 'That the nature of the embryo in the womb is produced as composed of hands, feet, belly, back, and head, and that it is also united with the soul,—the wise declare that all this comes of itself spontaneously.

52. 'Who causes the sharpness of the thorn? or

¹ I.e. it cannot be abolished.

†

H 2

² I read gamayanti.

the various natures of beasts and birds? All this has arisen spontaneously; there is no acting from desire, how then can there be such a thing as will?

53. 'Others say that creation comes from Īsvara,—what need then is there of the effort of the conscious soul¹? That which is the cause of the action of the world, is also determined as the cause of its ceasing to act.

54. 'Some say that the coming into being and the destruction of being are alike caused by the soul; but they say that coming into being arises without effort, while the attainment of liberation is by effort.

55. 'A man discharges his debt to his ancestors by begetting offspring, to the saints by sacred lore, to the gods by sacrifices; he is born with these three debts upon him,—whoever has liberation (from these,) he indeed has liberation.

56. 'Thus by this series of rules the wise promise liberation to him who uses effort; but however ready for effort with all their energy, those who seek liberation will find weariness.

57. 'Therefore, gentle youth, if thou hast a love for liberation, follow rightly the prescribed rule; thus wilt thou thyself attain to it, and the king's grief will come to an end.

58. 'And as for thy meditations on the evils of life ending in thy return from the forest to thy home,—let not the thought of this trouble thee, my son,—those in old time also have returned from the forests to their houses.

59. 'The king *Ambartsha*², though he had

¹ Purusha.

² Probably the son of Nābhāga.

dwelt in the forest, went back to the city, surrounded by his children; so too Râma, seeing the earth oppressed by the base, came forth from his hermitage and ruled it again.

60. 'So too Drumâksha, the king of the Sâlvas, came to his city from the forest with his son; and Sâmkṛiti Amtideva¹, after he had become a Brahmarshi, received his royal dignity from the saint Vasishṭha.

61. 'Such men as these, illustrious in glory and virtue, left the forests and came back to their houses; therefore it is no sin to return from a hermitage to one's home, if it be only for the sake of duty.'

62. Then having heard the affectionate and loyal words of the minister, who was as the eye of the king,—firm in his resolve, the king's son made his answer, with nothing omitted or displaced², neither tedious³ nor hasty:

63. 'This doubt whether anything exists or not, is not to be solved for me by another's words; having determined the truth by asceticism or quietism, I will myself grasp whatever is ascertained concerning it.

64. 'It is not for me to accept a theory which depends on the unknown and is all controverted, and which involves a hundred prepossessions; what

¹ This might mean Amtideva (cf. I, 57, IX, 20) the son of Sâmkṛiti, but in Mahâbh. XII, 1013 we have Ramtideva the son of Sâmkṛiti; cf. Burnouf on Rudraka and Udraka, Introduction, p. 386. [The Tibetan takes sâmkṛiti as sbyin-sreg-dañ-bcas, 'together with burnt offering.' H.W.] Would this imply an old reading sâhuti?—For Amtideva's connection with Vasishṭha see Mahâbh. XII, 8591.

² I read avyastam.

³ Or 'prejudiced?'

wise man would go by another's belief? Mankind are like the blind directed in the darkness by the blind.

65. 'But even though I cannot discern the truth, yet still, if good and evil are doubted, let one's mind be set on the good; even a toil¹ in vain is to be chosen by him whose soul is good, while the man of base soul has no joy even in the truth.

66. 'But having seen that this "sacred tradition" is uncertain, know that that only is right which has been uttered by the trustworthy; and know that trustworthiness means the absence of faults; he who is without faults will not utter an untruth.

67. 'And as for what thou saidst to me in regard to my returning to my home, by alleging Rāma and others as examples, they are no authority,—for in determining duty, how canst thou quote as authorities those who have broken their vows?

68. 'Even the sun, therefore, may fall to the earth, even the mountain Himavat may lose its firmness; but never would I return to my home as a man of the world, with no knowledge of the truth and my senses only alert for external objects.

69. 'I would enter the blazing fire, but not my house with my purpose unfulfilled.' Thus he proudly made his resolve, and rising up in accordance with it, full of disinterestedness, went his way.

70. Then the minister and the Brāhman, both full of tears, having heard his firm determination, and having followed him awhile with despondent

¹ MSS. khedo.

looks, and overcome with sorrow, slowly returned of necessity to the city.

71. Through their love for the prince and their devotion to the king, they returned, and often stopped looking back¹; they could neither behold him on the road nor yet lose the sight of him,—shining in his own splendour and beyond the reach of all others, like the sun.

72. Having placed faithful emissaries in disguise to find out the actions of him who was the supreme refuge of all, they went on with faltering steps, saying to each other, 'How shall we approach the king and see him, who is longing for his dear son?'

¹ Another reading gives 'full of reproach.'

BOOK X.

1. The prince, he of the broad and lusty chest, having thus dismissed the minister and the priest, crossed the Ganges with its speeding waves and went to Rāgagriha with its beautiful palaces.

2. He reached the city distinguished by the five hills, well guarded and adorned with mountains, and supported and hallowed by auspicious sacred places¹,—like Brahman² in a holy calm going to the uppermost heaven.

3. Having heard of his majesty and strength, and his splendid beauty, surpassing all other men, the people of that region were all astonished as at him who has a bull for his sign and is immovable in his vow³.

4. On seeing him, he who was going elsewhere stood still, and he who was standing there followed him in the way; he who was walking gently and gravely ran quickly, and he who was sitting at once sprang up.

5. Some people revered him with their hands, others in worship saluted him with their heads, some addressed him with affectionate words,—not one went on without paying him homage.

6. Those who were wearing gay-coloured dresses were ashamed when they saw him, those who were talking on random subjects fell to silence on the

¹ Tapoda is the name of a tirtha in Magadha.

² Svayambhū.

³ Śiva.

road ; no one indulged in an improper thought, as at the presence of Religion herself embodied.

7. In the men and the women on the highway, even though they were intent on other business, that conduct alone with the profoundest reverence seemed proper which is enjoined by the rules of royal homage ; but his eyes never looked upon them.

8. His brows, his forehead, his mouth, or his eyes,—his body, his hands, his feet, or his gait,—whatever part of him any one beheld, that at once riveted his eyes.

9. Having beheld him with the beautiful circle of hair between his brows¹ and with long eyes, with his radiant body and his hands showing a graceful membrane between the fingers,—so worthy of ruling the earth and yet wearing a mendicant's dress,—the Goddess of Rāgagrīha was herself perturbed.

10. Then Srenya², the lord of the court of the Magadhas, beheld from the outside of his palace the immense concourse of people, and asked the reason of it ; and thus did a man recount it to him :

11. ' He who was thus foretold by the Brāhmins, " he will either attain supreme wisdom or the empire of the earth,"—it is he, the son of the king of the Sākya, who is the ascetic whom the people are gazing at.'

12. The king, having heard this and perceived its meaning with his mind, thus at once spoke to that man : ' Let it be known whither he is going ; ' and the man, receiving the command, followed the prince.

¹ So the Tibetan. The Sanskrit text seems corrupt here. Cf. I, 65 c.

² A name of Bimbisāra, see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 165.

13. With unrestless eyes, seeing only a yoke's length before him¹, with his voice hushed, and his walk slow and measured, he, the noblest of mendicants, went begging alms, keeping his limbs and his wandering thoughts under control.

14. Having received such alms as were offered, he retired to a lonely cascade of the mountain; and having eaten it there in the fitting manner, he ascended the mountain *Pāṃḍava*².

15. In that wood, thickly filled with lodhra trees, having its thickets resonant with the notes of the peacocks, he the sun of mankind shone, wearing his red dress, like the morning sun above the eastern mountain.

16. That royal attendant, having thus watched him there, related it all to the king *Srenya*; and the king, when he heard it, in his deep veneration, started himself to go thither with a modest retinue.

17. He who was like the *Pāṃḍavas* in heroism, and like a mountain in stature, ascended *Pāṃḍava*, that noblest of mountains,—a crown-wearer, of lion-like gait, a lion among men, as a maned lion ascends a mountain.

18. There he beheld the Bodhisattva, resplendent as he sat on his hams, with subdued senses, as if the mountain were moving³, and he himself were a peak thereof,—like the moon rising from the top of a cloud.

19. Him, distinguished by his beauty of form and perfect tranquillity as the very creation of Religion

¹ Hardy explains this 'he does not look before him further than the distance of a plough or nine spans' (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 371).

² Cf. *Lalitavistara*.

³ I.e. as if he, not the mountain, were entitled to the name *aśāla*.

herself,—filled with astonishment and affectionate regard the king of men approached, as Indra the self-existent (Brahman).

20. He, the chief of the courteous, having courteously drawn nigh to him, inquired as to the equilibrium of his bodily humours; and the other with equal gentleness assured the king of his health of mind and freedom from all ailments.

21. Then the king sat down on the clean surface of the rock, dark blue like an elephant's ear; and being seated¹, with the other's assent, he thus spoke, desiring to know his state of mind:

22. 'I have a strong friendship with thy family, come down by inheritance and well proved; since from this a desire to speak to thee, my son, has arisen in me, therefore listen to my words of affection.

23. 'When I consider thy widespread race, beginning with the sun, thy fresh youth, and thy conspicuous beauty,—whence comes this resolve of thine so out of all harmony with the rest, set wholly on a mendicant's life, not on a kingdom?

24. 'Thy limbs are worthy of red sandal-wood² perfumes,—they do not deserve the rough contact of red cloth; this hand is fit to protect subjects, it deserves not to hold food given by another.

25. 'If therefore, gentle youth, through thy love for thy father thou desirest not thy paternal kingdom in thy generosity,—then at any rate thy choice must not be excused,—accepting forthwith one half of my kingdom.

26. 'If thou actest thus there will be no violence

¹ *Nrīpopavisya* ? with *ārsha* Sandhi.

² *Lohitaśandana* may mean 'saffron.'

shown to thine own people, and by the mere lapse of time imperial power at last flies for refuge to the tranquil mind; therefore be pleased to do me a kindness,—the prosperity of the good becomes very powerful, when aided by the good¹.

27. 'But if from thy pride of race thou dost not now feel confidence in me, then plunge with thy arrows into countless armies, and with me as thy ally seek to conquer thy foes.

28. 'Choose thou therefore one of these ends, pursue according to rule religious merit, wealth, and pleasure; for these, love and the rest, in reverse order, are the three objects in life; when men die they pass into dissolution as far as regards this world.

29. 'That which is pleasure when it has overpowered wealth and merit, is wealth when it has conquered merit and pleasure; so too it is merit, when pleasure and wealth fall into abeyance; but all would have to be alike abandoned, if thy desired end² were obtained.

30. 'Do thou therefore by pursuing the three objects of life, cause this beauty of thine to bear its fruit; they say that when the attainment of religion, wealth, and pleasure is complete in all its parts, then the end of man is complete.

31. 'Do not thou let these two brawny arms lie useless which are worthy to draw the bow; they are well fitted like Māndhātṛi's to conquer the three worlds, much more the earth.

¹ [The Tibetan translates the fourth line, *dam-pa-rnams dan bcas-pas dam-pai dpal phel-lo*, 'by being with the good the prosperity of the good increases.' H. W.]

² Nirvāṇa.

32. 'I speak this to you out of affection,—not through love of dominion or through astonishment ; beholding this mendicant-dress of thine, I am filled with compassion and I shed tears.

33. 'O thou who desirest the mendicant's stage of life, enjoy pleasures now ; in due time, O thou lover of religion, thou shalt practise religion ;—ere old age comes on and overcomes this thy beauty, well worthy of thy illustrious race.

34. 'The old man can obtain merit by religion ; old age is helpless for the enjoyment of pleasures ; therefore they say that pleasures belong to the young man, wealth to the middle-aged, and religion to the old.

35. 'Youth in this present world is the enemy of religion and wealth,—since pleasures, however we guard them, are hard to hold, therefore, wherever pleasures are to be found, there they seize them.

36. 'Old age is prone to reflection¹, it is grave and intent on remaining quiet ; it attains unimpassionedness with but little effort, unavoidably, and for very shame.

37. 'Therefore having passed through the deceptive period of youth, fickle, intent on external objects, heedless, impatient, not looking at the distance,—they take breath like men who have escaped safe through a forest.

38. 'Let therefore this fickle time of youth first pass by, reckless and giddy,—our early years are the mark for pleasure, they cannot be kept from the power of the senses.

39. 'Or if religion is really thy one aim, then offer

¹ Vimarsayanti?

sacrifices,—this is thy family's immemorial custom, —climbing to highest heaven by sacrifices, even Indra, the lord of the winds, went thus to highest heaven.

40. 'With their arms pressed ¹ by golden bracelets, and their variegated diadems resplendent with the light of gems, royal sages have reached the same goal by sacrifices which great sages reached by self-mortification.'

41. Thus spoke the monarch of the Magadhas, who spoke well and strongly like Indra²; but having heard it, the prince did not falter, (firm) like the mountain Kailâsa, having its many summits variegated (with lines of metals).

¹ Vidash/a; cf. *samdash/a* in Raghuv. XVI, 65.

² Valabhid, 'the smiter of the demon Vala.'

BOOK XI.

1. Being thus addressed by the monarch of the Magadhas, in a hostile speech with a friendly face,—self-possessed, unchanged, pure by family and personal purity, the son of Suddhodana thus made answer :

2. ' This is not to be called a strange thing for thee, born as thou art in the great family whose ensign is the lion¹—that by thee of pure conduct, O lover of thy friends, this line of conduct should be adopted towards him who stands as one of thy friends.

3. ' Amongst the bad a friendship, worthy of their family, ceases to continue (and fades) like prosperity among the faint-hearted ; it is only the good who keep increasing the old friendship of their ancestors by a new succession of friendly acts.

4. ' But those men who act unchangingly towards their friends in reverses of fortune, I esteem in my heart as true friends ; who is not the friend of the prosperous man in his times of abundance ?

5. ' So those who, having obtained riches in the world, employ them for the sake of their friends and religion,—their wealth has real solidity, and when it perishes it produces no pain at the end.

6. ' This thy determination concerning me, O king, is prompted by pure generosity and friendship² ;

¹ So the Tibetan explains *haryamka*, *señ-ges mñan-pai*.

² The Sanskrit of this line is corrupt and does not scan. The

I will meet thee courteously with simple friendship ;
I would not utter aught else in my reply.

7. 'I, having experienced the fear of old age and death, fly to this path of religion in my desire for liberation ; leaving behind my dear kindred with tears in their faces,—still more than those pleasures which are the causes of evil.

8. 'I am not so afraid even of serpents nor of thunderbolts falling from heaven, nor of flames blown together by the wind, as I am afraid of these worldly objects.

9. 'These transient pleasures,—the robbers of our happiness and our wealth, and which float empty and like illusions through the world,—infatuate men's minds even when they are only hoped for,—still more when they take up their abode in the soul.

10. 'The victims of pleasure attain not to happiness even in the heaven of the gods, still less in the world of mortals ; he who is athirst is never satisfied with pleasures, as the fire, the friend of the wind, with fuel.

11. 'There is no calamity in the world like pleasures,—people are devoted to them through delusion ; when he once knows the truth and so fears evil, what wise man would of his own choice desire evil ?

12. 'When they have obtained all the earth girdled by the sea, kings wish to conquer the other side of the great ocean ; mankind are never satiated

Tibetan renders it as follows: *khyod-kyi (te) nes-pa (vinisṣa-yaṇ) gañ-zhig bdag-la dmigs-pa ḍi*, 'whatever a determination of thine imagines of me, to this (answering I would say).' I would read *vibhāvya mām eva*. The translation given above is conjectural.

with pleasures, as the ocean with the waters that fall into it.

13. 'When it had rained a golden shower from heaven, and when he had conquered the continents and the four oceans, and had even obtained the half of Sakra's throne¹, Māndhātṛi was still unsatisfied with worldly objects.

14. 'Though he had enjoyed the kingdom of the gods in heaven, when Indra had concealed himself through fear of Vṛitra, and though in his pride he had made the great Rishis bear his litter², Nahusha fell, unsatisfied with pleasures.

15. 'King (Purūravas) the son of Idā, having penetrated into the furthest heaven, and brought the goddess Urvast into his power,—when he wished in his greed to take away gold from the Rishis³,—being unsatisfied with pleasures, fell into destruction.

16. 'Who would put his trust in these worldly objects, whether in heaven or in earth, unsettled as to lot or family,—which passed from Bali to Indra, and from Indra to Nahusha, and then again from Nahusha back to Indra?

17. 'Who would seek these enemies bearing the name of pleasures, by whom even those sages have been overcome, who were devoted to other pursuits, whose only clothes were rags, whose food was roots, fruits, and water, and who wore their twisted locks as long as snakes?

18. 'Those pleasures for whose sake even Ugrāyudha⁴, armed terribly as he was with his weapon,

¹ Divyāvadāna, pp. 213-224.

² Mahābh. V, 532.

³ Mahābh. I, 3147.

⁴ See Harivaṃśa, ch. xx. He was armed with a discus.

found death at Bhiṣhma's hands,—is not the mere thought of them unlucky and fatal,—still more the thought of the irreligious whose lives are spent in their service?

19. 'Who that considers the paltry flavour of worldly objects,—the very height of union being only insatiety,—the blame of the virtuous, and the certain sin,—has ever drawn near this poison which is called pleasure?

20. 'When they hear of the miseries of those who are intent on pleasure and are devoted to worldly pursuits¹, such as agriculture and the rest, and the self-content of those who are careless of pleasure,—it well befits the self-controlled to fling it away².

21. 'Success in pleasure is to be considered a misery in the man of pleasure, for he becomes intoxicated when his desired pleasures are attained; through intoxication he does what should not be done, not what should be done; and being wounded thereby he falls into a miserable end.

22. 'These pleasures which are gained and kept by toil,—which after deceiving leave you and return whence they came,—these pleasures which are but borrowed for a time³, what man of self-control, if he is wise, would delight in them?

23. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like a torch of hay,—which excite thirst when you seek them and when you grasp them, and which they who abandon not keep only as misery⁴?

24. 'Those men of no self-control who are bitten by

¹ Dharmabhiḥ. (Cf. V, 5, 6.) ² I would read kāmāḥ.

³ For yākitaka cf. Pāṇ. IV, 4, 21. ⁴ I would read paripānti.

them in their hearts, fall into ruin and attain not bliss,—what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like an angry, cruel serpent?

25. 'Even if they enjoy them men are not satisfied, like dogs famishing with hunger over a bone,—what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like a skeleton composed of dry bones?

26. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like flesh that has been flung away, and which produce misery by their being held only in common with kings, thieves, water, and fire¹?

27. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which, like the senses², are destructive, and which bring calamity on every hand to those who abide in them, from the side of friends even more than from open enemies?

28. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like the fruit that grows on the top of a tree,—which those who would leap up to reach fall down upon a mountain or into a forest, waters, or the ocean?

29. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like snatching up a hot coal,—men never attain happiness, however they pursue them, increase them, or guard them?

30. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like the enjoyments in a dream,—which are gained by their recipients after manifold pilgrimages and labours, and then perish in a moment?

¹ I.e. any one of these can seize them from us.

² Âyatana.

31. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which are like a spear¹, sword, or club,—for the sake of which the Kurus, the *Vrishnis* and the *Amdhakas*, the *Maithilas* and the *Damdakas* suffered destruction?

32. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which dissolve friendships and for the sake of which the two *Asuras Sumda* and *Upasumda* perished, victims engaged in mutual enmity?

33. 'None, however their intellect is blinded with pleasure, give themselves up, as in compassion, to ravenous beasts²; so what man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which are disastrous and constant enemies?

34. 'He whose intellect is blinded with pleasure does pitiable things; he incurs calamities, such as death, bonds, and the like; the wretch, who is the miserable slave of hope for the sake of pleasure, well deserves the pain of death even in the world of the living.

35. 'Deer are lured to their destruction by songs³, insects for the sake of the brightness fly into the fire, the fish greedy for the flesh swallows the iron hook,—therefore worldly objects produce misery as their end.

36. 'As for the common opinion, "pleasures are enjoyments," none of them when examined are

¹ The Chinese translation seems to take *sūla* as a stake for impaling criminals in ver. 864.

² The text is corrupt. I would read *kravyâtsu nâtmânam*. The *va* in line 1 is for *iva*, a rare form, but allowed by Sanskrit lexicographers. Perhaps we should translate *kâmândhasamgñā*, 'these men who are called "blinded with pleasure."'

³ Cf. *Kâdambarī* (Calc. ed.), p. 27, l. 6 *infra*.

worthy of being enjoyed ; fine garments and the rest are only the accessories of things,—they are to be regarded as merely the remedies for pain.

37. ' Water is desired for allaying thirst ; food in the same way for removing hunger ; a house for keeping off the wind, the heat of the sun, and the rain ; and dress for keeping off the cold and to cover one's nakedness.

38. ' So too a bed is for removing drowsiness ; a carriage for remedying the fatigue of a journey ; a seat for alleviating the pain of standing ; so bathing as a means for washing, health, and strength.

39. ' External objects therefore are to human beings means for remedying pain, not in themselves sources of enjoyment ; what wise man would allow that he enjoys those delights which are only used as remedial ?

40. ' He who, when burned with the heat of bilious fever, maintains that cold appliances are an enjoyment, when he is only engaged in alleviating pain,—he indeed might give the name of enjoyment to pleasures.

41. ' Since variableness is found in all pleasures, I cannot apply to them the name of enjoyment ; the very conditions which mark pleasure, bring also in its turn pain.

42. ' Heavy garments and fragrant aloe-wood are pleasant in the cold, but an annoyance in the heat¹ ; and the moonbeams and sandal-wood are pleasant in the heat, but a pain in the cold.

43. ' Since the well-known opposite pairs², such

¹ I have adopted Professor Kielhorn's suggested reading *sukhâya site hy asukhâya gharne*.

² Cf. *ἡ ἀντιποιχία* of the Pythagoreans (Arist. Ethics, I, 6).

as gain and loss and the rest, are inseparably connected with everything in this world,—therefore no man is invariably happy on the earth nor invariably wretched.

44. 'When I see how the nature of pleasure and pain are mixed, I consider royalty and slavery as the same; a king does not always smile, nor is a slave always in pain.

45. 'Since to be a king involves a wider range of command, therefore the pains of a king are great; for a king is like a peg¹,—he endures trouble for the sake of the world.

46. 'A king is unfortunate, if he places his trust in his royalty which is apt to desert and loves crooked turns²; and on the other hand, if he does not trust in it, then what can be the happiness of a timid king?

47. 'And since after even conquering the whole earth, one city only can serve as a dwelling-place, and even there only one house can be inhabited, is not royalty mere labour for others?

48. 'And even in royal clothing one pair of garments is all he needs, and just enough food to keep off hunger; so only one bed, and only one seat; all a king's other distinctions are only for pride.

49. 'And if all these fruits are desired for the sake of satisfaction, I can be satisfied without a kingdom; and if a man is once satisfied in this world, are not all distinctions indistinguishable?

50. 'He then who has attained the auspicious road to happiness is not to be deceived in regard to pleasures; remembering thy professed friendship, tell me again and again, do they keep their promise?

¹ Cf. Isaiah xxii. 23, 24 (תִּנְיָ).

² Professor Kielhorn would read *ramkamitre*.

51. 'I have not repaired to the forest through anger, nor because my diadem has been dashed down by an enemy's arrows; nor have I set my desires on loftier objects¹, that I thus refuse thy proposal.

52. 'Only he who, having once let go a malignant incensed serpent, or a blazing hay-torch all on fire, would strive again to seize it, would ever seek pleasures again after having once abandoned them.

53. 'Only he who, though seeing, would envy the blind, though free the bound, though wealthy the destitute, though sound in his reason the maniac,—only he, I say, would envy one who is devoted to worldly objects.

54. 'He who lives on alms, my good friend, is not to be pitied, having gained his end and being set on escaping the fear of old age and death; he has here the best happiness, perfect calm, and hereafter all pains are for him abolished.

55. 'But he is to be pitied who is overpowered by thirst though set in the midst of great wealth,—who attains not the happiness of calm here, while pain has to be experienced hereafter.

56. 'Thus to speak to me is well worthy of thy character, thy mode of life, and thy family; and to carry out my resolve is also befitting my character, my mode of life, and my family.

57. 'I have been wounded by the enjoyment of the world, and I have come out longing to obtain peace; I would not accept an empire free from all ill even in the third heaven, how much less amongst men?

58. 'But as for what thou saidst to me, O king, that the universal pursuit of the three objects is the

¹ Sc. as rule in heaven, &c.

supreme end of man,—and ¹ thou saidst that what I regard as the desirable is misery,—thy three objects are perishable and also unsatisfying.

59. 'But that world in which there is no old age nor fear, no birth, nor death, nor anxieties ², that alone I consider the highest end of man, where there is no ever-renewed action.

60. 'And as for what thou saidst, "wait till old age comes, for youth is ever subject to change;"—this want of decision is itself uncertain; for age too can be irresolute and youth can be firm.

61. 'But since Fate ³ is so well skilled in its art as to draw the world in all its various ages into its power,—how shall the wise man, who desires tranquillity, wait for old age, when he knows not when the time of death will be?

62. 'When death stands ready like a hunter, with old age as his weapon, and diseases scattered about as his arrows, smiting down living creatures who fly like deer to the forest of destiny, what desire can there be in any one for length of life?

63. 'It well befits the youthful son or the old man or the child so to act with all promptitude that they may choose the action of the religious man whose soul is all mercy,—nay, better still, his inactivity.

64. 'And as for what thou saidst, "be diligent in sacrifices for religion, such as are worthy of thy race and bring a glorious fruit,"—honour to such sacrifices! I desire not that fruit which is sought by causing pain to others ⁴!

¹ I would read *anartha ity âttha* (for *ity artha*).

² *Âdhayañ*.

³ Ko, 'who?' seems here used for 'fate.' Professor Kielhorn would read—*Yadâmtako gagad vayahsu sarveshu vasam vikarshati*.

⁴ *Yad ishyate* is the true reading.

65. 'To kill a helpless victim through a wish for future reward,—it would be an unseemly action for a merciful-hearted good man, even if the reward of the sacrifice were eternal; but what if, after all, it is subject to decay?

66. 'And even if true religion did not consist in quite another rule of conduct, by self-restraint, moral practice and a total absence of passion,—still it would not be seemly to follow the rule of sacrifice, where the highest reward is described as attained only by slaughter.

67. 'Even that happiness which comes to a man, while he stays in this world, through the injury of another, is hateful to the wise compassionate heart; how much more if it be something beyond our sight in another life?

68. 'I am not to be lured into a course of action for future reward,—my mind does not delight, O king, in future births; these actions are uncertain and wavering in their direction, like plants beaten by the rain from a cloud.

69. 'I have come here with a wish to see next the seer Arāḍa who proclaims liberation; I start this very day,—happiness be to thee, O king; forgive my words which may seem harsh through their absolute freedom from passion¹.

70. 'Now therefore do thou guard (the world) like Indra in heaven; guard it continually like the sun by thy excellencies; guard its best happiness here;

¹ I read *samatattva*.

² This verse is obscure,—the division of the clauses is uncertain, the Chinese translation giving only six; but *ava* seems to occur eight times. The Tibetan has its equivalent *sruṃs* nine times.

guard the earth ; guard life by the noble¹ ; guard the sons of the good ; guard thy royal powers, O king ; and guard thine own religion.

71. 'As in the midst of a sudden catastrophe arising from the flame of (fire), the enemy of cold, a bird, to deliver its body, betakes itself to the enemy of fire (water),—so do thou, when occasion calls, betake thyself, to deliver thy mind, to those who will destroy the enemies of thy home².'

72. The king himself, folding his hands, with a sudden longing come upon him, replied, 'Thou art obtaining thy desire without hindrance ; when thou hast at last accomplished all that thou hast to do, thou shalt show hereafter thy favour towards me.'

73. Having given his firm promise to the monarch, he proceeded to the Vaisvāntara hermitage ; and, after watching him with astonishment, as he wandered on in his course, the king and³ his courtiers returned to the mountain (of Rāgagiri).

¹ So the Tibetan.

² This is a very hard verse, but the obscure Chinese translation helps to explain it, vv. 912–915. I read in *c*, himârisatrum, i.e. water, as the enemy of the enemy of cold (fire). The bird flies to water to stop the effects of fire ; as the king is to destroy his enemies by means of their enemies, cf. *Manu* VII, 158. Here, however, it seems to mean also that he is to destroy his passions by their opposites ; the home (*kshaya*) is the summum bonum, *nirvāṇa*.—I read *samplava* for *sambhava*, as the two words are confused in XII, 24 and 28.

³ *Ka* seems used in a very artificial manner with the ellipsis of the substantive which should follow it ; cf. *Amarakosha* III, 4, 1, 6 (we might also read *prâpad*).

BOOK XII.

1. Then the moon of the Ikshvâku race turned towards the hermitage of the sage Arâḍa¹ of tranquil life,—as it were, doing honour to it by his beauty.

2. He drew near, on being addressed in a loud voice 'Welcome' by the kinsman of Kâlâma, as he saw him from afar.

3. They, having mutually asked after each other's health as was fitting, sat down in a clean place on two pure wooden seats.

4. The best of sages, having seen the prince seated, and as it were drinking in the sight of him with eyes opened wide in reverence, thus addressed him :

5. 'I know, gentle youth, how thou hast come forth from thy home, having severed the bond of affection, as a wild elephant its cord.

6. 'In every way thy mind is stedfast and wise, who hast come here after abandoning royal luxury like a creeper-plant with poisonous fruit.

7. 'It is no marvel that kings have retired to the forest who have grown old in years, having given up their glory to their children, like a garland left behind after being used.

8. 'But this is to me indeed a marvel that thou art come hither in life's fresh prime, set in the open field

¹ Arâḍa holds an early form of the Sâṃkhya doctrine.

of the world's enjoyments, ere thou hast as yet tasted of their happiness.

9. 'Verily thou art a worthy vessel to receive this highest religion ; having mastered it with full knowledge, cross at once over the sea of misery.

10. 'Though the doctrine is generally efficient only after a time, when the student has been thoroughly tested, thou art easy for me to examine from thy depth of character and determination.'

11. The prince, having heard these words of *Arâda*, was filled with great pleasure and thus made reply:

12. 'This extreme kindliness which thou showest to me, calmly passionless as thou art, makes me, imperfect as I am, seem even already to have attained perfection.

13. 'I feel at the sight of thee like one longing to see who finds a light,—like one wishing to journey, a guide,—or like one wishing to cross, a boat.

14. 'Wilt thou therefore deign to tell me that secret, if thou thinkest it should be told, whereby thy servant may be delivered from old age, death, and disease.'

15. *Arâda*, thus impelled by the noble nature of the prince, declared in a concise form the tenets of his doctrine :

16. 'O best of hearers, hear this our firmly-settled theory, how our mortal existence arises and how it revolves.

17. "The evolvent" and "the evolute," birth, old age, and death,—know that this has been called the reality by us ; do thou receive our words, O thou who art steadfast in thy nature.

18. 'But know, O thou who art deep in the search

into the nature of things, that the five elements¹, egoism, intellect, and "the unmanifested" are the "evolvents ;"

19. 'But know that the "evolutes" consist of intellect, external objects², the senses, and the hands, feet, voice, anus, and generative organ, and also the mind.

20. 'There is also a something which bears the name *kshetragñā*, from its knowledge of this "field" (*kshetra* or the body) ; and those who investigate the soul call the soul *kshetragñā*.

21. 'Kapila with his disciple became the illuminated,—such is the tradition ; and he, as the illuminated, with his son is now called here *Pragāpati*.

22. 'That which is born and grows old and is bound and dies,—is to be known as "the manifested," and "the unmanifested" is to be distinguished by its contrariety.

23. 'Ignorance, the merit or demerit of former actions, and desire are to be known as the causes of mundane existence ; he who abides in the midst of this triad does not attain to the truth of things,—

24. 'From mistake³, egoism, confusion, fluctuation, indiscrimination, false means, inordinate attachment, and gravitation.

25. 'Now "mistake" acts in a contrary manner, it does wrongly what it should do, and what it should think it thinks wrongly.

26. "'I say," "I know," "I go," "I am firmly

¹ These are the *tanmâtrâṇi* or subtile elements.

² *Vishayân*, corresponding to the gross elements. The intellect, *buddhi*, is both an evolver and an evolute.

³ Should we read *viparyayâd* ? Cf. *Sâmkhya*, aphor. III, 37.

fixed," it is thus that "egoism" shows itself here, O thou who art free from all egoism.

27. 'That state of mind is called "confusion," O thou who art all unconfused, which views under one nature, massed like a lump of clay, objects that thus become confused in their nature.

28. 'That state of mind which says that this mind, intellect, and these actions are the same as "I," and that which says that all this aggregate is the same as "I,"—is called "fluctuation."

29. 'That state of mind is called "indiscrimination," O thou who art discriminating, which thinks there is no difference between the illuminated and the unwise, and between the different evolvents.

30. 'Uttering "namas" and "vashat," sprinkling water upon sacrifices, &c. with or without the recital of Vedic hymns, and such like rites,—these are declared by the wise to be "false means," O thou who art well skilled in true means.

31. 'That is called "inordinate attachment," by which the fool is entangled in external objects through his mind, speech, actions, and thoughts, O thou who hast shaken thyself free from all attachments.

32. 'The misery which a man imagines by the ideas "This is mine," "I am connected with this," is to be recognised as "gravitation,"—by this a man is borne downwards into new births.

33. 'Thus Ignorance, O ye wise, being fivefold in its character, energises towards torpor, delusion, the great delusion, and the two kinds of darkness¹.

34. 'Know, that among these indolence is "torpor," death and birth are "delusion," and be it clearly

¹ Cf. *Sāmkhyakārikā*, 48.

understood, O undeluded one, that desire is the "great delusion."

35. 'Since by it even the higher beings are deluded, therefore, O hero, is this called the "great delusion."

36. 'They define anger, O thou angerless one, as "darkness;" and despondency, O undesponding, they pronounce to be the "blind darkness."

37. 'The child, entangled in this fivefold ignorance, is effused in his different births in a world abounding with misery.

38. 'He wanders about in the world of embodied existence, thinking that I am the seer, and the hearer, and the thinker,—the effect and the cause.

39. 'Through these causes¹, O wise prince, the stream of "torpor" is set in motion; be pleased to consider that in the absence of the cause there is the absence of the effect.

40. 'Let the wise man who has right views know these four things, O thou who desirest liberation,—the illuminated and the unilluminated, the manifested and the unmanifested.

41. 'The soul, having once learned to distinguish these four properly, having abandoned all (ideas of) straightness or quickness², attains to the immortal sphere.

42. 'For this reason the Brāhmans in the world, discoursing on the supreme Brahman, practise here a rigorous course of sacred study and let other Brāhmans live with them to follow it also.'

43. The prince, having heard this discourse from the seer, asked concerning the means and the final state.

¹ Cf. ver. 23.

² It rises above all relative ideas? The text may be corrupt.

44. 'Wilt thou please to explain to me how, how far, and where this life of sacred study is to be led, and the limit of this course of life¹ ?'

45. Then Arāḍa, according to his doctrine, declared to him in another way that course of life clearly and succinctly.

46. 'The devotee, in the beginning, having left his house, and assumed the signs of the mendicant, goes on, following a rule of conduct which extends to the whole life.

47. 'Cultivating absolute content with any alms from any person, he carries out his lonely life, indifferent to all feelings, meditating on the holy books, and satisfied in himself.

48. 'Then having seen how fear arises from passion and the highest happiness from the absence of passion, he strives, by restraining all the senses, to attain to tranquillity of mind.

49. 'Then he reaches the first stage of contemplation, which is separated from desires, evil intentions and the like, and arises from discrimination and which involves reasoning².

50. 'And having obtained this ecstatic contemplation, and reasoning on various objects, the childish mind is carried away by the possession of the new unknown ecstasy.

51. 'With a tranquillity of this kind, which disdains desire or dislike, he reaches the world of Brahman, deceived by the delight.

52. 'But the wise man, knowing that these reasonings bewilder the mind, reaches a (second) stage of contemplation separate from this, which has its own pleasure and ecstasy.

¹ Dharma.

² Cf. Yoga-sūtras I, 42.

53. 'And he who, carried away by this pleasure, sees no further distinction, obtains a dwelling full of light, even amongst the *Ābhāsura* deities.

54. 'But he who separates his mind from this pleasure and ecstasy, reaches the third stage of contemplation ecstatic but without pleasure.

55. 'Upon this stage some teachers make their stand, thinking that it is indeed liberation, since pleasure and pain have been left behind and there is no exercise of the intellect.

56. 'But he who, immersed in this ecstasy, strives not for a further distinction, obtains an ecstasy in common with the *Subhakṛitsna* deities.

57. 'But he who, having attained such a bliss desires it not but despises it, obtains the fourth stage of contemplation which is separate from all pleasure or pain.

58. 'The fruit of this contemplation which is on an equality with the *Vṛihatphala* deities, those who investigate the great wisdom call the *Vṛihatphala* ¹.

59. 'But rising beyond this contemplation, having seen the imperfections of all embodied souls, the wise man climbs to a yet higher wisdom in order to abolish all body.

60. 'Then, having abandoned this contemplation, being resolved to find a further distinction, he becomes as disgusted with form itself as he who knows the real is with pleasures.

61. 'First he makes use of all the apertures of his body; and next he exerts his will to experience a feeling of void space even in the solid parts ².

62. 'But another wise man, having contracted his soul which is by nature extended everywhere like

¹ The great fruit.

² An obscure verse; cf. *Pāli Dict.*

the ether,¹—as he gazes ever further on, detects a yet higher distinction.

63. 'Another one of those who are profoundly versed in the supreme Self, having abolished himself by himself, sees that nothing exists and is called a Nihilist².

64. 'Then like the Muñga-reed's stalk³ from its sheath or the bird from its cage, the soul, escaped from the body, is declared to be "liberated."

65. 'This is that supreme Brahman, constant, eternal, and without distinctive signs; which the wise who know reality declare to be liberation.

66. 'Thus have I shown to thee the means and liberation; if thou hast understood and approved it, then act accordingly.

67. 'Gaigṭshavya⁴ and Ganaka, and the aged Parāśara, by following this path, were liberated, and so were others who sought liberation.'

68. The prince having not accepted his words but having pondered them, filled with the force of his former arguments, thus made answer :

69. 'I have heard this thy doctrine, subtil and pre-eminently auspicious, but I hold that it cannot be final, because it does not teach us how to abandon this soul itself in the various bodies.

70. 'For I consider that the embodied soul, though freed from the evolutes and the evolvents, is still subject to the condition of birth and has the condition of a seed⁵.

71. 'Even though the pure soul is declared to be

¹ Cf. Bhāṣhāparīkṣheda, sloka 25.

² Ākimkānya.

³ Cf. Kaṭha Up. VI, 17.

⁴ Mahābh. IX, § 50; Tattvakaumudī, § 5.

⁵ This is expanded in the Chinese, vv. 984, 985.

"liberated," yet as long as the soul remains there can be no absolute abandonment of it.

72. 'If we abandon successively all this triad, yet "distinction" is still perceived; as long as the soul itself continues, there this triad continues in a subtil form.

73. 'It is held (by some) that this is liberation, because the "imperfections" are so attenuated, and the thinking power is inactive, and the term of existence is so prolonged;

74. 'But as for this supposed abandonment of the principle of egoism,—as long as the soul continues, there is no real abandonment of egoism.

75. 'The soul does not become free from qualities as long as it is not released from number and the rest; therefore, as long as there is no freedom from qualities, there is no liberation declared for it.

76. 'There is no real separation of the qualities and their subject; for fire cannot be conceived, apart from its form and heat.

77. 'Before the body there will be nothing embodied, so before the qualities there will be no subject; how, if it was originally free, could the soul ever become bound¹?

78. 'The body-knower (the soul) which is unembodied, must be either knowing or unknowing; if it is knowing, there must be some object to be known, and if there is this object, it is not liberated.

79. 'Or if the soul is declared to be unknowing, then of what use to you is this imagined soul? Even without such a soul, the existence of the absence of knowledge is notorious as, for instance, in a log of wood or a wall.

¹ I read *kasmât* for *tasmât*.

80. 'And since each successive abandonment is held to be still accompanied by qualities, I maintain that the absolute attainment of our end can only be found in the abandonment of everything.'

81. Thus did he remain unsatisfied after he had heard the doctrine of *Arâda*; then having decided it to be incomplete, he turned away.

82. Seeking to know the true distinction, he went to the hermitage of Udraka¹, but he gained no clear understanding from his treatment of the soul.

83. For the sage Udraka, having learned the inherent imperfections of the name and the thing named, took refuge in a theory beyond Nihilism, which maintained a name and a non-name.

84. And since even a name and a non-name were substrata, however subtil, he went even further still and found his restlessness set at rest in the idea that there is no named and no un-named;

85. And because the intellect rested there, not proceeding any further,—it became very subtil, and there was no such thing as un-named nor as named.

86. But because, even when it has reached this goal it yet returns again to the world, therefore the Bodhisattva, seeking something beyond, left Udraka.

87. Having quitted his hermitage, fully resolved in his purpose, and seeking final bliss, he next visited the hermitage, called a city, of the royal sage Gaya.

88. Then on the pure bank of the *Nairâṅganâ* the saint whose every effort was pure fixed his dwelling, bent as he was on a lonely habitation.

89. Five mendicants, desiring liberation, came

¹ Cf. Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 386 n. It is written Rudraka in XV, 89.

up to him when they beheld him there, just as the objects of the senses come up to a percipient who has gained wealth and health by his previous merit.

90. Being honoured by these disciples who were dwelling in that family, as they bowed reverently with their bodies bent low in humility, as the mind is honoured by the restless senses,

91. And thinking, 'this may be the means of abolishing birth and death,' he at once commenced a series of difficult austerities by fasting.

92. For six years, vainly trying to attain merit¹, he practised self-mortification, performing many rules of abstinence, hard for a man to carry out.

93. At the hours for eating, he, longing to cross the world whose farther shore is so difficult to reach, broke his vow with single jujube fruits, sesame seeds, and rice.

94. But the emaciation which was produced in his body by that asceticism, became positive fatness through the splendour which invested him.

95. Though thin, yet with his glory and his beauty unimpaired, he caused gladness to other eyes, as the autumnal moon in the beginning of her bright fortnight gladdens the lotuses.

96. Having only skin and bone remaining, with his fat, flesh and blood entirely wasted, yet, though diminished, he still shone with undiminished grandeur like the ocean.

97. Then the seer, having his body evidently emaciated to no purpose in a cruel self-mortifica-

¹ This is the Tibetan reading [las-ni thob-bzhed lo drug-tu, 'wishing to obtain (the fruits of good) works, during six years.' H.W.]

tion,—dreading continued existence, thus reflected in his longing to become a Buddha :

98. 'This is not the way to passionlessness, nor to perfect knowledge, nor to liberation ; that was certainly the true way which I found at the root of the Gambu¹ tree.

99. 'But that cannot be attained by one who has lost his strength,'—so resuming his care for his body, he next pondered thus, how best to increase his bodily vigour :

100. 'Wearied with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, with his mind no longer self-possessed through fatigue, how should one who is not absolutely calm reach the end which is to be attained by his mind ?

101. 'True calm is properly obtained by the constant satisfaction of the senses ; the mind's self-possession is only obtained by the senses being perfectly satisfied.

102. 'True meditation is produced in him whose mind is self-possessed and at rest,—to him whose thoughts are engaged in meditation the exercise of perfect contemplation begins at once.

103. 'By contemplation are obtained those conditions² through which is eventually gained that supreme calm, undecaying, immortal state, which is so hard to be reached.'

104. Having thus resolved, 'this means is based upon eating food,' the wise seer of unbounded wisdom, having made up his mind to accept the continuance of life,

105. And having bathed, thin as he was, slowly

¹ The rose apple, see V, 8.

² Dharmâh.

came up the bank of the Nairāṅgaṇā, supported as by a hand by the trees on the shore, which bent down the ends of their branches in adoration.

106. Now at that time Nandabalā, the daughter of the leader of the herdsmen, impelled by the gods, with a sudden joy risen in her heart, had just come near,

107. Her arm gay with a white shell, and wearing a dark blue woollen cloth, like the river Yamunā, with its dark blue water and its wreath of foam.

108. She, having her joy increased by her faith, with her lotus-like eyes opened wide, bowed down before him and persuaded him to take some milk.

109. By partaking that food having made her obtain the full reward of her birth, he himself became capable of gaining the highest knowledge, all his six senses being now satisfied,

110. The seer, having his body now fully robust, together with his glorious fame, one beauty and one majesty being equally spread in both, shone like the ocean and the moon¹.

111. Thinking that he had returned to the world the five mendicants left him, as the five elements leave the wise soul when it is liberated.

112. Accompanied only by his own resolve, having fixed his mind on the attainment of perfect knowledge, he went to the root of an Asvattha tree², where the surface of the ground was covered with young grass.

113. Then Kāla³, the best of serpents, whose

¹ Fame is often compared for its brightness to the moon.

² *Ficus religiosa* or pipul tree.

³ He is the Nāga king, *Gātaka* I, 72.

majesty was like the lord of elephants, having been awakened by the unparalleled sound of his feet, uttered this praise of the great sage, being sure that he was on the point of attaining perfect knowledge :

114. 'Inasmuch as the earth, pressed down by thy feet, O sage, resounds repeatedly, and inasmuch as thy splendour shines forth like the sun, thou shalt assuredly to-day enjoy the desired fruit.

115. 'Inasmuch as lines of birds fluttering in the sky offer thee reverential salutation, O lotus-eyed one, and inasmuch as gentle breezes blow in the sky, thou shalt certainly to-day become the Buddha.'

116. Being thus praised by the best of serpents, and having taken some pure grass from a grass-cutter, he, having made his resolution, sat down to obtain perfect knowledge at the foot of the great holy tree.

117. Then he sat down on his hams in a posture, immovably firm and with his limbs gathered into a mass like a sleeping serpent's hood, exclaiming, 'I will not rise from this position on the earth¹ until I have obtained my utmost aim.'

118. Then the dwellers in heaven burst into unequalled joy; the herds of beasts and the birds uttered no cry; the trees moved by the wind made no sound, when the holy one took his seat firm in his resolve.

¹ For *tāvat* read *yāvat*.

BOOK XIII.

1. When the great sage, sprung from a line of royal sages, sat down there with his soul fully resolved to obtain the highest knowledge, the whole world rejoiced; but Mâra, the enemy of the good law, was afraid.

2. He whom they call in the world Kâmadeva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the lord of the course of desire,—it is he whom they also style Mâra the enemy of liberation.

3. His three sons, Confusion, Gaiety, and Pride, and his three daughters, Lust, Delight, and Thirst¹, asked of him the reason of his despondency, and he thus made answer unto them:

4. 'This sage, wearing the armour of resolution, and having drawn the arrow of wisdom with the barb of truth, sits yonder intending to conquer my realms,—hence is this despondency of my mind.

5. 'If he succeeds in overcoming me and proclaims to the world the path of final bliss, all this my realm will to-day become empty, as did that of the disembodied lord when he violated the rules of his station².

6. 'While, therefore, he stands within my reach

¹ For these cf. also ver. 14, and XV, 13.

² This probably refers to the legend of Nimi-videha, see Vishnu Pur. IV, 5; it might be 'the king of the Videhas.' There may be also a secondary allusion to the legend of Ananga and Siva.

and while his spiritual eyesight is not yet attained, I will assail him to break his vow as the swollen might of a river assails a dam.'

7. Then having seized his flower-made bow and his five infatuating arrows, he drew near to the root of the Asvattha tree with his children, he the great disturber of the minds of living beings.

8. Having fixed his left hand on the end of the barb and playing with the arrow, Māra thus addressed the calm seer as he sat on his seat, preparing to cross to the further side of the ocean of existence :

9. 'Up, up, O thou Kshatriya, afraid of death ! follow thine own duty and abandon this law of liberation ! and having conquered the lower worlds by thy arrows, proceed to gain the higher worlds of Indra.

10. 'That is a glorious path to travel, which has been followed by former leaders of men ; this mendicant life is ill-suited for one born in the noble family of a royal sage to follow.

11. 'But if thou wilt not rise, strong in thy purpose,—then be firm if thou wilt and quit not thy resolve,—this arrow is uplifted by me,—it is the very one which was shot against Sūryaka¹, the enemy of the fish.

12. 'So too, I think, when somewhat probed by this weapon, even the son of Idā², the grandson of the moon, became mad ; and Sāmtanu³ also lost

¹ The sun, alluding to his amour with Vadavā. (The lake is called vipannamīnam in *Rātusambhāra* I, 20.)

² Purūravas. (Professor Bühler suggests *sprishak*.)

³ Does this mean Vikītravīrya the grandson of Sāmtanu, see *Vishṇu Pur.* IV, 20 ?

his self-control,—how much more then one of feeblar powers now that the age has grown degenerate?

13. 'Therefore quickly rise up and come to thyself,—for this arrow is ready, darting out its tongue, which I do not launch even against the *ĥakravāka* birds, tenderly attached as they are and well deserving the name of lovers.'

14. But when, even though thus addressed, the *Sākya* saint unheeding did not change his posture, then *Māra* discharged his arrow at him, setting in front of him his daughters and his sons¹.

15. But even when that arrow was shot he gave no heed and swerved not from his firmness; and *Māra*, beholding him thus, sank down, and slowly thus spoke, full of thought:

16. 'He does not even notice that arrow by which the god *Sambhu* was pierced with love for the daughter of the mountain² and shaken in his vow; can he be destitute of all feeling? is not this that very arrow?

17. 'He is not worthy of my flower-shaft, nor my arrow "gladdener," nor the sending of my daughter *Rati* (to tempt him); he deserves the alarms and rebukes and blows from all the gathered hosts of the demons.'

18. Then *Māra* called to mind his own army, wishing to work the overthrow of the *Sākya* saint; and his followers swarmed round, wearing different forms and carrying arrows, trees, darts, clubs, and swords in their hands;

19. Having the faces of boars, fishes, horses, asses,

¹ See ver. 3.

² *Umā*.

and camels, of tigers, bears, lions, and elephants,—one-eyed, many-faced, three-headed,—with protuberant bellies and speckled bellies ;

20. Blended with goats, with knees swollen like pots, armed with tusks and with claws, carrying headless trunks in their hands, and assuming many forms, with half-mutilated faces, and with monstrous mouths ;

21. Copper-red, covered with red spots, bearing clubs in their hands, with yellow or smoke-coloured hair, with wreaths dangling down, with long pendulous ears like elephants, clothed in leather or wearing no clothes at all ;

22. Having half their faces white or half their bodies green,—red and smoke-coloured, yellow and black,—with arms reaching out longer than a serpent, and with girdles jingling with rattling bells.

23. Some were as tall as palm-trees, carrying spears,—others were of the size of children with projecting teeth, others birds with the faces of rams, others with men's bodies and cats' faces ;

24. With dishevelled hair, or with topknots, or half-bald, with rope-garments or with head-dress all in confusion,—with triumphant faces or frowning faces,—wasting the strength or fascinating the mind.

25. Some as they went leaped about wildly, others danced upon one another, some sported about in the sky, others went along on the tops of the trees.

26. One danced, shaking a trident, another made a crash, dragging a club, another bounded for joy like a bull, another blazed out flames from every hair.

27. Such were the troops of demons who encircled the root of the Bodhi tree on every side, eager to

seize it and to destroy it, awaiting the command of their lord.

28. Beholding in the first half of the night that battle of Māra and the bull of the Sākya race, the heavens did not shine and the earth shook and the (ten) regions of space flashed flames and roared.

29. A wind of intense violence blew in all directions¹, the stars did not shine, the moon gave no light, and a deeper darkness of night spread around, and all the oceans were agitated.

30. The mountain deities² and the Nāgas who honoured the Law, indignant at the attack on the saint, rolling their eyes in anger against Māra, heaved deep sighs and opened their mouths wide.

31. But the god-sages, the Suddhādhivāsas³, being as it were absorbed in the perfect accomplishment of the good Law, felt only a pity for Māra in their minds and through their absolute passionlessness were unruffled by anger.

32. When they saw the foot of the Bodhi tree crowded with that host of Māra, intent on doing harm,—the sky was filled with the cry raised by all the virtuous beings who desired the world's liberation.

33. But the great sage⁴ having beheld that army of Māra thus engaged in an attack on the knower of the Law⁵, remained untroubled and suffered no perturbation, like a lion seated in the midst of oxen.

¹ Virvak should be corrected vishvak.

² Mahābhṛtāḥ. This might mean simply 'the rulers of the earth.'

³ In Pāli Suddhāvāsā. Cf. III, 26.

⁴ Buddha himself, viewing all this ab extra.

⁵ The Tibetan seems to read dharmavidheḥ for dharmavidaḥ, as it has chos-kyi cho-ga de-ni, '(injurer) of that law of dharma.'

34. Then Māra commanded his excited army of demons to terrify him ; and forthwith that host resolved to break down his determination with their various powers.

35. Some with many tongues hanging out and shaking, with sharp-pointed savage teeth and eyes like the disk of the sun, with wide-yawning mouths and upright ears like spikes,—they stood round trying to frighten him.

36. Before these monsters standing there, so dreadful in form and disposition, the great sage remained unalarmed and untroubled, sporting with them as if they had been only rude children ¹.

37. Then one of them, with his eyes rolling wildly, lifted up a club against him ; but his arm with the club was instantly paralysed, as was Indra's of old with its thunderbolt ².

38. Some, having lifted up stones and trees, found themselves unable to throw them against the sage ; down they fell, with their trees and their stones, like the roots of the Vindhya shattered by the thunderbolt.

39. Others, leaping up into the sky, flung rocks, trees, and axes ; these remained in the sky and did not fall down, like the many-coloured rays of the evening clouds.

40. Another hurled upon him a mass of blazing straw as big as a mountain-peak, which, as soon as it was thrown, while it hung poised in the sky, was shattered into a hundred fragments by the sage's power.

41. One, rising up like the sun in full splendour, rained down from the sky a great shower of live

¹ Prof. Bühler suggests *svabālebhyaḥ*, 'as with his own tossed hair.'

² Cf. Satap. Br. XII, 7, 3; Vishṇu Pur. V, 30; Kum. Sambh. II, 20.

embers, as at the end of an aeon blazing Meru showers down the pulverised scoriae of the golden valleys.

42. But that shower of embers full of sparks, when scattered at the foot of the Bodhi tree, became a shower of red lotus-petals through the operation of the great saint's boundless charity.

43. But with all these various scorching assaults on his body and his mind, and all these missiles showered down upon him, the Śākya saint did not in the least degree move from his posture, clasping firmly his resolution as a kinsman.

44. Then others spat out serpents from their mouths as from old decayed trunks of trees; but, as if held fast by a charm, near him they neither breathed nor discharged venom nor moved.

45. Others, having become great clouds, emitting lightning and uttering the fierce roar of thunderbolts, poured a shower of stones upon that tree,—but it turned to a pleasant shower of flowers.

46. Another set an arrow in his bow,—there it gleamed but it did not issue forth, like the anger which falls slack¹ in the soul of an ill-tempered impotent man.

47. But five arrows shot by another stood motionless and fell not, through the saint's ruling guidance,—like the five senses of him who is well experienced in the course of worldly objects and is afraid of embodied existence.

48. Another, full of anger, rushed towards the great saint, having seized a club with a desire to

¹ Dhûryamâno is a difficult word, connected with √dhvri or √dhûrv.

smite him ; but he fell powerless without finding an opportunity, like mankind in the presence of faults which cause failure ¹.

49. But a woman named Meghakālā, bearing a skull in her hand, in order to infatuate the mind of the sage, flitted about unsettled and stayed not in one spot, like the mind of the fickle student over the sacred texts.

50. Another, fixing a kindling eye, wished to burn him with the fire of his glance like a poisonous serpent ; but he saw the sage and lo ! he was not there, like the votary of pleasure when true happiness is pointed out to him ².

51. Another, lifting up a heavy rock, wearied himself to no purpose, having his efforts baffled,—like one who wishes to obtain by bodily fatigue that condition of supreme happiness which is only to be reached by meditation and knowledge.

52. Others, wearing the forms of hyenas and lions, uttered loudly fierce howls, which caused all beings round to quail with terror, as thinking that the heavens were smitten with a thunderbolt and were bursting.

53. Deer and elephants uttering cries of pain ran about or lay down,—in that night as if it were day screaming birds flew around disturbed in all directions.

54. But amidst all these various sounds which they made, although all living creatures were shaken, the saint trembled not nor quailed, like Garuḍa at the noise of crows.

¹ Cf. randhropanipâtino • narthâḥ, Sakunt. VI.

² He had not eyes to see the object which he looked for.

55. The less the saint feared the frightful hosts of that multitude, the more did Māra, the enemy of the righteous, continue his attacks in grief and anger.

56. Then some being of invisible shape, but of pre-eminent glory, standing in the heavens,—beholding Māra thus malevolent against the seer,—addressed him in a loud voice, unruffled by enmity:

57. 'Take not on thyself, O Māra, this vain fatigue,—throw aside thy malevolence and retire to peace¹; this sage cannot be shaken by thee any more than the mighty mountain Meru by the wind.

58. 'Even fire might lose its hot nature, water its fluidity, earth its steadiness, but never will he abandon his resolution, who has acquired his merit by a long course of actions through unnumbered aeons.

59. 'Such is that purpose of his, that heroic effort, that glorious strength, that compassion for all beings, —until he attains the highest wisdom, he will never rise from his seat, just as the sun does not rise, without dispelling the darkness.

60. 'One who rubs the two pieces of wood obtains the fire, one who digs the earth finds at last the water,—and to him in his perseverance there is nothing unattainable,—all things to him are reasonable and possible.

61. 'Pitying the world lying distressed amidst diseases and passions, he, the great physician, ought not to be hindered, who undergoes all his labours for the sake of the remedy knowledge.

62. 'He who toilsomely pursues the one good path, when all the world is carried away in devious

¹ Or 'go to thy home.'

tracks,—he the guide should not be disturbed, like a right informant when the caravan has lost its way.

63. 'He who is made a lamp of knowledge when all beings are lost in the great darkness,—it is not for a right-minded soul to try to quench him,—like a lamp kindled in the gloom of night.

64. 'He who, when he beholds the world drowned in the great flood of existence and unable to reach the further shore, strives to bring them safely across,—would any right-minded soul offer him wrong?

65. 'The tree of knowledge, whose roots go deep in firmness, and whose fibres are patience,—whose flowers are moral actions and whose branches are memory and thought,—and which gives out the law as its fruit,—surely when it is growing it should not be cut down.

66. 'Him whose one desire is to deliver mankind bound in soul by the fast snares of illusion,—thy wish to overthrow him is not worthy, wearied as he is for the sake of unloosing the bonds of the world.

67. 'To-day is the appointed period of all those actions which have been performed by him for the sake of knowledge,—he is now seated on this seat just as all the previous saints have sat.

68. 'This is the navel of the earth's surface, endued with all the highest glory; there is no other spot of the earth than this,—the home of contemplation, the realm of well-being.

69. 'Give not way, then, to grief but put on calm; let not thy greatness, O Mâra, be mixed with pride; it is not well to be confident,—fortune

is unstable,—why dost thou accept a position on a tottering base?’

70. Having listened to his words, and having seen the unshaken firmness of the great saint, Māra departed dispirited and broken in purpose¹ with those very arrows by which, O world, thou art smitten in thy heart.

71. With their triumph at an end, their labour all fruitless, and all their stones, straw, and trees thrown away, that host of his fled in all directions, like some hostile army when its camp has been destroyed by the enemy.

72. When the flower-armed god² thus fled away vanquished with his hostile forces and the passionless sage remained victorious, having conquered all the power of darkness, the heavens shone out with the moon like a maiden with a smile, and a sweet-smelling shower of flowers fell down wet with dew.

73.³ When the wicked one thus fled vanquished, the different regions of the sky grew clear, the moon shone forth, showers of flowers fell down from the sky upon the earth, and the night gleamed out like a spotless maiden⁴.

¹ I read hatodyamo.

² Māra as identified with Kāmadeva, cf. ver. 2.

³ Should we read tathâ hi for tathâpi?

⁴ Here the original work of Arsvaghosha ends according to the gloss at the close of the Cambridge MS. C; the four remaining books were added, to supply an old lacuna, by Amṛitānanda, a modern Nepalese author. The Chinese and Tibetan translations seem to agree with the Sanskrit for part of the fourteenth book, but they soon diverge widely from it. The four books are included in the translation as a literary curiosity.

BOOK XIV.

1. Then, having conquered the hosts of Māra by his firmness and calmness, he the great master of meditation set himself to meditate, longing to know the supreme end.

2. And having attained the highest mastery in all kinds of meditation, he remembered in the first watch the continuous series of all his former births.

3. 'In such a place I was so and so by name, and from thence I passed and came hither,' thus he remembered his thousands of births, experiencing each as it were over again.

4. And having remembered each birth and each death in all those various transmigrations, the compassionate one then felt compassion for all living beings.

5. Having wilfully rejected the good guides in this life and done all kinds of actions in various lives, this world of living beings rolls on helplessly, like a wheel.

6. As he thus remembered, to him in his strong self-control came the conviction, 'All existence is unsubstantial, like the fruit of a plantain.'

7. When the second watch came, he, possessed of unequalled energy, received a pre-eminent divine sight, he the highest of all sight-gifted beings.

8. Then by that divine perfectly pure sight he beheld the whole world as in a spotless mirror.

9. As he saw the various transmigrations and rebirths of the various beings with their several lower or higher merits from their actions, compassion grew up more within him.

10. 'These living beings, under the influence of evil actions, pass into wretched worlds,—these others, under the influence of good actions, go forward in heaven.

11. 'The one, being born in a dreadful hell full of terrors, are miserably tortured, alas! by many kinds of suffering;

12. 'Some are made to drink molten iron of the colour of fire, others are lifted aloft screaming on a red-hot iron pillar;

13. 'Others are baked like flour, thrown with their heads downwards into iron jars; others are miserably burned in heaps of heated charcoal;

14. 'Some are devoured by fierce dreadful dogs with iron teeth, others by gloating crows with iron beaks and all made as it were of iron;

15. 'Some, wearied of being burned, long for cold shade; these enter like bound captives into a dark blue wood with swords for leaves.

16. 'Others having many arms are split like timber with axes, but even in that agony they do not die, being supported in their vital powers by their previous actions.

17. 'Whatever deed was done only to hinder pain with the hope that it might bring pleasure, its result is now experienced by these helpless victims as simple pain.

18. 'These who did something evil for the sake

of pleasure and are now grievously pained,—does that old taste produce even an atom of pleasure to them now?

19. 'The wicked deed which was done by the wicked-hearted in glee,—its consequences are reaped by them in the fulness of time with cries.

20. 'If only evil doers could see the fruits of their actions, they would vomit hot blood as if they were smitten in a vital part.

21. 'And worse still than all these bodily tortures in hell seems to me the association of an intelligent man with the base.

22. 'Others also, through various actions arising from the spasmodic violence of their minds, are born miserable in the wombs of various beasts.

23. 'There the poor wretches are killed even in the sight of their kindred, for the sake of their flesh, their skin, their hair, or their teeth, or through hatred or for mere pleasure.

24. 'Even though powerless and helpless, oppressed by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, they are driven along as oxen and horses, their bodies wounded with goads.

25. 'They are driven along, when born as elephants, by weaker creatures than themselves for all their strength,—their heads tormented by the hook and their bodies kicked by foot and heel.

26. 'And with all these other miseries there is an especial misery arising from mutual enmity and from subjection to a master.

27. 'Air-dwellers are oppressed by air-dwellers, the denizens of water by the denizens of water, those that dwell on dry land are made to suffer by the dwellers on dry land in mutual hostility.

28. 'And others there are who, when born again, with their minds filled with envy, reap the miserable fruit of their actions in a world of the *Pitr̥is* destitute of all light;

29. 'Having mouths as small as the eye of a needle and bellies as big as a mountain, these miserable wretches are tortured with the pains of hunger and thirst.

30. 'If a man only knew that such was the consequence of selfishness, he would always give to others even pieces of his own body like *Sibi*.

31. 'Rushing up filled with hope but held back by their former deeds, they try in vain to eat anything large, however impure.

32. 'Others, having found a hell in an impure lake called the womb, are born amongst men and there suffer anguish.

33. 'Others, ascetics, who have performed meritorious actions go to heaven; others, having attained widely extended empire, wander about on the earth¹;

34. 'Others as *Nāgas* in the subterranean regions become the guardians of treasures,—they wander in the ocean of existence, receiving the fruits of their deeds.'

35. Having pondered all this, in the last watch he thus reflected, 'Alas for this whole world of living beings doomed to misery, all alike wandering astray!

36. 'They know not that all this universe, destitute of any real refuge, is born and decays through that existence which is the site of the *skandhas* and pain;

¹ Heaven and earthly empire are alike transient.

37. 'It dies and passes into a new state and then is born anew.' Then he reflected, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for old age and death?'

38. He saw that when there is birth, there is old age and death, then he pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for a new birth¹?'

40. He perceived that where there has been the attachment to existence² there arises a (previous) existence; then he pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for the attachment to existence?'

41. Having ascertained this to be desire, he again meditated, and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for desire?'

42. He saw that desire arises where there is sensation, and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for sensation?'

43. He saw that sensation arises where there is contact³, and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for contact?'

44. He saw that contact arises through the six organs of sense; he then pondered, 'Where do the six organs of sense arise?'

45. He reflected that these arise in the organism⁴, he then pondered, 'Where does the organism arise?'

¹ A verse (39) is omitted here containing the third step bhava (cf. Chinese translation, 1150, 1151), 'He perceived that when there has been a (previous) existence [involving previous actions] there is a new birth; then he pondered, "What is that which is the necessary condition for a previous existence arising?"' (Cf. Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 485-506; Childers in *Colebrooke's Essays*, vol. i, 1873.)

² Upādānam.

³ Sc. between the senses and their objects.

⁴ Nāmarūpa, sc. 'name and form,' i.e. the individual consisting of mind and body, as the embryo in the womb.

46. He saw that the organism arises where there is incipient consciousness; he then pondered, 'Where does incipient consciousness arise?'

47. He reflected that incipient consciousness arises where there are the latent impressions left by former actions; and he next pondered, 'Where do the latent impressions arise?'

48. He reflected exhaustively that they arise in ignorance; thus did the great seer, the Bodhisattva, the lord of saints,

49. After reflecting, pondering, and meditating, finally determine, 'The latent impressions start into activity after they are once developed from ignorance.

50. 'Produced from the activity of the latent impressions incipient consciousness starts into action; (the activity) of the organism starts into action on having an experience¹ of incipient consciousness;

51. 'The six organs of sense become active when produced in the organism; sensation is produced from the contact of the six organs (with their objects);

52. 'Desire starts into activity when produced from sensation; the attachment to existence springs from desire; from this attachment arises a (continued) existence;

53. 'Birth is produced where there has been a (continued) existence; and from birth arise old age, disease, and the rest; and scorched by the flame of old age and disease the world is devoured by death;

54. 'When it is thus scorched by the fire of

¹ *Samparīkṣhya* is a doubtful reading; I supply *vṛttiḥ* with *nāmarūpasya*.

death's anguish great pain arises ; such verily is the origin of this great trunk of pain.'

55. Thus having ascertained it all, the great Being was perfectly illuminated ; and having again meditated and pondered, he thus reflected,

56. 'When old age and disease are stopped, death also is stopped ; and when birth is stopped, old age and disease are stopped ;

57. 'When the action of existence is stopped, birth also is stopped ; when the attachment to existence is stopped, the action of existence is stopped ;

58. 'So too when desire is stopped, the attachment to existence is stopped ; and with the stopping of sensation desire is no longer produced ;

59. 'And when the contact of the six organs is stopped, sensation is no longer produced ; and with the stopping of the six organs their contact (with their objects) is stopped ;

60. 'And with the stopping of the organism the six organs are stopped ; and with the stopping of incipient consciousness the organism is stopped ;

61. 'And with the stopping of the latent impressions incipient consciousness is stopped ; and with the stopping of ignorance the latent impressions have no longer any power.

62. 'Thus ignorance is declared to be the root of this great trunk of pain by all the wise ; therefore it is to be stopped by those who seek liberation.

63. 'Therefore by the stopping of ignorance all the pains also of all existing beings are at once stopped and cease to act.'

64. The all-knowing Bodhisattva, the illuminated one, having thus determined, after again pondering and meditating thus came to his conclusion :

65. 'This is pain, this also is the origin of pain in the world of living beings; this also is the stopping of pain; this is that course which leads to its stopping.' So having determined he knew all as it really was.

66. Thus he, the holy one, sitting there on his seat of grass at the root of the tree, pondering by his own efforts attained at last perfect knowledge.

67. Then bursting the shell of ignorance, having gained all the various kinds of perfect intuition, he attained all the partial knowledge of alternatives which is included in perfect knowledge¹.

68. He became the perfectly wise, the Bhagavat, the Arhat, the king of the Law, the Tathâgata, He who has attained the knowledge of all forms, the Lord of all science.

69. Having beheld all this, the spirits standing in heaven spoke one to another, 'Strew flowers on this All-wise Monarch of Saints.'

70. While other immortals exclaimed, who knew the course of action of the greatest among the former saints, 'Do not now strew flowers—no reason for it has been shown.'

71. Then the Buddha, mounted on a throne, up in the air to the height of seven palm-trees, addressed all those Nirmîtâ Bodhisattvâh², illumining their minds,

72. 'Ho! ho! listen ye to the words of me who have now attained perfect knowledge; everything is achieved by meritorious works, therefore as long as existence lasts³ acquire merit.'

¹ Doubtful. I suppose it means that he knew all hypothetical as well as categorical propositions.

² These Nirmîtâ Bodhisattvâh seem to be the *nim-mânaratt devâ* of the southern Buddhists with their *nimmitâ kâma* or self-created pleasures.

³ Âbhavam.

73. 'Since I ever acted as liberal, pure-hearted, patient, skilful, devoted to meditation and wisdom,—by these meritorious works I became a Bodhisattva.

74. 'After accomplishing in due order the entire round of the preliminaries of perfect wisdom,—I have now attained that highest wisdom and I am become the All-wise Arhat and Gīna.

75. 'My aspiration is thus fulfilled; this birth of mine has borne its fruit; the blessed and immortal knowledge which was attained by former Buddhas, is now mine.

76. 'As they through the good Law achieved the welfare of all beings, so also have I; all my sins are abolished, I am the destroyer of all pains.

77. 'Possessing a soul now of perfect purity, I urge all living beings to seek the abolition of worldly existence through the lamps of the Law.' Having worshipped him as he thus addressed them, those sons of the Gīnas disappeared.

78. The gods then with exultation paid him worship and adoration with divine flowers; and all the world, when the great saint had become all-wise, was full of brightness.

79. Then the holy one descended and stood on his throne under the tree; there he passed seven days filled with the thought, 'I have here attained perfect wisdom.'

80. When the Bodhisattva had thus attained perfect knowledge, all beings became full of great happiness; and all the different universes were illumined by a great light.

81. The happy earth shook in six different ways like an overjoyed woman, and the Bodhisattvas, each

dwelling in his own special abode, assembled and praised him.

82. 'There has arisen the greatest of all beings, the Omniscient All-wise Arhat—a lotus, unsoiled by the dust of passion, sprung up from the lake of knowledge ;

83. 'A cloud bearing the water of patience, pouring forth the ambrosia of the good Law, fostering all the seeds of merit, and causing all the shoots of healing to grow ;

84. 'A thunderbolt with a hundred edges, the vanquisher of Māra, armed only with the weapon of patience ; a gem fulfilling all desires, a tree of paradise, a jar of true good fortune ¹, a cow that yields all that heart can wish ;

85. 'A sun that destroys the darkness of delusion, a moon that takes away the scorching heat of the inherent sins of existence,—glory to thee, glory to thee, glory to thee, O Tathāgata ;

86. 'Glory to thee, O Lord of the whole world, glory to thee, who hast gone through the ten (Balas ²) ; glory to thee, O true hero amongst men, O Lord of righteousness, glory to thee !'

87. Thus having praised, honoured, and adored him, they each returned to their several homes, after making repeated reverential circumambulations, and recounting his eulogy.

88. Then the beings of the Kāmāvaśāra worlds, and the brilliant inhabitants of the Pure Abodes, the

¹ The bhadrakumbha was the golden jar filled with consecrated water, used especially at the inauguration of a king.

² The ten balas are ten kinds of spiritual knowledge peculiar to a Buddha ; but 'the ten' may be the ten dharmas, see Childers.

Brahmakâyika gods, and those sons of Mâra who favoured the side of truth ¹,

89. The Paranirmitavasavarti beings, and the Nirmânarataya^h; the Tushita beings, the Yâmas, the Trayastrimsad Devas, and the other rulers of worlds,

90. The deities who roam in the sky, those who roam on the earth or in forests, accompanying each their own king, came to the pavilion of the Bodhi tree,

91. And having worshipped the Gina with forms of homage suitable to their respective positions, and having praised him with hymns adapted to their respective degrees of knowledge, they returned to their own homes.

¹ These terms are all explained in Childers' Dict. sattaloko. For the better-inclined sons of Mâra, cf. the dialogue between those of the right side and the left side before Mâra in the Lalitav. XXI, cf. also XXIII.

BOOK XV.

1. Daily praised by all the various heavenly beings, the perfectly Wise One¹ thus passed that period of seven days which is designated 'the aliment of joy'.²

2. He then passed the second week, while he was bathed with jars full of water by the heavenly beings, the Bodhisattvas and the rest.

3. Then having bathed in the four oceans and being seated on his throne, he passed the third week restraining his eyes from seeing.

4. In the fourth week, assuming many forms, he stood triumphant on his throne, having delivered a being who was ready to be converted.

5. A god named Samantakusuma, bearing an offering of flowers, thus addressed with folded hands the great Buddha who was seated there :

6. 'What is the name, O holy one, of this meditation, engaged in which thou hast thus passed four whole weeks with joy, deeply pondering ?'

7. 'This is designated, O divine being, "the array³ of the aliment of great joy," like an inaugurated king, who has overcome his enemies and enjoys prosperity.'

8. Having said this, the saint possessing the ten

¹ Sambuddha.

² Prītyāhāra; this book corresponds closely with Lalitav. XXIV.

³ Vyūha.

pre-eminent powers, full of joy, continued, 'The former perfect Buddhas also did not leave the Bodhi tree.

9. 'Here the Klesas and the Māras together with ignorance and the Āsravas have been conquered by me; and perfect wisdom has been attained able to deliver the world.

10. 'I too, resolved to follow the teaching of the former Buddhas, remained four whole weeks in the fulfilment of my inauguration¹.'

11. Then Māra, utterly despondent in soul, thus addressed the Tathāgata, 'O holy one, be pleased to enter Nirvāṇa, thy desires are accomplished.'

12. 'I will first establish in perfect wisdom worlds as numerous as the sand, and then I will enter Nirvāṇa,' thus did the Buddha reply, and with a shriek Māra went to his home.

13. Then the three daughters of Māra, Lust, Thirst, and Delight², beholding their father with defeated face, approached the Tathāgata.

14. Lust, with a face like the moon and versed in all the arts of enchantment, tried to infatuate him by her descriptions of the pleasures of a householder's life.

15. 'Think, "If I abandon an emperor's happiness, with what paltry happiness shall I have to content myself? When success is lost, what shall I have to enjoy?"—and come and take refuge with us.

16. 'Else, in bitter repentance, thou wilt remember me hereafter, when thou art fallen.'—But he listened

¹ Query abhishekādikāryatah?

² Cf. XIII, 3 and 14. Cf. also Lalitav. XXIV (arati?).

not to her words, closing his eyes in deep meditation like one who is sleepy.

17. Then Thirst, shameless like one distressed with thirst, thus addressed him who was free from all thirst: 'Fie, fie, thou hast abandoned thy family duties, thou hast fallen from all social obligations;

18. 'Without power no asceticism, sacrifice, or vow can be accomplished,—those great *Rishis* Brahman and the rest, because they were endowed with power, enjoy their present triumph.

19. 'Know me to be the power called Thirst¹, and worship thirst accordingly; else I will clasp thee with all my might and fling away thy life.'

20. Motionless as one almost dead, he continued in meditation, remembering the former Buddhas; then Delight next tried to win him who was indeed hard to be won by evil deeds.

21. 'O holy one, I am Delight by name, fostering all practicable delights,—therefore making me the female mendicant's tutelary power, bring delight within thy reach.'

22. But whether flattered or threatened, whether she uttered curses or blessings, he remained absorbed in meditation, perfectly tranquil like one who has entered *Nirvāṇa*.

23. Then the three, with despondent faces, having retired together on one side, consulted with one another and came forward wearing the appearance of youthful beauty.

24. Folding their hands in reverence they thus addressed the Tathâgata, 'O holy one, receive us as religious mendicants, we are come to thy one refuge.

¹ Sc. Desire.

25. 'Having heard the fame of thy achievements, we, the daughters of Namukī, have come from the golden city, abandoning the life of a household.

26. 'We are desirous of repressing the teaching of our five hundred brothers,—we would be freed from a master, as thou thyself art freed from all passions.'

27. Having his mind continually guided by the conduct which leads to Nirvāṇa, and setting himself to remember the (former) Buddhas, he kept his eyes closed, absorbed in meditation.

28. Then again, having resolved on their new plan in concert, these enchantresses, assuming an older aspect, approached once more to delude him.

29. 'We have come here after wandering under the dismal avatāra of slaves¹,—thou art the avatāra of Buddha,—do thou establish us, mature, in the true Bauddha doctrine.

30. 'We are women of older age, much to be pitied, bewildered by the fear of death,—we are therefore worthy to be established in that doctrine of Nirvāṇa which puts an end to all future births.'

31. These words of the enchantresses were heard by him, yet he felt no anger; but they all became the victims of old age, through the manifestation of his divine power.

32. Having beheld him plunged in meditation, immovable like the mountain Meru,—they turned away their faces and they could not retain their beauty.

33. Bending their feet, with decrepit limbs, they

¹ I read dāsa- for dāsa-; could there be a reference to the ten avatāras?

thus addressed their father: 'O father, do thou, the lord of the world of Desire, restore us to our own forms.'

34. His daughters were dear, but he had no power to alter the effect of the will of Buddha; then their father said to them, 'Go to the refuge which he gives.'

35. Then they in various guises, bent humbly at his feet, implored the perfect Buddha, 'Pardon our transgression, whose minds were intoxicated with youth.'

36. The teacher, that mine of Forgiveness, in silence restored them by his will; and having repeatedly worshipped and praised him they went joyfully to their home.

37. Then again Mâra, the lord of the world of Desire, lost to shame, taking the form of the head of a family, thus addressed him from the sky:

38. 'I worshipped thee long ago, foretelling that thou wouldest become a Buddha; and by my blessings thou hast to-day become Buddha Tathâgata.

39. 'As thou didst come from thine own kingdom, so now having returned as Tathâgata, with a name corresponding to the reality be a king Tathâgata.

40. 'Having gone to that royal station, do thou meditate on the three jewels, and cherish thy father and mother, and delight Yasodharâ,—

41. 'Possessed of a thousand sons, and able to deliver the world, be successively the supreme lord of every world from the Yâma heaven onwards¹.

42. 'Having become also the supreme lord of all

¹ Mâra rules the four heavens from the Yâma to the Paranirmîtavaśavartin, Mahâbrahman the twenty Brahmaloкас above them.

Bodhisattvas, thou shalt attain Nirvāṇa ; O wise seer, repair to the hermitage of Kapila in order to beget those sons.

43. 'As thou art the king of the Law, so shall thy sons also be all Tathāgatas, and all the activity and cessation of existence shall depend upon thee, O Gina.'

44. To him thus speaking the All-wise replied, 'Hear, O shameless one ; thou art Māra, not the head of a clan, the upholder of the race of the Sākyas.

45. 'A host like thee, though they came in myriads, could not harm me,—I will go to my kingdom gradually, I will bring the world to perfect happiness.

46. 'Thou art utterly vanquished, O Namuḍi, go back to thy own home ; I will go hence to turn the wheel of the Law in Vārāṇasī.'

47. He, on hearing this command, saying with a deep sigh, 'Alas ! I am crushed,' left him and went despondent and companionless through the sky to his home.

48. Then he, the conqueror of Māra, rising from that throne, set forth to journey alone to the holy Vārāṇasī.

49. The heavens became covered with clouds when they saw the chief of saints, and the king of the Nāgas Muḥilinda made a petition in reverential faith :

50. 'O holy one, thou art all-wise, there will be stormy weather for seven days,—wind, rain, and darkness,—dwell for the time in my abode.'

51. Though himself possessed of all supernatural power, the holy one thought of the world still involved in embodied existence, and sitting on that jewel-seat he remained absorbed in contemplation,

52. That king of the Nāgas there protected the Buddha, who is himself the source of all protection, from the rain, wind, and darkness, covering his body with his own hood.

53. When the seven days were past and the Nāga had paid his homage and was gone, the Gīna proceeded to the bank of a river, near a forest of goat-herds¹.

54. As the Sugata stayed there during the night, a deity, who bore the name of the Indian fig-tree, came up to him, illumining the spot where he was, and thus addressed him with folded hands:

55. 'The fig-tree was planted by me when I was born as a man, bearing the name of Buddha; and it has been fostered like the Bodhi tree in the hope of delivering myself from evil.

56. 'By the merit of that action I myself have been born in heaven; in kindness to me, O my lord, do thou dwell seven days in triumph here.'

57. 'So be it,' said the chief of all saints, the true Kalpa tree to grant the wishes of the faithful votary, and he stayed under the fig-tree, absorbed in contemplation, spreading lustre around like a full moon.

58. There he dwelt seven days; and then in a forest of Datura trees, sitting at the foot of a palm, he remained absorbed in contemplation.

59. Spending thus in different spots his weeks of meditation, day and night, the great saint, pondering and fasting, went on in his way, longing to accomplish the world's salvation.

60. Then two wealthy merchants from the land

¹ Agapālaka is in Pāli *Costus speciosus*; but it may here be a proper name.

of Uttara Utkala¹, named Trapusha and Bhallika, journeying with five hundred waggons,

61. Being freed from a sin which involved a birth as pretas², both joyfully worshipped Buddha with an offering of the three sweet substances³ and milk; and they obtained thereby auspicious blessings.

62. They obtained pieces of his nails and hairs for a Kaitya and they also received a prophecy of their future birth, and having received the additional promise, 'Ye shall also obtain a stone⁴,' they then proceeded on their way elsewhere.

63. Then Buddha accepted alms in his bowl, offered by the goddess who dwelt in the Datura grove, and he blessed her with benedictions.

64. The Gina then blessed the four bowls as one, which were offered by the four Mahârâgas⁵, and ate with pleasure the offering of milk.

65. Then one day the Gina ate there an Haritakti fruit⁶ which was offered to him by Sakra, and having planted the seed he caused it to grow to a tree.

66. The king of the Devas carried the news thereof joyfully to the Deva-heavens; and gods, men, and demons watered it with reverential circumambulations.

67. On hearing the news of the Haritakti seed, and remembering the whole history from first to last, a daughter of the gods named Bhadrîkâ, who had been a cow in her former birth⁷, came from heaven.

¹ Northern Orissa.

² Pretadosha? or the evil inflicted by a preta?

³ Sc. sugar, honey, and ghee.

⁴ With the mark of Buddha's feet on it?

⁵ The rulers of the lowest devaloka.

⁶ Terminalia chebula.

⁷ Cf. Mahâbh. V, 7553.

68. She, the daughter of the gods, smiling with her companions, thus addressed the *Gina*, bringing him a garment of rags, dependent from a bough :

69. 'I beg to bring to thy notice—what? O Buddha!—accept this garment of rags, by whose influence I am now a daughter of heaven named *Bhadrikā*.'

70. 'By the further development of this merit thou shalt become a *Bodhisattva*'—uttering this blessing the Teacher accepted the rags.

71. Beholding the tattered rags, the gods, crowding in the sky, filled with wonder, and uttering cries of *hī hī*, flung down upon him garments of heavenly silk.

72. 'These are not fit for a religious mendicant,'—so saying, he did not accept even one of them,—only thinking in his calm apathy, 'these are fit for imperial pomp and a householder's luxury.'

73. He desired a stone slab and some water in order to wash the dirt away,—*Sakra* at that moment dug out a great river full of water ;

74. And four stones are brought to him by the four *Mahârâgas*,—on one he himself sat, on another he performed the washing ;

75. On another he performed the drying, and another he flung up into the sky ; the stone as it flew up reached the blazing city¹ and astonished all the worlds.

76. After paying their worship in many ways, *Trapusha* and *Bhallika* duly raised an excellent *Kaitya* and they called it *Silâgarbha*.

77. The ascetics of that neighbourhood paid their

¹ The sun? or the sphere of fire?

homage to the 'Three Stones' when they were made into a *Kaitya*, and the noble stream flowed widely-known as the 'Holy River.'

78. Those who bathe and offer their worship in the holy river and reverence the *Kaitya* of the three stones, become great-souled Bodhisattvas and obtain *Nirvāṇa*.

79. Then seated under a palm-tree the holy one pondered: 'The profound wisdom so hard to be understood is now known by me.'

80. 'These sin-defiled worlds understand not this most excellent (Law), and the unenlightened shamelessly censure both me and my wisdom.'

81. 'Shall I proclaim the Law? It is only produced by knowledge; having attained it thus in my lonely pondering, do I feel strong enough to deliver the world?'

82. Having remembered all that he had heard before, he again pondered; and resolving, 'I will explain it for the sake of delivering the world,'

83. Buddha, the chief of saints, absorbed in contemplation, shone forth, arousing¹ the world, having emitted in the darkness of the night a light from the tuft of hair between his eyebrows.

84. When it became dawn, Brahman and the other gods, and the various rulers of the different worlds, besought Sugata to turn the wheel of the Law.

85. When the *Gina* by his silence uttered an assenting 'so be it,' they returned to their own abodes; and the lion of the *Sākya*s also shone there, still remaining lost in contemplation.

86. Then the four divinities (of the Bodhi tree),

¹ Cf. *sloka* 118.

Dharmarukī and the rest, addressed him, 'Where, O teacher of the world, will the holy one turn the wheel of the Law?'

87. 'In Vārāṇasī, in the Deer Park will I turn the wheel of the Law; seated in the fourth posture¹, O deities, I will deliver the world.'

88. There the holy one, the bull of the Sākya race, pondered, 'For whom shall I first turn the wheel of the Law?'

89. The glorious one reflected that ²Rudraka and Arāḍa were dead³, and then he remembered those others, the five men united in a worthy society⁴, who dwelt at Kāśī.

90. Then Buddha set out to go joyfully to Kāśī, manifesting as he went the manifold supernatural course of life of Magadha.

91. Having made a mendicant (whom he met) happy in the path of those who are illustrious through the Law, the glorious one went on, illuminating the country which lies to the north of Gayā.

92. (Having stayed) in the dwelling of the prince of the Nāgas, named Sudarsana, on the occurrence of night, he ate a morning meal consisting of the five kinds of ambusia, and departed, gladdening him with his blessing.

93. Near Varanā⁵ he went under the shadow

¹ Sc. the padmāsana (Yoga-sūtras II, 46), described as that in which the left foot is bent between the right leg and thigh, and the right foot is bent between the left foot and thigh.

² It is written thus here, cf. XII, 86.

³ Nirvātau.

⁴ Bhadravargīyāḥ, also called Paṁḥavargīyāḥ, cf. XII, 89.

⁵ Query Varanā, one of the rivers from which Benares is said to derive its name,—or is it a village near Vārāṇasī, the Anāla of the Lalitav. p. 528?

of a tree and there he established a poor Brāhman named Nandin in sacred knowledge.

94. In *Varāra* in a householder's dwelling he was lodged for the night; in the morning he partook of some milk and departed, having given his blessing.

95. In the village called *Vumdadvitra* he lodged in the abode of a Yaksha named *Vumda*¹, and in the morning after taking some milk and giving his blessing he departed.

96. Next was the garden named *Rohitavastuka*, and there the Nāga-king *Kamandalu* with his courtiers also worshipped him.

97. Having delivered various beings in every place, the compassionate saint journeyed on to *Gandhapura* and was worshipped there by the Yaksha *Gandha*.

98. When he arrived at the city *Sārathi*, the citizens volunteered to be charioteers in his service; thence he came to the Ganges, and he bade the ferryman cross.

99. 'Good man, convey me across the Ganges, may the seven blessings be thine.' 'I carry no one across unless he pays the fee.'

100. 'I have nothing, what shall I give?' So saying he went through the sky like the king of birds; and from that time *Bimbisāra* abolished the ferry-fee for all ascetics.

101. Then having entered *Vārānaśi*, the *Gina*, illumining the city with his light, filled the minds of all the inhabitants of *Kāśi* with excessive interest.

¹ This may be *Kumda*.

102. In the Saṅkhamedhīya garden, the king of righteousness, absorbed in meditation, passed the night, gladdening like the moon all those who were astonished at his appearance.

103. The next day at the end of the second watch¹, having gone his begging round collecting alms, he, the unequalled one, like Hari, proceeded to the Deer Park.

104. The five disciples united in a worthy society², when they beheld him, said to one another, 'This is Gautama who has come hither, the ascetic who has abandoned his self-control.

105. 'He wanders about now, greedy³, of impure soul, unstable and with his senses under no firm control, devoted to inquiries regarding the frying-pan.

106. 'We will not ask after his health, nor rise to meet him, nor address him, nor offer him a welcome, nor a seat, nor bid him enter into our dwelling.'

107. Having understood their agreement, with a smiling countenance, spreading light all around, Buddha advanced gradually nearer, holding his staff and his begging-pot.

108. Forgetful of their agreement, the five friends, under his constraining majesty, rose up like birds in their cages when scorched by fire.

109. Having taken his begging-bowl and staff, they gave him an arghya, and water for washing his feet and rinsing his mouth; and bowing

¹ Does this yāmadvaye mean at noon, counting the ahorātra from sunrise to sunrise?

² Cf. *supra*, 89.

³ Or perhaps 'irregular.'

reverentially they said to him, 'Honoured Sir, health to thee.'

110. 'Health in every respect is ours,—that wisdom has been attained which is so hard to be won,'—so saying, the holy one thus spoke to the five worthy associates :

111. 'But address me not as "worthy Sir,"—know that I am a *Gina*,—I have come to give the first wheel of the Law to you. Receive initiation from me,—ye shall obtain the place of *Nirvāṇa*.'

112. Then the five, pure in heart, begged leave to undertake his vow of a religious life ; and the Buddha, touching their heads, received them into the mendicant order.

113. Then at the mendicants' respectful request the chief of saints bathed in the tank, and after eating ambrosia he reflected on the field of the Law¹.

114. Remembering that the Deer Park and the field of the *Gina* were there, he went joyfully with them and pointed out the sacred seats.

115. Having worshipped three seats, he desired to visit the fourth, and when the worthy disciples asked about it, the teacher thus addressed them :

116. 'These are the four seats of the Buddhas of the (present) Bhadra Age,—three Buddhas have passed therein, and I here am the fourth possessor of the ten powers.'

117. Having thus addressed them the glorious one bowed to that throne of the Law, decked with tapestries of cloth and silk, and having its stone

¹ Does this mean the country round Benares, as the land where all Buddhas turned the wheel of the Law ?

inlaid with jewels, like a golden mountain, guarded by the kings of kings,

In the former fortnight of *Āshāḍha*, on the day consecrated to the Regent of Jupiter, on the lunar day sacred to *Vishṇu*, and on an auspicious conjunction, under the asterism *Anurādhā*¹, and in the *muhūrta* called the Victorious, in the night,—he took his stand on the throne.

118. The five worthy disciples stood in front, with joyful minds, paying their homage, and the son of *Suddhodana* performed that act of meditation which is called the Arouser of all worlds;

Brahman and the other gods came surrounded by their attendants, summoned each from his own world; and *Maitriya*² with the deities of the *Tushita* heaven came for the turning of the wheel of the Law.

119. So too when the multitude of the sons of the *Ginas* and the *Suras* gathered together from the ten directions of space, there came also the noble chief of the sons of the *Ginas*, named *Dharma-ākra*³, carrying the wheel of the Law;

With head reverentially bowed, having placed it, a mass of gold and jewels, before the Buddha and having worshipped him, he thus besought him, 'O thou lord of saints, turn the wheel of the Law as it has been done by (former) *Sugatas*.'

¹ The seventeenth *Nakshatra*.

² Is this the same as *Maitreya*, who is to be the future Buddha and who now awaits his time in the *Tushita* heaven? The Cambridge MS. interchanges *Maitreya* and *Maitriya* in XVI, 53.

³ 'Ein Buddha (der das Rad des Gesetzes in Bewegung setzt), *Trikaṇḍas*. I, 1, 8.' St. Petersburg Dict.

BOOK XVI.

1. The omniscient lion of the Sākya then caused all the assembly, headed by those who belonged to the company of Maitrīya¹, to turn the wheel of the Law.

2. 'Listen, O company belonging to Maitrīya¹, ye who form one vast congregation,—as it was proclaimed by those past arch-saints, so is it now proclaimed by Me.

3. 'These are the two extremes, O mendicants, in the self-control of the religious ascetic,—the one which is devoted to the joys of desire, vulgar and common,

4. 'And the other which is tormented by the excessive pursuit of self-inflicted pain in the mortification of the soul's corruptions,—these are the two extremes of the religious ascetic, each devoted to that which is unworthy and useless.

5. 'These have nothing to do with true asceticism, renunciation of the world, or self-control, with true indifference or suppression of pain, or with any of the means of attaining deliverance.

6. 'They do not tend to the spiritual forms of knowledge, to wisdom, nor to Nirvāṇa; let him who is acquainted with the uselessness of inflicting pain and weariness on the body,

¹ The Maitrīya-vargīyāḥ?

7. 'Who has lost his interest¹ in any pleasure or pain of a visible nature, or in the future, and who follows this middle Path for the good of the world,—

8. 'Let him, the Tathâgata, the teacher of the world, proclaim the good Law, beginning that manifestation of the good Law which consists of the (four) noble truths,

9. 'And let the Buddha proclaim the Path with its eight divisions. I too who am now the perfectly wise, and the Tathâgata in the world,

10. 'Will proclaim the noble Law, beginning with those sublime truths and the eightfold Path which is the means to attain perfect knowledge.

11. 'Instructing all the world I will show to it Nirvâṇa; those four noble truths must be heard first and comprehended by the soul.

12. 'That must be understood and thoroughly realised by the true students of wisdom, which has been known here by me, through the favour of all the Buddhas.

13. 'Having known the noble eightfold Path, and embraced it as realised with joy,—thus I declare to you the first means for the attainment of liberation.

14. 'Having thus commenced the noble truths, I will describe the true self-control; this noble truth is the best of all holy laws.

15. 'Walk as long as existence lasts, holding fast the noble eightfold Path,—this noble truth is the highest law for the attainment of true liberation.

16. 'Having pondered and held fast the noble

¹ Nirata seems used here for virata.

eightfold Path, walk in self-control; others, not understanding this, idle talkers full of self-conceit,

17. 'Say according to their own will that merit is the cause of corporeal existence, others maintain that the soul must be preserved (after death) for its merit is the cause of liberation.

18. 'Some say that everything comes spontaneously; others that the consequence was produced before; others talk loudly that all also depends on a Divine Lord.

19. 'If merit and demerit are produced by the good and evil fortune of the soul, how is it that good fortune does not always come to all embodied beings (at last), even in the absence of merit?

20. 'How is the difference accounted for, which we see in form, riches, happiness, and the rest,—if there are no previous actions, how do good and evil arise here?

21. 'If karman is said to be the cause of our actions, who would imagine cogency in this assumption? If all the world is produced spontaneously, who then would talk of the ownership of actions?

22. 'If good is caused by good, then evil will be the cause of evil,—how then could liberation from existence be produced by difficult penances¹?

23. 'Others unwisely talk of *Īsvara* as a cause,—how then is there not uniformity in the world if *Īsvara* be the uniformly acting cause?

24. 'Thus certain ignorant people, talking loudly "he is," "he is not,"—through the demerits of their false theories, are at last born wretched in the different hells.

¹ I. e. viewed as an evil in themselves.

25. 'Through the merits of good theories virtuous men, who understand noble knowledge, go to heavenly worlds, from their self-restraint as regards body, speech, and thought.

26. 'All those who are devoted to existence are tormented with the swarms of its evils, and being consumed by old age, diseases, and death, each one dies and is born again.

27. 'There are many wise men here who can discourse on the laws of coming into being; but there is not even one who knows how the cessation of being is produced.

28. 'This body composed of the five skandhas, and produced from the five elements, is all empty and without soul, and arises from the action of the chain of causation.

29. 'This chain of causation is the cause of coming into existence, and the cessation of the series thereof is the cause of the state of cessation.

30. 'He who knowing this desires to promote the good of the world, let him hold fast the chain of causation, with his mind fixed on wisdom;

31. 'Let him embrace the vow of self-denial for the sake of wisdom, and practise the four perfections¹, and go through existence always doing good to all beings.

32. 'Then having become an Arhat and conquered all the wicked, even the hosts of Māra, and attained the threefold wisdom, he shall enter Nirvāṇa.

33. 'Whosoever therefore has his mind indifferent

¹ The four brahmavihārāḥ, sc. charity, compassion, sympathy with others' joy, and stoicism.

and is void of all desire for any further form of existence, let him abolish one by one the several steps of the chain of causation¹.

34. 'When these effects of the chain of causation are thus one by one put an end to, he at last, being free from all stain and substratum, will pass into a blissful Nirvāṇa.

35. 'Listen all of you for your own happiness, with your minds free from stain,—I will declare to you step by step this chain of causation.

36. 'The idea of ignorance is what gives the root to the huge poison-tree of mundane existence with its trunk of pain.

37. 'The impressions² are caused by this, which produce [the acts of] the body, voice, and mind; and consciousness arises from these impressions, which produces as its development the five senses and the mind (or internal sense).

38. 'The organism³ which is sometimes called *sangñā* or *samḍarsana*⁴, springs from this; and from this arises the six organs of the senses, including mind.

39. 'The association of the six organs with their objects is called "contact;" and the consciousness of these different contacts is called "sensation⁵;"

40. 'By this is produced thirst, which is the desire

¹ Cf. Childers in Colebrooke's Essays, I, p. 453.

² These *samskārah* constitute predispositions or tendencies.

³ Literally 'the name and the form,' the individual, consisting of mind and body.

⁴ The *Nāmarūpa* is properly the organised body (*rūpa*) and the three mental skandhas, *vedanā*, *sangñā*, and the *samskārah*, which are together called *nāma*.

⁵ *Vedanā*.

of being troubled¹ by worldly objects ; “ attachment to continued existence,” arising from this, sets itself in action towards pleasure and the rest ;

41. ‘ From attachment springs continued existence, which is sensual, possessing form, or formless² ; and from existence arises birth through a returning to various wombs.

42. ‘ On birth is dependent the series of old age, death, sorrow and the like ; by putting a stop to ignorance and what follows from it, all these successively surcease.

43. ‘ This is the chain of causation, having many turns, and whose sphere of action is created by ignorance,—this is to be meditated upon by you who enjoy the calm of dwelling tranquilly in lonely woods³ ;

‘ He who knows it thoroughly reaches at last to absolute tenuity ; and having become thus attenuated he becomes blissfully extinct.

44. ‘ When you have thus learned this, in order to be freed from the bond of existence, you must cut down with all your efforts the root of pain, ignorance.

45. ‘ Then, being set free from the bonds of the prison-house of existence, as Arhats, possessing natures perfectly pure, you shall attain Nirvāṇa.’

46. Having heard this lesson preached by the chief of saints, all the mendicants comprehended the course and the cessation of embodied existence.

¹ *Samklesa*,—should we read *saṃśleṣa* ?

² I.e. in the eleven *kāmalokas*, the sixteen *rūpabrahmalokas*, and the four *arūpabrahmalokas*.

³ The metre shows that two short syllables are wanting in the line, *vigāṇa* (*vāṇa*) *visrāmasamibhiḥ*.

47. As these five ascetics listened to his words, their intellectual eye was purified for the attainment of perfect wisdom :

48. The eye of dharma¹ was purified in six hundred millions of gods, and the eye of wisdom in eight hundred millions of Brahmans².

49. The eye of dharma was purified in eighty thousand men, and even in all beings an ardour for the Law was made visible.

50. Everywhere all kinds of evil became tranquillised, and on every side an ardour for all that helps on the good Law manifested itself.

51. In the heavens everywhere the heavenly beings with troops of Apsarases uttered forth great shouts, 'Even so, O noble being of boundless energy!'

52. Then Maitreya addressed the holy one, 'O great mendicant, in what form has the wheel been turned by thee?'

53. Having heard this question asked by the great-souled Maitreya, the holy one looked at him and thus addressed him :

54. 'The profound subtil wheel of the Law, so hard to be seen, has been turned by me, into which the disputatious Tirthikas cannot penetrate.

55. 'The wheel of the Law has been turned, which has no extension, no origin, no birth, no home, isolated, and free from matter ;

56. 'Having many divisions, and not being without divisions³, having no cause, and susceptible of no definition,—that wheel, which is described as

¹ Dharma^{ak}ak^{hu}h, the eye to discern the Law?

² The divine inhabitants of the Brahmalo^{ka}s.

³ Anirvy^uham?

possessing perfect equilibrium, has been proclaimed by the Buddha.

57. 'Everything subject to successive causation is like a delusion, a mirage, or a dream, like the moon seen in water or an echo,—it lies stretched out on the surface, not to be extirpated, but not eternal.

58. 'The wheel of the Law has been described as that in which all false doctrines are extirpated; it is always like the pure ether, involving no doubts, ever bright.

59. 'The wheel of the Law is described as without end or middle, existing apart from "it is" or "it is not," separated from soul or soullessness.

60. 'The wheel of the Law has been here set forth, with a description according to its real nature,—as it has a limit and as it has not a limit, in its actual quantity and quality.

61. 'The wheel of the Law has been here set forth, described as possessing unique attributes, apart from the power of the eye and so too as regards the sense of hearing or smell;

62. 'Apart from the tongue, the touch, or the mind,—without soul or exertion;

'Such is this wheel of the Law which has been turned by me;

63. 'He makes wise all the ignorant,—therefore is he called the Buddha¹; this knowledge of the laws of reality has been ascertained by me of myself,

64. 'Apart from all teaching by another, therefore is he called the self-existent,—having all laws under his control, therefore is he called the lord of Law.

65. 'He knows what is right (naya) and wrong (anaya) in laws, therefore is he called Nāyaka; he

¹ Buddha seems here to identify himself with his Law.

teaches unnumbered beings as they become fit to be taught.

66. 'He has reached the furthest limit of instruction, therefore is he called Vinâyaka, from his pointing out the best of good paths to beings who have lost their way.

67. 'He has reached the furthest limit of good teaching, he is the guide to all the Law,—attracting all beings by his knowledge of all the means of conciliation ;

68. 'He has passed through the forest of mundane existence, therefore is he called the Leader of the Caravan ; the absolute ruler over all law, therefore he is the *Gina*, the lord of Law.

69. 'From his turning the wheel of the Law he is the lord of all the sovereigns of Law ; the master-giver of the Law, the teacher, the master of the Law, the lord of the world ;

70. 'He who has offered the sacrifice, accomplished his end, fulfilled his hope, achieved his success, the consoler, the loving regarnder, the hero, the champion, the victorious one in conflict ;

71. 'He has come out from all conflict, released himself and the releaser of all,—he is become the light of the world, the illuminator of the knowledge of true wisdom ;

72. 'The dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the illuminer of the great torch, the great physician, the great seer, the healer of all evils,

73. 'The extractor of the barb of evil from all those who are wounded by evil,—he who is possessed of all distinctive marks and adorned with all signs,

74. 'With his body and limbs every way perfect,

of pure conduct and perfectly clear mind, possessed of the ten powers, having great fortitude, learned with all learning,

75. 'Endowed with all the independent states¹, he who has attained the great Yâna, the lord of all Dharma, the ruler, the monarch of all worlds, the sovereign,

76. 'The lord of all wisdom, the wise, the destroyer of the pride of all disputers, the omniscient, the Arhat, possessed of the perfect knowledge, the great Buddha, the lord of saints ;

77. 'The victorious triumphant overthrower of the insolence and pride of the evil Mâra, the perfect Buddha, the Sugata, the wise one, he who brings the desired end to all beings,

78. 'Ever cognisant of past acts, never speaking falsely, a mine of perfect excellence and of all good qualities, the destroyer of all evil ways, the guide in all good ways²,

79. 'The ruler of the world, the bearer of the world, the master of the world, the sovereign of the world, the teacher of the world, the preceptor of the world, he who brings to the world the Law, virtue, and its true end,

80. 'The fount of an ambrosia which quenches the scorching of the flame of all pain, and the powerful luminary which dries up the great ocean of all pain,

81. 'He who brings all virtue and all true wealth, the possessor of perfect excellence and all good qualities, the guide on the road of wisdom, he who shows the way to Nirvâna,

¹ Eighteen in all. See Burnouf, Lotus, pp. 648, &c.

² Query *sadvṛtti* for *saṃvṛtti*?

82. 'The Tathâgata, without stain, without attachment, without uncertainty.—This is the compendious declaration in the turning of the wheel of the Law.

83. 'A concise manifestation of a Tathâgata's qualities is now declared by me; for a Buddha's knowledge is endless, unlimited like the ether;

84. 'A narrator might spend a Kalpa, but the virtues of the Buddha would not come to an end,—thus by me has the multitude of the virtues of the Buddha been described.

85. 'Having heard this and welcomed it with joy go on ever in happiness; this, Sirs, is the Mahâyâna, the instrument of the Law of the perfect Buddha, which is the establisher of the welfare of all beings, set forth by all the Buddhas.

86. 'In order that this methodical arrangement of the Law may be always spread abroad, do you yourselves always proclaim it and hand it on.

87. 'Whosoever, Sirs, hears, sees, and welcomes with joy this methodical arrangement of the Law, which is a mine of happiness and prosperity, and honours it with folded hands,

88. 'Shall attain pre-eminent strength with a glorious form and limbs, and a retinue of the holy, and an intelligence of the highest reach,

89. 'And the happiness of perfect contemplation, with a deep calm¹ of uninterrupted bliss, with his senses in their highest perfection, and illuminated by unclouded knowledge.

90. 'He shall assuredly attain these eight pre-eminent perfections, who hears and sees this Law

¹ I read *naishkarmya* for *naishkramya*.

with a serene soul and worships it with folded hands.

91. 'Whosoever in the midst of the assembly shall gladly offer a pulpit to the high-minded teacher of the great Law,

92. 'That virtuous man shall assuredly attain the seat of the most excellent, and also the seat of a householder, and the throne of a universal monarch;

93. 'He shall also attain the throne of one of the guardian-spirits of the world, and also the firm throne of Sakra, and also the throne of the Vasavartina¹ gods, aye, and the supreme throne of Brahman ;

94. 'And also with the permission of the Bodhi-sattva who is seated on the Bodhi throne he shall obtain the throne of a teacher of the good Law who has risen to perfect knowledge.

95. 'These eight seats shall the pure-souled one attain who offers joyfully a seat to him who proclaims the Law.

96. 'Whosoever with a believing heart, after examination, shall utter applause to the pious man who proclaims this carefully arranged Law ;

97. 'Shall become a truthful and pure speaker, and one whose words are to be accepted,—one whose utterances are welcome and delightful, whose voice is sweet and gentle ;

98. 'Having a voice like a Kalaviṅka bird¹, with a deep and sweet tone, having also a pure voice like Brahman's², and a loud voice with a lion's sound.

99. 'He as an all-wise and truthful speaker shall

¹ A kind of sparrow.

² Or 'having a voice of pure spiritual truth?'

obtain these eight excellences of speech, who utters applause to one who proclaims the good Law.

100. 'And whosoever, after writing this method of the Law in a book, shall set it in his house and always worship it and honour it with all reverential observances,

101. 'And uttering its praises shall hand the doctrine onward on every side, he, the very pious man, shall obtain a most excellent treasure of memory,

102. 'And a treasure of insight¹, and a treasure of prudence², and a treasure of good spells, and a treasure full of intelligence,

103. 'And a treasure of the highest wisdom, and the most excellent treasure of the Law, and a treasure of knowledge, the means to attain the excellences of the good Law,—

104. 'These eight treasures shall that high-minded man attain who joyfully writes this down and sets it in a sure place and always worships it.

105. 'And he who, himself holding this method of the Law in his mind, sets it going around him, shall obtain a complete supply for liberality for the good of the world,

106. 'Next, a complete supply of virtuous dispositions, a most excellent supply of sacred knowledge, a supply of perfect calmness, and that which is called spiritual insight,

107. 'A supply of the merit caused by the good Law, a most excellent supply of knowledge, a supply of boundless compassion, which is the means to attain the virtues of the perfect Buddha.

¹ I read mahāmatinidhānam for mahāprati-.

² Gati? 'resources?'

108. 'He, full of joy, shall obtain these eight supplies who himself holds this method of the Law in his mind and sets it going abroad.

109. 'And he who shall declare this method of the Law to others, shall have himself purified by great merit and shall be prosperous and possessed of supernatural powers.

110. 'He shall become a universal monarch, a king of kings, and even a ruler among the guardians of the world ¹, an Indra ruler of the gods ², and even the ruler of the Yâma heaven ³,

111. 'Yea, the ruler of the Tushita heaven, and the ruler of the Sunirmitâh, and the king of the Vasavartina⁴, and the lord of the Brahmaloka ;

112. 'Yea, Mahâbrahman, the highest of Sages,—and in the end he shall even become a Buddha,—he, possessing a thoroughly pure intelligence, shall obtain these eight sublime rewards of merit.

113. 'And he who, thoroughly intent, with a believing heart, and filled with faith and devotion, shall hear this method of the Law as it is preached,

114. 'He shall have his intellect made perfectly pure, his mind calmed with boundless charity, and his soul happy with boundless compassion, and he shall be filled with boundless joy;

115. 'His soul constantly calm with universal indifference, rejoicing in the four contemplations, having reached the ecstatic state of absolute indifference ⁵, and with his senses abolished,

116. 'With the five transcendent faculties attained,

¹ Sc. the Mahârâgas of the first heaven.

² In the second Devaloka.

³ The third Devaloka.

⁴ These are the fourth, fifth, and sixth Devalokas.

⁵ Samârûpya?

and destroying the aggregate of latent impressions, he, endowed with supernatural powers, will attain the samādhi called *Sūramgama*.

117. 'He, having his soul pure, will attain these eight forms of absolute spotlessness; yea, wherever this method of the Law will prevail universally,

118. 'There will be no fear of any disturbance in the kingdom, no fear of evil-minded thieves, nor fear of evil beasts;

119. 'There will be no fear of plagues, famines, or wildernesses; and no alarm shall spread, caused by quarrel or war;

120. 'There shall be no fear from the gods nor from Nāgas, Yakshas, and the like, nor shall there be anywhere any fear of any misfortune.

121. 'These eight fears shall not be found there where this Law extends; it is all briefly explained, my friends,—all that arises from holding it steadfastly.

122. 'A yet higher and most excellent merit is declared by all the Buddhas, even although all living beings were to practise complete self-restraint.

123. 'Let a man worship the Buddhas, honouring them always with faith; from that comes this pre-eminent merit, as is declared by the Ginas.

124. 'And whosoever joyfully worships a Pratyeka-Buddha, they shall become themselves Pratyeka-Buddhas; therefore let every one worship them.

125. 'There is pre-eminent merit from the worship of one Bodhisattva, and they shall all themselves become Bodhisattvas, let every one worship them;

126. 'Therefore there is pre-eminent merit from the worship of one Buddha,—they shall all them-

selves become Ginas, let every one devoutly worship them; and he too shall obtain this pre-eminent merit who hears this or causes others to hear it.

127. 'And whosoever in days when the good Law is abolished abandons love for his own body and life and proclaims day and night these good words, —pre-eminent is his merit from this.

128. 'He who wishes to worship constantly the lords of saints, the Pratyeka-Buddhas and the Arhats, let him resolutely produce in his mind the idea of true wisdom and proclaim these good words and the Law.

129. 'This jewel of all good doctrines, which is uttered by the Buddhas for the good of all beings, —even one who lives in a house will be a Tathāgata for it, where this good doctrine prevails.

130. 'He obtains a glorious and endless splendour who teaches even one word thereof; he will not miss one consonant nor the meaning who gives this Sūtra to others.

131. 'He is the best of all guides of men, no other being is like unto him; he is like a jewel, of imperishable glory, who hears this Law with a pure heart.

132. 'Therefore let those who are endowed with lofty ambitions, always hear this Law which causes transcendent merit; let them hear it and gladly welcome it and lay it up in their minds and continually worship the three jewels with faith.'

BOOK XVII.

[1¹. When the heavenly beings with Brahman at their head and the Bodhisattvas intent on self-mortification² heard this glorification of the Law uttered by the lion of the Sâkyas, they were desirous to hear again this which is so difficult to find, and they went to the city and worshipped him, propitiating his favour; in the dark fortnight of the month *Âshadha* on the lunar day sacred to Agni, with the moon in the constellation called *Karṇa* (?) and on an auspicious day,—he, remembering the Buddha worlds and being desirous to save all creatures, set off on his journey, longing for disciples with his father at their head.]

2. The associated Brâhmans, accompanied by the inhabitants of *Kâśī* who had gone to the Deer Park, and the mendicants to the number of thirty, were rendered resplendent by the chief of saints; *Kâśikâ* the harlot of *Kâśī* went to the heaven of the gods, after she had worshipped the *Gina* and attached her sons to the service of the glorious one; the conqueror of the world then made thirty rejoicing officiating priests of *Kâśī* his disciples, initiating them in the course of perfect wisdom; and the son of *Maitrâyaṇī*³ and *Maitra*, the preceptor of hosts of the twice-born, named *Pûrṇa*, obtained true wisdom from the chief of saints and became a noble mendicant.

3. The priest of the lord of the city *Marakata*, a

¹ This is a doubtful verse, the metre is faulty.

² I read *tapasyâpare*.

³ Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 489.

Brāhman named Agaya, and his son Nālaka, well versed in sacred learning and full of answers to questions, and an ascetic named Dhṛiti, dwelling in the Vindhya, and an invincible Brāhman ascetic Saṃgayin with his disciples,—these all, dwellers in the Vindhya,—when they came to him for refuge, the chief of saints initiated as mendicants, touching them with his hand bearing the mark of a wheel; moreover the Nāga Elapatra came to the abode of the best of saints, and stood resplendent there, perfectly calm in his demeanour and worshipping him with his rosaries.

4. There was also a female ascetic of Mathurā named Trikavyāṃgikā, and a Brāhman named Vid-yākara,—their son was named Sabhya, a dweller in the district called Svetaśālārka, a wise ascetic, proud of his wisdom,—he went into the Deer Park, wearing the aspect of one perfectly illumined, and desiring the highest wisdom from the chief of mendicants; seeking from the omniscient admission to the noble life, he became renowned as the mendicant Sabhya in all assemblies.

5. The son of Lalitāprabudhā, born after worship paid to the best of trees on the bank of the stream Varanā,—renowned in the world as Yasoda,—wise from the besprinkling of the ambrosia of the words of the king of heaven,—remembering all former discourses which he had heard, came with his friends to the wood in the Deer Park, accompanied by his glory; and the holy one, touching his head with his hand, made him the guru of the chief Bhikshus.

6. The glorious one, named the great Buddha, proceeded with the mendicants in an auspicious company, and having manifested his triumphal march for the salvation of the world, entered the city of Kāśī.

A poor Brâhman, named Svastika, a native of Vârânasi, obtained riches from heaven through the favour of the glorious one, and having received adoption as a slave in the *Gina* faith, became a mendicant and an Arhat at the hands of the great teacher.

7. Blessing the king of Kâsi¹ Divodâsa and the citizens with gold, corn, and other riches,—taking up his abode in different places in forests, caves, mountains, he at last came in his rambles to the river Gâhnavi. The boatman who conveyed the *Gina* across the Ganges worshipped him and offered him milk with due services of reverence, and became a mendicant through his favour and by the *Gina*'s command found a dwelling in the Buddha's hermitage in the grove.

8. The glorious one, after he had crossed the Ganges, went to the hermitage of Kâsyapa at Gayâ, called Uruvilva; there, having shown his supernatural power, he received as Bhikshus the Kâsyapas, Uruvilva, and others, with more than a thousand of their disciples, having endued them forthwith with all kinds of spiritual knowledge and with the power to abandon all worldly action; then accompanied by three hundred disciples Upasena at the command of his maternal uncle became an ascetic.

9. The glorious one made seven hundred ascetics enter Nirvâna who dwelt in the wood Dharma; and the lord of the Law also caused the daughters of Namdika, Sugâtâ and others, who dwelt in the village, to become the first female ascetics; and in the city of Râgageha, having enlightened in right action and in activity the king Bimbisâra,

¹ Kâsikâ.

the monarch, who is to be considered as the elder-born in perfect knowledge, he made him who was the devoted follower of the Buddha, a Bodhisattva and a *Sakṛidāgāmin*.

10. In another village named Nāradya there was a Brāhman Dharmapālin and a Brāhman woman named Sālyā; their seventh son named Upatishya¹, who had studied the entire Veda, became a Buddhist mendicant; so too there was a great *paṇḍit*, a Brāhman named Dhānyāyana, who dwelt in the village Kolata, and his son;—him and the son of Sālā named Maudgalya the great saint received as the best of Bhikshus, pre-eminent disciples.

11. Next he ordained as a mendicant the keen-witted maternal uncle of Sāliputra¹, Dīrghānakha by name; then travelling in the realm of Magadha, the glorious one, being honoured by the inhabitants with alms and other signs of devotion, and delivering them from evil, dwelt in the convent given by the seer Geta, attracting to himself many of the monks; and after ordaining as a mendicant a native of Mithilā, named Ānanda, with his companions, he dwelt there a year.

12. The Brāhman named Kāśyapa, a very Kuvera for wealth, and a master in all the sciences connected with the Veda, an inhabitant of Rāgageha, being pure-minded and wearing only one garment, left all his kindred and came seeking wisdom in asceticism;—when this noble youth came to the Bodhi tree and practised for six years a penance hard to carry out, then he paid worship to the chief of saints who had attained perfect knowledge, and he became the well-

¹ Sc. Sāriputra.

known Kâsyapa, the chief of ascetics, the foremost of the Arhats.

13. The saint Naradatta, dwelling on Mount Himavat, remembering the wholesome words of his maternal uncle, came to the Sugata with his disciples, and the holy one admitted them all into the order of the *Gina*; then a woman named *Sakti*, and another named *Kamalâ*, pre-eminent in Brâhmanical power, came to the Sugata and fell down at his feet, and then standing before him they were received by the saint, and made happy with the staff and begging-bowl.

14. Seven hundred disciples of the ascetic Rudraka, remembering the noble words of their teacher, becoming mendicants according to the doctrine of the *Gina*, flocked round him paying him their homage and carrying their staves; next a seer, named *Rai-vata*, joyfully uttering his praises, having finished his course of discipline, became a mendicant, full of devotion to the guru, counting gold and clay as the same, well versed in sacred spells and meditation, and able to counteract the three kinds of poisons and other fatal harms.

15. Having received as followers and disciples certain householders of *Srâvastî*, *Pûrna* and others, and given them alms-vessels,—and having made many poor wretches as rich as *Kuvera*, and maimed persons with all their limbs perfect, and paupers and orphans affluent,—and having proclaimed the Law, and dwelt two years in the forest *Getaka* delivering the suppliants, the glorious one, having taught again the saint *Geta*, and established the Bhikshu *Pûrna*, once more proceeded on his way.

16. Then the glorious one went on, protecting

the merchant-caravans by the stores of his own treasures from the troops of robbers, next he went into the neighbourhood of Râgagheha wandering with his begging-vessel which had been given by the merchants. In the wood called *Venu*, filled with *Sâl* trees, he ate an offering of food prepared by the enriched robbers, and he received as mendicants five hundred of them and gave them their begging-vessels and the other requisites.

17. At the invitation of Buddha's son, *Suddhoda* gave this message to his envoys *Khandaka* and *Udâyin*, 'Thy father and mother, some noble ladies, headed by *Yasodrih*, and this my young son have come in the hope of seeing thee, under the idea that thou art devoted to the world's salvation ; what shall I tell them ?' They two went, and reverentially saluting the Buddha in the *vihâra* called *Venu*, they told him the message with their eyes filled with tears.

18. *Khandaka* and *Udâyin* accepted his counsel, and, being delighted at the mighty power of Buddha, became great ascetics ; and the great *Gina* took them with him and proceeded from that wood with the disciples, the mendicants, and the saints. Going on from place to place, and dwelling in each for a while and conferring deliverance and confirming the disciples, the mendicants, and the Arhats, he at last reached the wood *Nigrodha*, illuminating the district by his glory, shaking the earth and putting an end to misery.

19. ¹ He again stirred up his followers in the doctrine of the Buddha, and then went on with the

¹ Several phrases are obscure in this verse.

crowds of inhabitants gathered round him, instructing his shaven mendicant-followers, as they begged alms, while the gods brought his precepts to their minds¹. He forbade the mendicants to enter the city and went to Râgageha himself with his own followers; and then the king who dwells apart from all doubt², the Gina, who knows at once all the history of every Bhikshu, instructed the ascetic (Udâyin) in proclaiming wisdom to others.

20. In accordance with the Gina's command that prince of ascetics, Udâyin, went to the city of Kapila; there he, the lord of all possessors of supernatural powers, instructed the king as he stood in the assembly in the boon of the eight hundred powers; and coming down from heaven he uttered to the king and his court a discourse on the four sublime truths, and the king, with his mind enlightened, having worshipped him, held intercourse with him, attended by his courtiers, offering every form of homage.

21. The monarch, rejoiced at the sight of the Gina, praised his feet, worshipping them with eight hundred presents; and the Sugata departed, and made manifest in the sky in his one person a form comprehending the universe; first as fire, then ambrosia, then the king of beasts, an elephant, the king of horses, the king of peacocks³, the king of birds, Maghavan, the ten rulers of the world headed by Yama, the sun, the moon, the hosts of stars, Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva.

22. The sons of Diti, the four (Mahârâgas) with

¹ Obscure.

² Dvâpare-stha?

³ Sikkhirât might mean 'the king of flames,' &c.

Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra at their head, the hosts of Yogins with the king Drumasiddha, the (heavenly) ascetics, the Vasus, the Manus, the sons of the forest, the creatures of the waters headed by the makara, the birds headed by Garuḍa, and all the kings in the different worlds with the lord of the Tushita heaven at their head, and those in the world of the dead¹ the domain of Bali,—whatever is conspicuous in the universe the holy one created it all, becoming the universal one.

23. When the king had thus been instructed, the lord of saints went to the Satya heaven, and then from the sky, seated on his own throne², he proclaimed the twelvefold Law; then he restored Gautamī and Anugopā and many other women to sight, and filled all the assembled people with joy; and established others in Nirvāṇa and in the Law. Then Suddhodana full of joy invited him to a feast given to the whole assembly, and he accepted it by his silence.

24. The lion of the Sākya, having been thus invited, went with the congregation of his followers to the place, after having shown a mighty miracle. Then the earth shook, a shower of flowers fell, the various quarters of space became illumined and a wind blew; and the heavenly beings, Brahman, Siva, Vishṇu, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, the lord of Bhūtas, the lord of the winds, Nirṛiti, Fire with his seven flames, and the rest, stood resting their feet on the serpent Sesha, and followed leading the gods and gandharvas in their dance in the sky.

25. Making millions of ascetics, disciples, Arhats,

¹ Martya seems here to be used for mṛita.

² Or must we take sva as put for svar, 'in heaven?'

sages, mendicants, and fasters,—and delivering from their ills the blind, the humpbacked, the lame, the insane, the maimed as well as the destitute,—and having established many persons of the fourth caste in the true activity and inaction and in the three yānas¹, with the four *saṃgrahas*² and the eight *aṃgas*³,—going on from place to place, delivering, and confirming the Bhikshus, in the twelfth year he went to his own city.

26. Day by day confirming the Bhikshus, and providing food for the congregation, in an auspicious moment he made a journey to Lumbinī with the Bhikshus and the citizens, Brahman and Rudra being at their head, with great triumph and noise of musical instruments. There he saw the holy fig-tree and he stood by it remembering his birth, with a smile; and rays of light streamed from his mouth and went forth illumining the earth; and he uttered a discourse to the goddess of the wood, giving her the serenity of faith.

27. ⁴ Having come to the Lumbinī fig-tree he spoke to Paurvikā the daughter of Rāhula, and Gopikā the daughter of Maitra, and his own Saudhanī Kausikā; and he uttered an affectionate discourse honouring his mother by the tank Vasatya; then speaking with Ekasāṃgtī the daughter of Mahākautuka and Sautasomī in the wood Nigrodha, he received into the community some members of his own family, headed by Sundarānanda, and one hundred and seven citizens.

¹ Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 315.

² Apparently the four means of conciliating dependents.

³ The eightfold path of Buddhist morality.

⁴ Much of this stanza is obscure.

28. Having declared the glory of the Law of Buddha, he built a round Stûpa and gave a royal coronation to Saunu¹, sending him into the wood pre-eminent with the holiest saints and *Kaityas*, and bidding him worship the sacred relics; and having commanded Râhula, Gautamî, and the other women led by Gopikâ, with staves in their hands, as shaven ascetics, to practise the vow of fasting called *ahoratra*², and after that the *Lakshakaitya* ceremony³ and then the rite called *Sringabheri*⁴, and that called *Vasumdhârikâ*⁵.

29. The *Ash/asâhasrikâ* of sacred authority⁶,—the *Geya*⁷ and the *Gâthâ*, the *Nidâna* and the *Avadâna*, and that which is called the *Sûtra* of the great *Yâna*, the *Vyâkara*⁸ and the *Ityukta*, the *Gâtaka*, the work called *Vaipulya*, the *Adbhuta*⁹ and the *Upadesa*, and also the *Udânaka*¹⁰ as the twelfth.—Teaching (these sacred texts) and making current the *Yâna* for common disciples, that for *Pratyeka Buddhas*, and the *Mahâyâna*, and proclaiming them all around, accompanied by thirteen and a half bodies of mendicants, the conqueror of the world went out of the city of *Kapila*.

30. After displaying miracles in the city of *Ka-*

¹ Or the grandson of the king?

² See *Râgendralâl Mitra*, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 221.

³ *Ibid.* p. 275.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 230.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 271.

⁶ *Naigamâ*? The *Ash/asâhasrikâ* seems not to be reckoned here among the following twelve texts of peculiar authority with the Northern Buddhists. But Burnouf's authorities include it in that called '*Sûtra*.'

⁷ For the following twelve names see Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 51-66.

⁸ More properly *Vyâkarana*.

⁹ Burnouf calls it *adbhutadharma*.

¹⁰ Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 58.

pila, and having paid honour to his father, and having made Râhula and his companions Arhats, and also the Bhikshus with Gautami and Gopikâ at their head, and various women of all the four castes; and having established Saunu¹ on his imperial throne, and the people in the Gina doctrine, and having abolished poverty and darkness, and then remembering his mother, he set forth, after worshipping Svayambhû, towards the northern region with Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva as mendicants in his train.

31. The glory of the Avadâna of the birth of the lion of the Sâkyas has thus been described by me at length and yet very concisely; it must be corrected by *pandits* wherever anything is omitted,—my childish speech is not to be laughed at, but to be listened to with pleasure.

Whatever virtue I may have acquired from describing the king of the Law, the deliverer from mundane existence, who assumes all forms,—may it become a store of merit for the production of right activity and inactivity in others, and for the diffusion of delight among the six orders of beings².

Thus ends the seventeenth sarga, called the Progress to Lumbini, in the great poem made by Asvaghosha, the Buddha-karita³.

¹ Or Saunava, see sloka 28.

² Sc. the *śaḍ gatayas*, the 'six paths,' are gods, men, Asuras, &c., Pretas, brutes, and the inhabitants of the different hells.

³ C adds here on the last page the following lines: 'The poem about Buddha, very difficult to obtain, was written by Amrîtânanda in the year indicated by a cipher, the arrows (of Kâma), and a nine [=Newâr Samvat 950, or A.D. 1830], in the dark fortnight of the month Mârgasîrsha (Nov.-Dec.) and on the day ruled by the

seventh astrological house Smara. Having searched for them everywhere and not found them, four sargas have been made by me,—the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.' The beginning of another version of these lines is given in P, but D omits them. The name of Amṛtānanda occurs in Rāgendralāl Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature as the author of three treatises,—two in Sanskrit, the *Khando-mṛṭalatā* (p. 79), the *Kalyāṇapamkavimsatikā* (p. 99), translated in Wilson's Works, vol. ii, and the *Vīrakusāvadāna* (p. 274) in Newārī. Compare Cowell and Eggeling's Catalogue, pp. 18, 24; in p. 18 he is associated with the date N. S. 916 (A. D. 1796).

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES¹.

- Akanishṭhâb, the, book V, verse 47.
 Akshamâlâ, IV, 77.
 Agastya, IV, 73; IX, 9, 26.
 Agni, IV, 76; VII, 17.
 Agni, son of, (Skanda), I, 66.
 Amgiras, I, 46; IX, 10.
 Amgirasas, the, II, 36.
 Aga, VIII, 79.
 Agapâla-vana, XV, 53.
 Agaya, XVII, 3.
 Atri, I, 48.
 Anugopâ, XVII, 23.
 Amtideva, I, 57; IX, 20, 60.
 Amdhakas, the, XI, 31.
 Apsaras, I, 94; IV, 11, 28, &c.
 Ambarisha, IX, 59.
 Arâda, VII, 54; IX, 6; XI, 69;
 XII, 1-81; XV, 89.
 Alakâ, III, 65.
 Asvinau, the, VII, 7.
 Asita, I, 54, 67, 85; II, 25; VIII,
 84.
 Ahalyâ, IV, 72.
 Âkimṭanyâb, XII, 63 (cf. 83).
 Âtreya, I, 48.
 Ânanda, XVII, 11.
 Âbhasurâb, the, XII, 53.
 Âshâdba, IX, 20.
 Ikshvâkavas, the, I, 49; VII, 6;
 IX, 4; XII, 1.
 Indra (Maghavat, Sakra, &c.), I, 7,
 27, 29, 63, 92; II, 27; IV, 72;
 V, 22, 27, 87; VI, 62; VII, 3,
 43; VIII, 13, 64, 73, 79; IX, 5,
 10, 12; X, 19, 39, 41; XI, 13,
 14, 16, 70; XIII, 9, 37; XV, 65,
 73; XVI, 93, 110.
 Îvara, Îra, IX, 53; X, 3; XVII,
 21, 24, 30.
 Ugrâyudha, XI, 18.
 Uttare kuravab, the, IV, 10.
 Udâyin, IV, 8, 24, 62; XVII, 17,
 18, 20.
 Udraka, XII, 82-86 (cf. Rudraka).
 Upatishya, XVII, 10.
 Upasumda, XI, 32.
 Upasena, XVII, 8.
 Uruvilva, XVII, 8.
 Urvasî, XI, 15.
 Rishyasringa, IV, 19.
 Ekasâmgî, XVII, 27.
 Elapatra, XVII, 3.
 Aida, XI, 15; XIII, 12.
 Autathya, IV, 74.
 Aurva, I, 29.
 Aurvaseya, IX, 9.
 Ka, II, 51; XI, 61 (?).
 Kakshîvat, I, 29.
 Kamthaka, V, 3, 68; VI, 53, 55, 67;
 VIII, 3, 17, 19, 32, 38, 43, 73, 75.
 Kapimgalâda, IV, 77.
 Kapila, I, 2; XII, 21.
 Kapilavastu, I, 2 (?), 94; V, 84; VI,
 30, 51; VIII, 5; XVII, 20, 30.
 Kamandalu, XV, 96.
 Kamalâ, XVII, 13.
 Karâlaganaka, IV, 80.
 Kâma, III, 24; IV, 4; XIII, 2, 72.
 Kâmâvatarâb, the, XIV, 88.
 Kârttikeya (sharmukha), I, 93.
 Kâla, XII, 113.
 Kâlâma, XII, 2.
 Kâlî, IV, 76.
 Kâlîkâ, XVII, 2.
 Kârisumdari, IV, 16.
 Kâsî, Kâsi, XV, 89, 90, 101; XVII,
 2, 6.

¹ This Index omits some of the obscure names in the last book.

Kâsyapa, XVII, 12.
 Kâsyapas, the, XVII, 8.
 Kurus, the, XI, 31.
 Kuvera, I, 94; IV, 10; V, 45, 85;
 XVII, 15.
 Kusika, I, 49.
 Kailâsa, I, 3, 21; II, 30; X, 41.
 Kolata, XVII, 10.
 Kaurava, IV, 79.
 Gamgâ, IX, 25; XV, 98; XVII, 7.
 Gamdha, XV, 97.
 Gamdhapura, XV, 97.
 Gaya, XII, 87.
 Gayâ, XV, 91; XVII, 8.
 Garuda, XII, 54; XVII, 22.
 Gopikâ, XVII, 27, 28, 30.
 Gautama, IV, 18, 72.
 Gautama (Buddha), XV, 104.
 Gautamî, VIII, 24, 51; XVII, 23,
 28, 30.
 Ghrîtâkî, IV, 20.
 Kamdramas, IV, 75.
 Kaitraratha, IV, 78.
 Kyavana, I, 48.
 Kbanda, Kbandakâ, V, 68; VI, 4, 14,
 25, 43, 65; VII, 1; VIII, 9, 23,
 32, 42, 73; XVII, 17, 18.
 Ganaka, I, 50; IX, 20; XII, 67.
 Gayamta, IX, 5, 12.
 Ginakshetra, XV, 114.
 Geta, XVII, 11, 15.
 Getakâranya, XVII, 15.
 Gaigîshavya, XII, 67.
 Târکشya, VI, 5.
 Tushita, Tushitâb, the, I, 19; XIV,
 89; XVI, 111.
 Trayastimsad-devâb, XIV, 89.
 Trikavyamgikâ, XVII, 4.
 Damdakas, the, XI, 31.
 Dasaratha, VIII, 79, 81.
 Dâsarathi, VIII, 8.
 Divodâsa, XVII, 7.
 Dirghânakha, XVII, 11.
 Deer-park, the, XV, 87, 103, 114;
 XVII, 5.
 Devî, I, 66.
 Drumasiddha, XVII, 22.
 Drumâksha, IX, 60.
 Drumâbgaketu, the Moon? V, 3.

Dharmakakra (ginaga), XV, 119.
 Dharmapâlin, XVII, 10.
 Dharmaruî, XV, 86.
 Dharmâsavî, XVII, 9.
 Dhânyâyana, XVII, 10.
 Dhritarâshtra, XVII, 22.
 Dhriti, XVII, 3.
 Namdana, III, 64.
 Namdabalâ, XII, 106.
 Namdâguhâ, I, 19.
 Namdika, XVII, 9.
 Namdin, XV, 93.
 Namuî, XV, 25, 46.
 Naradatta, XVII, 13.
 Nalakûvara, I, 94.
 Nahusha, II, 11; XI, 14, 16.
 Nâlaka, XVII, 3.
 Nigrodha-vana (niyagrodha), XVII,
 18, 27.
 Nirmânaratayab, the, XIV, 89.
 Nirmitâ bodhisattvâb, the, XIV, 71.
 Nairamganâ, XII, 88, 105.
 Pamka bhikshavab, pamka-vargîyâb,
 the, XII, 89, 111; XV, 89, 104,
 118 (cf. Bhadravargîyâb).
 Padma, II, 3.
 Padmakhamda, III, 63.
 Padmâ (?), IV, 36.
 Paranirmita-varavartinab, the, XIV,
 89.
 Parâsara, IV, 76; XII, 67.
 Pâmdava (mountain), X, 14, 17.
 Pâmdavas, the, X, 17.
 Pâmdu, IV, 79.
 Punarvasû, IX, 11.
 Puramdara, IV, 72; XIII, 37.
 Pushya, I, 25.
 Pûrna, XVII, 2, 15.
 Prîthu, I, 29.
 Paurvikâ, XVII, 27.
 Pragâpati, XII, 21.
 Bali, IX, 20; XI, 16; XVII, 22.
 Bâlamukhyâ, IV, 17.
 Bimbisâra, XV, 100 (cf. Srenya);
 XVII, 9.
 Buddhâb (atîtâb), I, 38; XIV, 75;
 XV, 8.
 Budha, IV, 75.
 Bodhidruma, XII, 112, 116; XIII,
 7, 27, 32, 42, 68; XIV, 90; XVII,
 12.
 Bodhisattva, I, 19, 24; II, 56; IX,
 30; X, 18, &c.

- Brahmakāyikāb, the, XIV, 88.
 Brahman, I, 1; XII, 42, 51, 65; XV, 18, 84, 118; XVI, 93, 111; XVII, 1, 24, 30.
 Bhadravargīyāb, the five, XII, 89, 111; XV, 89, 104, 115 (cf. *Pamka bhikshavaḥ*).
 Bhadrāsānāni, XV, 114.
 Bharadvāga, IV, 74.
 Bhava, I, 93.
 Bhārgava, VI, 1; IX, 2, 3.
 Bhishma, IX, 25; XI, 18.
 Bhrigu, I, 46.
 Magadhas, the, X, 10, 41; XI, 1; XVII, 11.
 Maghavat, see Indra.
 Mathurā, XVII, 4.
 Manu (Vaivasvata), II, 16; VIII, 78.
 Maṃthālagautama, IV, 17.
 Māmdara, VI, 13.
 Mamatā (?), IV, 74.
 Marakata, XVII, 3.
 Marutvat (Indra), VIII, 13; X, 39.
 Maruts, the, IV, 74; V, 27.
 Mahākautuka, XVII, 27.
 Mahārāgāb, the, XV, 64, 74; XVII, 22.
 Mahāsudara, VIII, 62.
 Mahendra, see Indra.
 Mahoragāb, the, I, 38.
 Mādri, IV, 79.
 Māmdhātṛi, I, 29; X, 31; XI, 13.
 Māyā, I, 15, 22, 37; II, 18.
 Māra, XIII, 1-73; XV, 11, 37.
 Māra's sons, XIII, 3, 14.
 Māra's daughters, XIII, 3, 14; XV, 13.
 Meghakālī, XIII, 49.
 Meru, V, 37, 43; XIII, 41, 57; XV, 32.
 Maitra, XVII, 2, 27.
 Maitrāyaṇi, XVII, 2.
 Maitriya, XV, 118; XVI, 1.
 Maitreya, XVI, 53.
 Maithilas, the, XI, 31.
 Maudgalya, XVII, 10.
 Yakshādhipāb, the, I, 36.
 Yamunā, IV, 76; XII, 107.
 Yayāti, II, 11; IV, 78.
 Yasoda, XVII, 5.
 Yasodhī, XVII, 17.
 Yasodharā, II, 26, 46; VI, 34; VIII, 31, 60, 71.
 Yāmāb, the, XIV, 89; XVI, 110.
 Raghu, VI, 36.
 Rāgagrīha, X, 1, 9.
 Rāgageha, XVII, 9, 12, 16.
 Rāma (Dāsarathi), VI, 36; VIII, 81; IX, 9, 25, 59, 67.
 Rāma (Bhārgava), IX, 25.
 Rāhu, II, 46; IX, 28.
 Rāhula, II, 46; VIII, 67; IX, 28; XVII, 27, 28, 30.
 Rudraka, XV, 89; XVII, 14 (cf. Udraka).
 Raivata, XVII, 14.
 Rohini, IV, 73.
 Rohitavastuka, XV, 96.
 Lumbini, I, 23; XVII, 27.
 Lopamudrā, IV, 73.
 Vagrabāhu, IX, 20.
 Vanārā, XV, 94.
 Varanā, XVII, 5.
 Valabhid (Indra), X, 41.
 Varavartinaḥ, the, XVI, 111.
 Varishṭha, I, 47, 57; IV, 77; IX, 60.
 Vasus, the, VII, 7.
 Vāmadeva, IX, 9.
 Vārāṇasī, XV, 87, 101; XVII, 6.
 Vālmīki, I, 48.
 Videhas, the, IX, 20.
 Vidyākara, XVII, 4.
 Vindhya, XIII, 38; XVII, 3.
 Vindhya-koshṭha, VII, 54.
 Virvāṇi, IV, 78.
 Virvāmitra, IV, 20.
 Vishnu, XVII, 21, 24, 30.
 Vumda, XV, 95.
 Vumdadvira, XV, 95.
 Vṛitra, VIII, 13; XI, 14.
 Vṛishnis, the, XI, 31.
 Vṛihatphalāb, the, XII, 58.
 Vrihaspati, I, 46; IV, 74, 75; VII, 43; IX, 12.
 Venuvana, XVII, 16.
 Venuvihāra, XVII, 17.
 Vaibhṛāga, IX, 20.
 Vairavātara hermitage, the, XI, 73.
 Vyāsa, I, 47.
 Sakti, XVII, 13.
 Sakra, see Indra.
 Samkhamedhīya (udyāna), XV, 102.
 Saṭi, II, 27.
 Sākya, Sākyas, the, I, 7, 14, 54, 63, 93; II, 25, 27; V, 1, 36; VI, 60; VII, 13; VIII, 8; IX, 11, 24; X, 11; XIII, 43; XV, 44, 85, 88; XVII, 1, 24.

- Sāmtanu*, XIII, 12.
Sāmtā, IV, 19.
Sāliputra, XVII, 11.
Sāli, XVII, 10.
Sālyā, XVII, 10.
Sālvās, the, IX, 60.
Sibi, XIV, 30.
Siva, see *Īsvara*.
Sukra, I, 46; IX, 10.
Suddhādhivāsāb, the, I, 39; III, 26, 56; XIII, 31.
Suddhāvāsāb, the, XIV, 88.
Suddhodana, I, 9, 20; XVII, 17, 23.
Subhakkṛtsnāb, the, XII, 56.
Sūra, I, 50.
Sauddhodani, II, 46; III, 40; XI, 1.
Sauri (*Kṛishna*), I, 50.
Śrāvastī, XVII, 15.
Śreṇya, X, 10, 16 (cf. *Bimbisāra*).
Svetabālārka, XVII, 4.

Sagara, I, 49.
Samgayin, XVII, 3.
Sanatkumāra, II, 27; V, 27.
Saptarshitārā, I, 33.
Sabhya, XVII, 4.

Samantakusuma, XV, 5.
Sarvārthasiddha, II, 17; VII, 1.
Sāmkṛiti, IX, 60.
Sārathi (pura), XV, 98.
Sārasvata, I, 47.
Sugātā, XVII, 9.
Sudarśana, XV, 92.
Sunirmitāb, the, XVI, 111.
Sumda, XI, 32.
Sumdarānanda, XVII, 27.
Sumitra (*Sumantra*?), VI, 36.
Suvarmanishthvin, VIII, 77.
Sūryaka, XIII, 11.
Sringaya (*Samgaya*?), VIII, 77.
Senagit, IX, 20.
Soma, IV, 73.
Sautasomī, XVII, 27.
Saunu, *Saunava* (?), XVII, 28, 30.
Svayambhū, II, 51; X, 2, 19; XVII, 30.
Svastika, XVII, 6.

Hari (see *Vishṇu*), XV, 103.
Himavat, I, 20; II, 3; IV, 27; V, 45; VIII, 36; IX, 68; XVII, 13.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 11, note 2 (I, 63). Professor Jacobi writes, 'Indra's banner is intimately connected with the Gaiṇa legend of king Domuḥa (see my *Ausgew. Erzähl. in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 40); the old Gaiṇa legends originated in the East; cf. also Rāmāy. II, 74, 36; IV, 16, 37; 17, 2 (Bombay ed.).'

P. 21, l. 30 (II, 31 *b*). I have read in the translation *madaiḥ* for the printed *maṁdaiḥ*.

P. 33, l. 30 (III, 50 *c*). If we read *api nāma sakto*, the translation should run, 'would that he might not be able to forsake us, even though he remained attached to us only through the restlessness of the senses.'

P. 49, note 2, l. 4, read *kumudeśa*.

P. 60, l. 31 (V, 80 *d*). This might be rendered 'planting his footsteps without alarm,' but I have taken *ḥakita* as meaning 'hurrying' from the *ḥakitagateḥ* of the next *śloka*.

P. 83 (VIII, 31 *d*), add to note 2, 'there is a similar confusion of *vigādha* and *vigādḥa* in the MSS. in VIII, 76.'

BUDDHIST MAHÂYÂNA TEXTS

PART II

THE LARGER SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÛHA
THE SMALLER SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÛHA
THE VAGRAKKHEDIKÂ

THE LARGER
PRAGÑÂ-PÂRAMITÂ-HR/DAYA-SÛTRA

THE SMALLER
PRAGÑÂ-PÂRAMITÂ-HR/DAYA-SÛTRA

TRANSLATED BY F. MAX MÜLLER

THE AMITÂYUR-DHYÂNA-SÛTRA

TRANSLATED BY J. TAKAKUSU

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1894

CONTENTS TO PART II.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	V
Translated by F. Max Müller.	
1. THE LARGER SUKHĀVATĪ-VYŪHA	1
INDEX OF WORDS	77
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.	85
2. THE SMALLER SUKHĀVATĪ-VYŪHA	87
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS	105
INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS	107
3. THE VAGRAKKHEDIKĀ	109
4. THE LARGER PRAGŪĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-HR/ĀDAYA-SŪTRA	145
5. THE SMALLER PRAGŪĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-HR/ĀDAYA-SŪTRA	151
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS	155
INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS	157
Translated by J. Takakusu.	
6. THE AMITĀYUR-DHYĀNA-SŪTRA	159
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS	203

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East.	205
--	-----

INTRODUCTION.

THE LARGER SUKHÂVATĪ-VYŪHA.

ACCORDING to the census of 1891 Japan has about forty millions of inhabitants, of whom more than thirty millions are Buddhists. Of these Buddhists the Shin-shiu sect claims about ten millions of followers, with 19,208 temples, and 11,958 preachers, with ten chief priests, and 3,593 students. The books on which the members of this sect chiefly found their faith are the two Sukhâvatî-vyûhas, the large and the small, and the Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra. They are sometimes called the Large Sûtra, the Small Sûtra, and the Sûtra of Meditation¹.

According to the Buddhists of Japan, Buddha preached the Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra to queen Vaidehî in the city of Râgagrîha. This was during the fifth period of his life ; i. e. when he was between the age of seventy-one and seventy-nine.

The outline given of this Sûtra is as follows : 'Vaidehî, consort of king Bimbisâra of Magadha, seeing the wicked actions of her son Agâtasatru, began to feel weary of this world Sahâ (here as elsewhere explained as the patient, much-enduring earth). Sâkyamuni then taught her how to be born in the Pure Land Sukhâvatî, instructing her in the method of being born in that world, enumerating three kinds of good actions. The first is worldly goodness, which includes good actions in general, such as filial piety, respect

¹ See Sukhâvatî-vyûha, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, p. ix.

for elders, loyalty, faithfulness, &c. The second is the goodness of *Sīla* or morality, in which there are differences between the priesthood and the laity. In short, however, all who do not oppose the general rule of reproving wickedness and exhorting to the practice of virtue are included in this goodness. The third is the goodness of practice, which includes that of the four *Satya*s or truths, and the six *Pāramitā*s or perfections. Besides these, all other pure and good actions, such as the reading and recital of the *Mahāyāna-sūtras*, persuading others to hear the Law, and thirteen kinds of goodness to be practised by fixed thought, are comprised in this. Towards the end of the *Sūtra*, Buddha says: "Let not one's voice cease, but ten times complete the thought, and repeat the words *Namo-mitābhāya Buddhāya*, or adoration to *Amitābha Buddha*. This practice is the most excellent of all."

'At seventy-eight years of age Buddha is said ¹ to have composed the *Samanta-bhadra-bodhisattva-kāryā-dharma-sūtra*, in the city of *Vaisālī*. At the age of seventy-nine he is supposed to have ascended to the *Trayastrimsa* heaven in order to preach to his mother, and after descending on earth again, he only published two more *Sūtras*, the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*. Very soon after he died.'

The same three books, that is, the two *Sukhāvatī-vyūhas* and the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*, form also the chief authority of the *Gōdoshiu* sect, the sect of the Pure Land. The followers of this sect state ² that in the year 252 A. D. *Saṅghavarman*, an Indian student of the *Tripiṭaka*, came to China and translated the great *Amitāyus-sūtra*, i. e. the *Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, in two volumes. This is the first and largest of their sacred books.

In the year 400 A. D. another teacher, *Kumāragīva*, came from India to China, and produced a translation of the

¹ These are the statements of the Buddhists in Japan as recorded by *Bunjin Nanjio* in 'Short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects,' Tokyo, 1886, p. xviii.

² Loc. cit. p. 104.

small Amitâyuz-sûtra, or Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha, in one volume. This is the smallest of the three sacred books.

In 424 A. D. Kâlayâsas arrived in China from India, and translated the Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra in one volume.

Chinese translations of these texts were known to exist not only in China, but also in Japan, and there were in several cases more than one translation of the same text. But it was not known, nor even suspected, that the Sanskrit originals of some of them had been preserved in the temples and monasteries of that distant island.

In the year 1880 I read a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society in London, 'On Sanskrit Texts discovered in Japan' (Selected Essays, vol. ii, pp. 213-271), and in it and in the preface to my edition of the Sanskrit texts of the Sukhâvatî-vyûha in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1883, I explained how I discovered the existence and came into the possession of Sanskrit MSS. and copies of Sanskrit MSS. from the Buddhist monasteries in Japan.

I had long suspected the existence of old Sanskrit MSS. in China, and had asked my friends there to search for them, and as it was well known from the works of Siebold and others that there were short invocations in Sanskrit of Buddha hung up in the Buddhist temples of Japan or written on their walls, I entertained a hope that in Japan also some real and ancient MSS. might still be discovered. The alphabet in which these short invocations are written was known by the name of Shidda, the Sanskrit Siddha¹. It may be seen in Siebold's works and in an article published in 1880 in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. i, pp. 322-336, by MM. Ymaizoumi and Yamata. What was not known, however, was that there had been a period in

¹ Siddham, lit. what is successfully achieved, seems to have been used by Buddhists like *siddhi*, success, as an auspicious invocation at the beginning of literary works. Thus we see that the alphabet on the Hôriuzhi palm-leaves begins with *siddham*, and this *siddham* may afterwards have become the name of the alphabet itself. In *Siddhânta*, meaning dogma, grammar, *siddha* conveys the sense of settled; in *Siddhârtha*, a name of Buddha, it means fulfilled, i. e. he whose desires have all been fulfilled, the perfect man, free from desires and passions.

the history of Japan when Sanskrit was studied systematically by native priests, nay, that some of the MSS. which had travelled from India to China, and from China to Japan were still in existence there. Of these MSS. I gave an account in 1884 in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 'The Ancient Palm-Leaves.' Though hitherto no new discoveries of Sanskrit MSS. have been made, it is most desirable that the search for them should not be given up in China, in Japan, and in Corea also. But even thus a new and important chapter has been added to the history of Buddhism, and the fact been established once for all that Buddhist literature found a home in Japan, and was studied there for many generations not only in Chinese translations, but in the original Sanskrit also. Let us hope that through the efforts of my pupils, such as Bunyiu Nanjio, Kenjiu Kasawara (died 1883), and others, a new school of Sanskrit students has been planted in Japan which will enable the followers of Buddha there to derive their knowledge of his doctrine from the original and undefiled source of the ancient Tripitaka.

I thought it best for the sake of completeness, and in compliance with the wishes of my friends in Japan, to give in this volume the translation both of the Larger and the Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha. They differ from each other on several smaller points. The Larger Sukhâvatî-vyûha is represented as having been preached on the *Grîdhrakûta* hill near *Râgagrîha*, the Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha in the *Geta*-grove near *Srâvastî*. In the former the chief interlocutors are the Bhagavat, i. e. the Buddha Sâkyamuni, Ananda, and Agita; in the latter the Bhagavat and Sâriputra. There is one point, however, which is of great importance in the eyes of the followers of the Shin-shiu sect, on which the two treatises differ.

The Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha lays great stress on the fact that people can be saved or can be born in the Land of Bliss, if only they remember and repeat the name of Buddha Amitâbha two, three, four, five, six or more nights before their death, and it distinctly denies that people are born in the Paradise of Amitâbha as a reward or necessary result of good works performed in the present life. This

would seem to take away one of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, namely the doctrine of *karman*, or of the continuous working of our deeds whether good or bad. Instead of the old doctrine, As a man soweth, so he shall reap, a new and easier way of salvation is here preached, viz. As a man prayeth, so he shall be saved. It is what is known to us as salvation by faith rather than by works. The Larger *Sukhāvati-vyūha* lays likewise great stress on prayer and faith in *Amitābha*, but it never neglects 'the stock of merit' as essential for salvation. It would almost seem as if this popular and easy doctrine had secured to itself the name of *Mahāyāna*, as meaning the Broad Way, in opposition to the Narrow Way, the *Hīnayāna*.

The historical relation between the *Hīnayāna* and the *Mahāyāna* schools of Buddhism is to me as great a puzzle as ever. But that the teaching of *Sākyamuni* as represented in the *Hīnayāna* comes first in time seems to be shown by the *Mahāyāna-sūtras* themselves. Even in our *Sukhāvati-vyūha* the teacher, the *Bhagavat*, is *Sākyamuni*, whom we know as the son of the Lord of *Kapilavastu*, the husband of *Yasodharā*, the father of *Rāhula*. We begin with a dialogue between this Buddha and his famous disciple *Ānanda*. *Ānanda* observes that Buddha is in a state of spiritual exaltation and asks him what he is seeing or thinking. Thereupon Buddha relates how there was a line of eighty-one *Tathāgatas* or Buddhas beginning with *Dīpaṅkara* and ending with *Lokesvararāga*. During the period of this *Tathāgata Lokesvararāga*, a *Bhikṣu* or Buddhist mendicant of the name of *Dharmākara* formed the intention of becoming a Buddha. He therefore went to the *Tathāgata Lokesvararāga*, praised him in several verses, and then asked him to become his teacher and to describe to him what a Buddha and a Buddha country ought to be. After having received instruction, *Dharmākara* comprehended all the best qualities of all the Buddha countries, and prayed that they should all be concentrated in his own country when he himself had become a Buddha. After long meditations *Dharmākara* returns to Buddha *Lokesvararāga* and tells him in a long prayer what he

wishes and wills his own Buddha country to be. This prayer forms really the nucleus of the Sukhâvatĭ-vyūha ; it is in fact, under the form of a prayer, a kind of prophecy of what, according to Dharmākara's ideas, Sukhâvatĭ or the Land of Bliss ought to be. Dharmākara then became a Bodhisattva, a candidate for Buddhahood, and lastly a real Buddha (§ 9). All this is related by Buddha Sākyamuni to Ānanda, as a kind of vision of what happened ten kalpas ago (§ 14, s. f.). When Ānanda asks Sākyamuni what has become of this Bodhisattva Dharmākara, Buddha answers that this original mendicant is now reigning in Sukhâvatĭ as the Buddha Amitābha. He then proceeds to describe Sukhâvatĭ where Amitābha dwells, and his description of Amitābha's country is very much the fulfilment of all that Dharmākara has prayed for. Once (§ 17) Ānanda is reproved by Buddha for not implicitly believing all he says about the marvels of Sukhâvatĭ, but afterwards the praises of Sukhâvatĭ and of its inhabitants are continued till nearly the end. In some verses recited by Buddha Sākyamuni, Amitābha himself, when questioned by the Buddha-son Avalokiteśvara, explains that Sukhâvatĭ is what it is in fulfilment of his prayers, when he was as yet living on earth (§§ 31, 13; 17). At last Ānanda expresses a wish to see Amitābha, whereupon that Buddha sends a ray of light from the palm of his hand so that the whole world was inundated by its light, and not only Ānanda, but every living being could see Amitābha and his retinue of Bodhisattvas in the Land of Bliss, while they in Sukhâvatĭ could see Sākyamuni and the whole world Sahā. Then begins the conversation between Sākyamuni and Agita (instead of Ānanda). Buddha explains to him how some of the blessed spirits in Sukhâvatĭ sit cross-legged in lotus-flowers, while others dwell shut up in the calyx of these flowers, the former being the firm believers in Amitābha, the latter those who have entertained some doubt, and who have therefore to wait for five hundred years inside the calyx before they become full-blown, being debarred during all that time from seeing and hearing the Buddha.

In conclusion Buddha Sākyamuni exhorts Agita to teach

this treatise, the Sukhâvatî-vyûha, to all beings, and promises great rewards to all who will learn it, copy it, teach and explain it.

I need not repeat here what I have said in the preface to my edition of the Sanskrit text of the Sukhâvatî-vyûha about the difficulties of translating a text which in many places is corrupt and imperfect. But I may point out another difficulty, namely how almost impossible it is to find in English a sufficient number of nouns and adjectives to render the superabundant diction of this Description of the Land of Bliss. An exact rendering of all the words of its gushing eloquence is out of the question. Often I should have liked to shorten some turgid sentence, but I was afraid of exposing myself once more to the frivolous charge of representing the Sacred Books of the East as more beautiful, as more free from blemishes, than they really are. No more unfounded charge could have been brought against these translations of the Sacred Books of the East. Whatever else they may be or not be, they are certainly faithful, as faithful as an English translation of an Oriental original can possibly be. That they are free from mistakes, I should not venture to say, and no Oriental scholar would expect it. Those who venture to translate Oriental texts that have never been translated before are few in number, and they have to do the work of pioneers. Those who follow in their track find it very easy, no doubt, to do over again what has been done before, and even to point out here and there what they consider and represent as mistakes; nay, they evidently imagine that because they can discover a mistake, they themselves could have done the pioneer's work as well or much better. If only they would try for once to find their way through the jungle and the brushwood of an unexplored forest they would become more just to their predecessors, and more humble in judging of their own performances. Nay, they might possibly find that often when they differ from the translation of others, they themselves may be wrong, and their precursors right.

This at all events I may say in my own name and in the name of my fellow-workers, that the idea of representing

the Sacred Books of the East as better, purer, and more beautiful than they are, could never enter into the head of a scholar, and has never proved even a temptation to the translators of the Sacred Books of the East.

THE SMALLER SUKHÂVATĪ-VYŪHA.

The translation of the Smaller Sukhâvatĭ-vyūha has been published by me before in my Selected Essays, vol. ii, p. 348, where a fuller account may be found of the discovery of Sanskrit MSS. in Japan, and of the way by which they travelled from India to China, and from China to Japan. I have made a few corrections in my translation, and have added some notes and omitted others.

THE VAGRAKKHEDIKĀ.

In order to make this collection of Mahāyāna works more complete and useful to students in Japan I have added a translation of the *Vagrakkhedikā*, which is much studied in Japan, and the Sanskrit text of which was published by me in an editio princeps—in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1881.

The *Vagrakkhedikā*, or the Diamond-cutter, is one of the most widely read and most highly valued metaphysical treatises in Buddhist literature. In Japan the *Vagrakkhedikā* and the *Pragñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* are read chiefly by the followers of the Shin-gon sect, founded by Kō-Bō, the great disciple of the famous Hiouen-thsang, in 816 A. D. The temples of this sect in Japan amount to 12,943. Written originally in Sanskrit, it has been translated into Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol, and Mandshu. Its full title is *Vagrakkhedikā Pragñā-pāramitā*, i.e. the Diamond-cutter, the perfection of wisdom, or, as it has sometimes been rendered, 'the

Transcendent Wisdom.' Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogue of the Tripitaka, p. 1, has shown that it forms the ninth section of the Mahāpragñā-pāramitā-sūtra, and that it agrees with the Tibetan translation of the text in 300 slokas.

An account of the Tibetan translation was given as far back as 1836 by Csoma Körösi in his Analysis of the Sher-chiu, the second division of the Kanjur, published in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 393 seq. Our text is there described as the Diamond-cutter or the Sūtra of wonderful effects, in which Sākya in a colloquial manner instructs Subhūti, one of his principal disciples, in the true meaning of the Pragñā-pāramitā. The Tibetans, we are told, pay great respect to this Sūtra, and copies of it are found in consequence in great abundance¹.

The first Chinese translation² is ascribed to Kumāragīva of the latter Tsin dynasty (A.D. 384-417). An English translation of this Chinese translation was published by the Rev. S. Beal in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1864-5.

There are several more Chinese translations, one by Bodhiruḥi (A.D. 509), one by Paramārtha (A.D. 562), one by Hiouen-thsang (A.D. 648), one by I-tsing (A.D. 703), one by Dharmagupta of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-618).

The text and German translation of the Tibetan translation were published in 1837 by M. Schmidt in the Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg, tom. iv, p. 186.

The Mongolian translation was presented by the Baron Schilling de Canstadt to the Library of the Institut de France.

The Mandshu translation is in the possession of M. de Harlez, who with the help of the Tibetan, Mandshu, and Chinese versions has published a valuable French translation of the Sanskrit text of the Vagracchedikā in the Journal Asiatique, 1892.

¹ See also L. Feer in Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. ii, p. 201.

² See preface to my edition of the Vagracchedikā, Anecd. Oxon., 1881.

At first sight it may seem as if this metaphysical treatise hardly deserved the world-wide reputation which it has attained. Translated literally into English it must often strike the Western reader as sheer nonsense, and hollow repetition. Nor can anything be said in defence of the form or style adopted in this treatise by the Buddhist philosophers who wished to convince their hearers of the truth of their philosophy. This philosophy, or, at least, its underlying doctrine, is not unknown to us in the history of Western philosophy. It is simply the denial of the reality of the phenomenal world. Considering how firmly a belief in phenomenal objects is established in the ordinary mind, it might well have seemed that such a belief could not be eradicated except by determined repetition. But that the theory had been fully reasoned out before it was stated in this practical, but by no means attractive form, may be gathered from the technical terminology which pervades our treatise. There are two words, in particular, which are of great importance for a right apprehension of its teaching, dharma and *samgñā*. Dharma, in the ordinary Buddhist phraseology, may be correctly rendered by law. Thus the whole teaching of Buddha is called the Good Law, Saddharma. But in our treatise dharma is generally used in a different sense. It means form (*eidos*), and likewise what is possessed of form, what is therefore different from other things, what is individual, in fact, what we mean by a thing or an object. This meaning has escaped most of the translators, both Eastern and Western, but if we were always to translate dharma by law, it seems to me that the whole drift of our treatise would become unintelligible. What our treatise wishes to teach is that all objects, differing one from the other by their dharmas, are illusive, or, as we should say, phenomenal and subjective, that they are in fact of our own making, the products of our own mind. When we say that something is large or small, sweet or bitter, these dharmas or qualities are subjective, and cannot be further defined. What is large to me, may be small to another. A mile may seem short or long, according to the state of our muscles, and no one can determine the point where

more like
"on to" "why"

smallness ends and length begins. This applies to all things which we are supposed to know, that is, which we are able to name. And hence the Buddhist metaphysician tells us that all things are but names, *samgñās*¹, and that being names they are neither what they seem to be nor what they do not seem to be. This extreme Pyrrhonism is afterwards applied to everything. Dust is not dust, because we cannot draw a line between the smallest molecules, the smallest granules, the smallest dust, and the smallest gravel. There are no signs (no *τεκμήρια* or *σημεία*) by which we can know or distinguish these objects. There are in fact no objects, independent of us ; hence whoever speaks of things, of beings, of living beings, of persons, &c., uses names only, and the fact that they are names implies that the normal things are not what they seem to be. This, I believe, is the meaning of the constantly recurring phrase : What is spoken of as 'beings, beings indeed' that was preached or called by Buddha as no-beings ; that is, every name and every concept is only a makeshift, if it is not altogether a failure ; it is certainly not true. We may speak of a dog, but there is no such thing as a dog. It is always either a greyhound or a spaniel, this or that dog, but dog is only an abstraction, a name, a concept of our mind. The same applies to quadruped, animal, living being, and being ; they are all names with nothing corresponding to them. This is what is meant by the highest perfect knowledge, in which nothing, not even the smallest thing, is known, or known to be known (par. 22). In that knowledge there is no difference, it is always the same and therefore perfect (par. 23). He who has attained this knowledge believes neither in the idea, i. e. the name of a thing, nor in the idea of a no-thing, and Buddha by using the expression, the idea, or name (*samgñā*) of a thing, implies thereby that it is not the idea of a thing (par. 31). This metaphysical Agnosticism is represented as perfectly familiar even to children and ignorant persons (par. 30),

¹ *Samgñā* and *dharma* correspond in many respects to the Vedāntic *nāmarūpe*.

and if it was meant to be so, the endless repetition of the same process of reasoning may find its explanation.

That this extreme scepticism or Pyrrhonism is really the popular view of the present followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, was clearly stated at the Congress of Religions, held in Chicago, in September, 1893. A Deputy sent by the leading sects in Japan, submitted to the Congress an outline of the doctrines of the Mahāyāna Buddhists drawn up by Mr. S. Kuroda. This outline had been carefully examined and approved by scholars belonging to six of the Buddhist sects in Japan, and was published with authority at Tokyo in 1893. This is what he writes of the Mahāyāna metaphysics :

‘The distinction between pure and impure is made by the mind; so are also all the changes in all things around us. All things that are produced by causes and conditions, are inevitably destined to extinction. There is nothing that has any reality; when conditions come things begin to appear, when conditions cease these things likewise cease to exist. Like the foam of the water, like the lightning flash, and like the floating, swiftly vanishing clouds they are only of momentary duration¹. As all things have no constant nature of their own, so there is no actuality in pure and impure, rough and fine, large and small, far and near, knowable and unknowable, &c. On this account it is sometimes said that all things are nothing. The apparent phenomena around us are, however, produced by mental operations within us, and thus distinctions are established.

‘These distinctions produced by mental operations are, however, caused by fallacious reasoning nurtured by the habits of making distinctions between ego and non-ego, good and bad, and by ignorance of the fact that things have no constant nature of their own and are without distinctions (when things thought of have no corresponding reality, such thinking is called fallacious. It may be compared to the action of the ignorant monkey that tries to catch the image of the moon upon water). Owing to this fallacious reasoning, a variety of phenomena constantly

¹ Cf. *Vagrabhhedikā*, par. 32.

appear and disappear, good and bad actions are done, and the wanderings through the six ways or states of life are thus caused and maintained.

‘All things are included under subject and object. The subject is an entity in which mental operations are awakened whenever there are objects, while the object consists of all things, visible and invisible, knowable and unknowable, &c. The subject is not something that occupies some space in the body alone, nor does the object exist outside of the subject. The innumerable phenomena of subject and object, of ego and non-ego, are originated by the influence of fallacious thinking, and consequently various principles, sciences, and theories are produced.

‘To set forth the principle of “Vidyāmātra” (all things are nothing but phenomena in mind), phenomena of mind are divided into two kinds :—“Gosshiki” (unknowable) and “Fumbetsujishiki” (knowable). They are also divided into eight kinds :—1. *Kakshur-vigñāna* (mental operations depending on the eye), 2. *Srotra-vigñāna* (those depending on the ear), 3. *Ghrāna-vigñāna* (those depending on the olfactory organs), 4. *Gihvā-vigñāna* (those depending on the taste), 5. *Kāya-vigñāna* (those depending on the organs of touch), 6. *Manovigñāna* (thinking operations), 7. *Klishṭa-mano-vigñāna* (subtile and ceaseless operations), 8. *Ālaya-vigñāna* (all things come from and are contained in this operation ; hence its name, meaning receptacle).

‘According to the former division, the various phenomena which appear as subjects and objects are divided into two kinds :—the perceptible and knowable, the imperceptible and unknowable. The imperceptible and unknowable phenomena are called “Gosshiki,” while the perceptible and knowable phenomena are called “Fumbetsujishiki.” Now what are the imperceptible and unknowable phenomena? Through the influence of habitual delusions, boundless worlds, innumerable varieties of things spring up in the mind. This boundless universe and these subtile ideas are not perceptible and knowable ; only Bodhisattvas believe, understand, and become perfectly convinced of these

through the contemplation of "Vidyâmâtra;" hence they are called imperceptible and unknowable. What are the knowable and perceptible phenomena? Not knowing that these imperceptible and unknowable phenomena are the productions of their own minds, men from their habitual delusions invest them with an existence outside of mind, as perceptible mental phenomena, as things visible, audible, &c. These phenomena are called perceptible and knowable. Though there are thus two kinds, perceptible and imperceptible phenomena, they occur upon the same things, and are inseparably bound together even in the smallest particle. Their difference in appearance is caused only by differences both in mental phenomena, and in the depth of conviction. Those who know only the perceptible things without knowing the imperceptible, are called the unenlightened by Buddha. Of the eight mental operations, the eighth, *Ālaya-viṣṇāna*, has reference to the imperceptible, while the first six (sic) refer to the perceptible phenomena. All these, however, are delusive mental phenomena.

'In contradistinction to the fallacious phenomena, there is the true essence of mind. Underlying the phenomena of mind, there is an unchanging principle which we call the essence of mind; the fire caused by fagots dies when the fagots are gone, but the essence of fire is never destroyed. The essence of mind is the entity without ideas and without phenomena, and is always the same. It pervades all things, and is pure and unchanging. It is not untrue or changeable, so it is also called "*Bhūtataṭatā*" (permanent reality).

'The essence and the phenomena of mind are inseparable; and as the former is all-pervading and ever-existing, so the phenomena occur everywhere and continually, wherever suitable conditions accompany it. Thus the perceptible and imperceptible phenomena are manifestations of the essence of mind that, according to the number and nature of conditions, develop without restraint. All things in the universe, therefore, are mind itself. By this we do not mean that all things combine into a mental unity called mind, nor that all things are emanations from it, but that without

changing their places or appearance, they are mind itself everywhere. Buddha saw this truth and said that the whole universe was his own. Hence it is clear that where the essence of mind is found, and the necessary conditions accompany it, the phenomena of mind never fail to appear. So the essence of mind is compared to water, and its phenomena to waves. The water is the essence, the waves are the phenomena ; for water produces waves when a wind of sufficient strength blows over its surface. The waves, then, are the phenomena, the water is the essence ; but both are one and the same in reality. Though there is a distinction between the essence and the phenomena of mind, yet they are nothing but one and the same substance, that is, mind. So we say that there exists nothing but mind. Though both the world of the pure and impure, and the generation of all things, are very wide and deep, yet they owe their existence to our mind. Men, however, do not know what their own minds are ; they do not clearly see the true essence, and, adhering to their prejudices, they wander about between birth and death. They are like those who, possessing invaluable jewels, are, nevertheless, suffering from poverty. Heaven and hell are but waves in the great sea of the universe ; Buddhas and demons are not different in their essence. Let us, therefore, abide in the true view and reach the true comprehension of the causality of all things.'

I hope that this will justify the view I have taken of the *Vaggrakkhedikâ*, and that my translation, though it differs considerably from former translations, will be found to be nearest to the intentions of the author of this famous metaphysical treatise.

THE PRAGÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-HR/DAYA-SŪTRA.

(THE LARGER AND THE SMALLER TEXT.)

As the short text and translation of these Sūtras were published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1884, with Introduction and full notes, I did not at first intend to include them in this volume. But as I was told that this Sūtra is really the most widely read Buddhist text in Japan, to be seen everywhere on shrines, temples and monasteries, more admired, it may be, than understood by the Buddhist laity, I yielded to the wishes of my Buddhist friends, and have reprinted it so as to make this volume a really complete repository of all the important sacred texts on which Buddhism takes its stand in Japan. We have heard so much of late of a Buddhist propaganda for the conversion of the East and the West to the doctrines of Buddha, that it may be useful to see what the doctrines of the historical Buddha have become in the Mahāyāna-school, more particularly in the monasteries of Japan.

THE AMITĀYUR-DHYĀNA-SŪTRA.

As I did not succeed in getting possession of a MS. of the original Sanskrit text of this Sūtra, I had given up all hope of being able to give in this volume a translation of all the classical texts used by the two leading sects of the Buddhists in Japan. Fortunately at the last moment a young Japanese scholar who is reading Sanskrit with me at Oxford, Mr. J. Takakusu, informed me that he possessed the Chinese translation of this Sūtra, and that he felt quite competent to translate it. It so happens that the style of this Sūtra is very simple, so that there is less fear of the Chinese translator, Kālayāsa, having misunderstood the Sanskrit original. But though I feel no doubt that this

translation from the Chinese gives us on the whole a true idea of the Sanskrit original, I was so much disappointed at the contents of the Sûtra, that I hesitated for some time whether I ought to publish it in this volume.

What determined me at last to do so was partly the wish of my friends in Japan who expected a complete translation of their three sacred books, partly my own wish that nothing should be suppressed that might lead us to form a favourable or unfavourable, if only a correct judgment of Buddhism in its Mahâyâna dress, as professed by millions of people in China and Japan.

What gives to these Sûtras their highest interest in the eyes of Sanskrit scholars is their date, which can be determined with considerable certainty. Those who know how few certain dates there are in the history of Sanskrit literature will welcome these Mahâyâna Sûtras as a new sheet-anchor in the chronology of Sanskrit literature. We have as yet only three, the date of *Kandragupta* (*Sandrokyptos*) as fixed by Greek historians, and serving to determine the dates of *Asoka* and his inscriptions in the third, and indirectly of *Buddha* in the fifth century. The second was supplied by *Hiouen-thsang's* travels in India, 629–645 A. D., and the third by *I-tsing's* travels in India in the years 671–690 A. D.

I was able to show in my lectures on 'India, what can it teach us?' delivered at Cambridge in 1882, that *Hiouen-thsang*, while in India, had been the pupil of *Gayasena* and *Mitrasena*, which supplied scholars with a fixed date for the literary activity of *Guruprabha*, *Vasubandhu*, and their contemporaries and immediate predecessors and successors. Still more important was the date which *I-tsing* supplied for *Bhartrihari* and the literary period in which he moved. *Bhartrihari's* death, fixed by *I-tsing* at 650 A. D., has served as a rallying-point for a number of literary men belonging to what I called the Renaissance of Sanskrit literature.

I pointed out at the same time that the period between the end of the Vedic literature, represented in its last efforts by the numerous Sûtra-works, and the beginning of the Renaissance in the fourth century A. D., would have to be filled to a great extent by Buddhist works. I hardly

thought then that Mahâyâna texts like the Sukhâvatî-vyûha, which seemed to be of so secondary a character, would claim a foremost place in that period. But there can be little doubt that the first Chinese translation of it by Lokaraksha was made between the years 147-186 A. D. ; the second by K' K'ien between 223-253 A. D. ; and the third and best by Saṅghavarman, an Indian Sramana of Tibetan origin, in 252 A. D., whereas the first translation of a Sanskrit text into Chinese, that of the Sûtra in forty-two sections by Kâśyapa Mâtāṅga, is ascribed to the year 67 A. D. I need hardly say that there are no Sanskrit texts the date of which can be fixed with so much certainty as those of the Sanskrit originals of the Chinese translations.

The doctrine of Amitâbha and his paradise Sukhâvatî seems to have acquired great popularity in China and afterwards in Japan. We need not wonder when we see how easy salvation was made by it, particularly according to the teaching of the Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha and the Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra.

The Buddhists who, as I have pointed out on several occasions, are the debtors of the Brâhmanas in almost all their philosophical speculations, seem to me to have borrowed also their half-mythological conception of Sukhâvatî or the Land of Bliss from the same source. In the Vishṇu and other Purâṇas, when the cities of the Lokapâlagods are mentioned, in the different quarters of the sky, the city of Varuṇa is placed in the West, and it is called Mukhyâ, the chief, or Sukhâ, the happy, or Nimlokaṇî, the city of sunset. This Sukhâ is, I think, the prototype of Sukhâvatî¹. Though it would be rash to conclude that therefore the Purâṇas, as we now possess them, because they mention the Land of Bliss or Sukhâ, must be older than our text of the Sukhâvatî, say 100 A. D., we may say that Paurâṇik legends must certainly have existed at that early time, and this is a matter of some importance. I have not found any Brahmanic antecedents of Avalokitesvara,

¹ See also Ānandagiri on Saṅkara's commentary on the Kṛāṇḍogya-upaniṣad, III, 10, 4, ed. Calc. p. 172.

but the occurrence of his name in the Sukhâvatî-vyûha shows that he was known much earlier than is commonly supposed, that is about 100 A. D.

In Japan, where Buddhism was introduced by way of Corea in 552 A. D., we hear of the Sukhâvatî-vyûha for the first time in 640 A. D., when the emperor Jōmei held a religious service at his palace to hear an exposition of the Sûtra on Sukhâvatî from the lips of Ye-yin, a Sramana invited from China. Many works were composed in Japan as well as in China on Amitâbha and his Paradise, as may be seen from the Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, published by my friend and former pupil Bunyiu Nanjio in 1883 (Clarendon Press).

I have to thank Dr. Winternitz and Mr. Takakusu for their kind help in preparing the indices and reading the proof-sheets of this volume.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

OXFORD:

Jan. 26, 1894.

THE FOLLOWING LIST OF BUDDHIST TEXTS, TRANSLATED IN THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST, MAY BE USEFUL TO STUDENTS IN
CHINA AND JAPAN :

SANSKRIT TITLE.	CHINESE TITLE.	NUMBER IN THE CATALOGUE OF THE TRIPITAKA ¹ .
I. <i>Buddhaṣarita</i> (-kāvyā), 'Life of Buddha,' a poem, by Arvaghosha, of India. See <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , Aryan Series, vol. i, part vii, 1893. Translated by E. B. Cowell, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	佛所行讚經 Translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A. D. 420. From Chinese into English by S. Beal, Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, S. B. E., vol. xix.	No. 1351; another of the same name No. 680. To be found in the India Office and the Bodleian Library. The Nishi-Hongwanji (大學林) Library possesses a very good separate copy.
II. Larger <i>Sukhāvati</i> (-vyūha), 'The Land of Bliss.' See <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , Aryan Series, vol. i, part ii, 1883. Translation by F. Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	大無量壽經 Translated into Chinese by Saṅghavarman, A. D. 252. The chief of the three Sūtras of the Pure Land sects in China and Japan.	No. 27; for comparison of the five existing texts (out of twelve) see <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , vol. i, part ii, Introduction, vii seq.
III. Smaller <i>Sukhāvati</i> (-vyūha). See Appendix to the (Larger) <i>Sukhāvati</i> , <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , also Max Müller's <i>Selected Essays</i> , pp. 348-362. Translation by F. Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	阿彌陀經 Translated by Kumāragīva, A. D. 402. Into French, by Imaizumi and Yamata, <i>Annales M. G.</i> , vol. ii, 1881.	No. 200; another of the same name by K' K'ien, i. e. No. 26.
IV. <i>Vaṅṅkheḍikā</i> , 'The Diamond-cutter.' See <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , Aryan Series, vol. i, part i, 1881. Translation by F. Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	金剛般若波羅蜜經 Translated by Kumāragīva, A. D. 384-417. From Chinese into English, by S. Beal, J. R. A. S., 1864-65, Art. I. Into French, by Mons. C. de Harlez, 1892. Translation by F. Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	No. 10; another of the same name by Bodhiruki, i. e. No. 11; and many others under different names.
V. <i>Pragṇā-pāramitā-hri-daya</i> (two texts, shorter and fuller). See <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , Aryan Series, vol. i, part iii. Translation by F. Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	般若心經 1. By Kumāragīva (No. 19), A. D. 400. 2. By Hsiuen-thsang (No. 20), A. D. 649. 3. By Sh-hu, A. D. 980-1000 (No. 935). 4. By <i>Pragṇā</i> , A. D. 785-810. The most popular text, but not found in the India Office collection. Translation by F. Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	
VI. <i>Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra</i> , 'Meditation on Buddha Amitāyus.' For this, see <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i> , Aryan Series, vol. i, part ii, Introduction, ix. Translated by J. Takakusu, S. B. E., vol. xlix.	觀無量壽經 Translated by Kālayāras, A. D. 424, only translation that exists.	No. 198; another lost.

¹ Published by Bunyiu Nanjio (Clarendon Press, 1883).

OTHER BUDDHIST TEXTS TRANSLATED IN THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST:

SANSKRIT TITLE.

Dhammapada, by F. Max Müller,
vol. x. Sutta-Nipāta, by Fausböll.

Buddhist Suttas, by Rhys Davids,
vol. xi.

1. Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta.
2. Dhamma-kaṅka-ppavattana.
3. Teviga Suttanta.
4. Ākaṅkeya Sutta.
5. Ketokhila Sutta.
6. Mahāsudassana Suttanta.
7. Sabbāsava Sutta.

Vinaya Texts, by Rhys Davids and
Oldenberg, vol. xiii.

1. The Pātimokkha.
2. The Mahāvagga.

Vinaya Texts, by Rhys Davids and
Oldenberg, vol. xvii.

1. The Mahāvagga.
2. The Kullavagga.

Vinaya Texts (Kullavagga), by Rhys
Davids and Oldenberg, vol. xx.

Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, 'Life of
Buddha,' by S. Beal, vol. xix.

Saddharmapundarika, 'Lotus of the
True Law,' by Kern, vol. xxi.

Milinda Praṇa, 'Questions of King
Milinda.' From Pāli, by Rhys Davids,
vols. xxxv and xxxvi.

CHINESE TITLE.

法句經

Nos. 1321, 1353, 1365, 1439. Some
parts of Max Müller's translation were
retranslated into Japanese by S. Katō,
Nanjo's pupil.

1. 大般涅槃經

Nos. 113, 114, 115, 120, 123, 118,
119, 552, though they do not agree.

2. 轉法輪經

Nos. 657, 658.

3. 三明經

4. 阿康祇經

5. 心愚經

6. 大善見經

7. 總煩惱經

1. 解脫戒本經

See No. 1108. Cf. also 1110 and
1160.

2. 大會部

1. 大會部

2. 小會部

小會部

佛所行讚經

No. 1351, also 680. See above.

妙法蓮華經

Nos. 134, 136, 138, 139. It is this
book which gave birth to a Japanese
sect called Nichiren—the number of
temples being about 5,000. It is also
read by many other sects. Into French
by Julien; the same from Sanskrit by
Burnouf.

那先比丘經

No. 1358. Very interesting dia-
logue between Greek King Menander
and Bhikṣu Nāgasena. The Pāli
text is far more interesting and fuller
than the Chinese.

SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA:

Sacred Books of China, Texts of Confucianism, by James Legge, vol. iii.

Sacred Books of China, Texts of Confucianism, by James Legge, vol. xvi.

Sacred Books of China, Texts of Confucianism, by James Legge, vols. xxvii and xxviii.

Sacred Books of China, Texts of Tãoism, by James Legge, vols. xxxix and xl. The doctrine of Tão, its history, its influence, and its relation to the other two religions of China are fully treated in these volumes.

書經, 詩經, 孝經

易經

禮記

老子道德經, 莊子書, 太上感應篇, 清淨經, 陰符經, 玉樞經, 日用經, 林西仲評論莊子數篇, 薛道衡老子廟碑, and 蘇軾莊子祠堂記. Legge's translation practically includes all the evidences of 司馬遷, 列子, 韓非子, and 班固.

THE LARGER
SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÛHA.

THE LARGER SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÛHA.

DESCRIPTION OF SUKHÂVATÎ, THE LAND OF BLISS.

OM. Adoration to the Three Treasures! Om.
Adoration to all the glorious Buddhas and Bodhi-
sattvas! Adoration to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas,
Âryas, Srâvakas, and Pratyekabuddhas, past, pre-
sent, and to come, who dwell in the unlimited and
endless Lokadhâtus of the ten quarters! Adora-
tion to Amitâbha! Adoration to him whose soul
is endowed with incomprehensible virtues!

Adoration to Amitâbha, to the Gina, to thee, O
Muni!

I go to Sukhâvatî through thy compassion also ;
To Sukhâvatî, with its groves, resplendent with gold,
The delightful, adorned with the sons of Sugata,—
I go to it, which is full of many jewels and treasures ;
And the refuge of thee, the famous and wise.

§ 1. Thus it was heard by me. At one time the
Bhagavat¹ dwelt in Râgagrîha, on the mountain
Gridhrakûta, with a large assembly of Bhikshus,

¹ The Blessed, i. e. Buddha Sâkyamuni.

with thirty-two thousands of Bhikshus, all holy (arhat), free from frailties and cares, who had performed their religious duties, whose thoughts had been thoroughly freed through perfect knowledge, with inquiring thoughts, who had broken the fetters of existence, who had obtained their desires, who had conquered, who had achieved the highest self-restraint, whose thoughts and whose knowledge were unfettered, Mahânâgas (great heroes), possessed of the six kinds of knowledge, self-controlled, meditating on the eight kinds of salvation, possessed of the powers, wise in wisdom, elders, great disciples, viz. 1. Âgñâtakaundaînya, 2. Asvagit, 3. Vâshpa, 4. Mahânâman, 5. Bhadragit, 6. Yasodeva, 7. Vimala, 8. Subâhu, 9. Pûrna Maitrâyana¹putra, 10. Uruvilvâ-kâsyapa, 11. Nadi-kâsyapa, 12. Gayâ-kâsyapa, 13. Kumâra-kâsyapa, 14. Mahâ-kâsyapa, 15. Sâriputra², 16. Mahâmaudgalyâyana, 17. Mahâkaush³kilya, 18. Mahâkaphila, 19. Mahâkunda, 20. Aniruddha³, 21. Nandika, 22. Kampila⁴, 23. Subhûti, 24. Revata, 25. Khadiravanika⁵, 26. Vakula, 27. Svâgata, 28. Amogharâga, 29. Pârâyanika, 30. Patka, 31. Kullapatka, 32. Nanda, 33. Râhula, and 34. the blessed Ânanda,—with these and with other elders, and great disciples, who were wise in wisdom, with the exception of one person who had still to be advanced on the path of the disciples, viz. the blessed Ânanda;—and with many noble-minded Bodhisattvas, led by Maitreya.

¹ These two names refer to one and the same person.

² Nos. 15 and 16 are taken as one in the MSS. A B.

³ Frequently called Anuruddha.

⁴ Kimbila is mentioned with Anuruddha and Nandiya in the Mahāvagga X, 4, 2.

⁵ See Pân. VIII, 4, 5.

§ 2. Then the blessed Ānanda, having risen from his seat, having put his cloak on one shoulder, and knelt on the earth with his right knee, making obeisance with folded hands in the direction of the Bhagavat, spoke thus to the Bhagavat : ' Thy organs of sense, O Bhagavat, are serene, the colour of thy skin is clear, the colour of thy face bright and yellowish. As an autumn cloud is pale, clear, bright and yellowish, thus the organs of sense of the Bhagavat are serene, the colour of his face is clear, the colour of his skin bright and yellowish. And as, O Bhagavat, a piece of gold coming from the Gāmbû river, having been thrown into a furnace by a clever smith or by his apprentice, and well fashioned, when thrown on a pale cloth, looks extremely clear, bright and yellowish, thus the organs of sense of the Bhagavat are serene, the colour of his face is clear, and the colour of his skin bright and yellowish. Moreover, I do not know, O Bhagavat, that I have ever seen the organs of sense of the Tathâgata so serene, the colour of his face so clear, and the colour of his skin so bright and yellowish before now. This thought occurs to me, O Bhagavat : probably, the Tathâgata¹ dwells to-day in the state of a Buddha, probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Gina, in the state of omniscience, in the state of a Mahânâga ; and he contemplates the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas of the past, future, and present.'

After these words, the Bhagavat thus spoke to the blessed Ānanda : ' Well said ! well said ! Ānanda. Did the gods suggest this matter to you ? or the

¹ That is, Buddha Sâkyamuni.

blessed Buddhas? Or do you know this through the philosophical knowledge which you possess?’

After these words the blessed Ânanda spoke thus to the Bhagavat: ‘The gods, O Bhagavat, do not suggest this matter to me, nor the blessed Buddhas, but this thought occurs to me by my own philosophy alone, viz. that probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Buddha, probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a *Gina*, in the state of omniscience, [in the state of a *Mahânâga*]¹; or he contemplates [the venerable Buddhas] of the past, future, and present.’

After these words the Bhagavat spoke thus to the blessed Ânanda: ‘Well said! well said! Ânanda; excellent indeed is your question², good your philosophy, and beautiful your understanding! You, O Ânanda, have arrived for the benefit and happiness of many people, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great body of men, for the benefit and happiness of gods and men, as you think it right to ask the Tathâgata this matter³: Thus, indeed, Ânanda might pile up⁴ intellectual knowledge under immeasurable and innumerable blessed, holy, and fully enlightened Tathâgatas, and yet the knowledge of the Tathâgata would not be exceeded thereby. And why? Because, O Ânanda, one who possesses the knowledge of a Tathâgata possesses an intellectual knowledge of causes that cannot be

¹ This is left out here. *Mahânâga*, technical term for greatness.

² *Unmiṣṭga*, all the Chinese translators translate as ‘question.’

³ One expects *tathâgatam etam artham*.

⁴ I have adopted the reading of B, in order to have a subject for *upasaṃharet*, but A C P read *ânanda*.

exceeded¹. If² the Tathâgata wished, O Ânanda, he could live for a whole kalpa (age) on one alms-gift, or for a hundred kalpas, or for a thousand kalpas, or for a hundred thousand kalpas, to a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of kalpas³, nay, he could live beyond, and yet the organs of nature of the Tathâgata would not perish, the colour of his face would not be altered, nor would the colour of his skin be injured. And why? Because, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata has so fully obtained the Pâramitâs⁴ which arise from Samâdhi⁵. The appearance of fully enlightened Buddhas is very difficult to be obtained in this world, O Ânanda. As the appearance of Audumbara-flowers is very difficult to be obtained in this world; thus, O Ânanda, the appearance of Tathâgatas who desire welfare, wish for what is beneficial, are compassionate, and have arrived at the highest compassion, is very difficult to be obtained. But, O Ânanda, it is (owing to) the grace of the Tathâgata himself that you think that the Tathâgata should be asked this question, so that there may arise in this world beings who can be teachers of all the world, for the sake of noble-minded Bodhisattvas. Therefore, O Ânanda, listen, and take it well and rightly to heart! I shall tell you.'

¹ I am not satisfied with this translation, but I do not think that *gñâna*, even in Buddhist Sanskrit, could ever be used as a masculine, and I therefore take *tathâgata gñâna* as a Bahuvrîhi.

² Read *gñâna*. Âkâṅkshan.

³ Large numbers, constantly recurring in the text. Niyuta is explained as a million, koṭi as ten millions.

⁴ The highest perfection.

⁵ Deep meditation.

‘Yes, O Bhagavat,’ so did the blessed Ānanda answer the Bhagavat.

§ 3. The Bhagavat then spoke to Ānanda : ‘At the time, O Ānanda, which was long ago in the past, in an innumerable and more than innumerable, enormous, immeasurable, and incomprehensible kalpa before now,—at that time, and at that moment, there arose in the world a holy and fully enlightened Tathāgata called 1. Dīpaṅkara. Following after Dīpaṅkara, O Ānanda, there was a Tathāgata 2. Pratāpavat, and after him, 3. Prabhākara, 4. Kandanagandha, 5. Sumerukalpa, 6. Kādana, 7. Vimalānana, 8. Anupalīpta, 9. Vimalaprabha, 10. Nāgābhībhū, 11. Sūryodana, 12. Girirāgaghosha, 13. Merukūṭa, 14. Suvarṇaprabha, 15. Gyotishprabha, 16. Vaidūryanirbhāsa, 17. Brahmaghosha, 18. Kāndābhībhū, 19. Tūryaghosha, 20. Muktakusumapratiman-*ā*itaprabha, 21. Srikūṭa, 22. Sāgaravarabuddhivikrīḍitābhigñā, 23. Varaprabha, 24. Mahāgandharāganirbhāsa, 25. Vyapagatakhilamalapratighosha, 26. Sūrakūṭa, 27. Ranaṅgaha, 28. Mahāguṇadharabuddhiprāptābhigñā, 29. Kāndrasūryagihmkarāṇa, 30. Ut-taptavaidūryanirbhāsa, 31. Kīttadhārābuddhisāṅku-sumitābhyudgata, 32. Pushpāvattivanarāgasāṅkusu-mitābhigñā, 33. Pushpākara, 34. Udaakaṇḍra, 35. Avidyāndhakāravidhvamsanakara, 36. Lokendra, 37. Muktakāhatrapravātasadrīsa, 38. Tishya, 39. Dharmamativinanditarāga, 40. Simhasāgarakūṭavinanditarāga, 41. Sāgaramerukāṇḍra, 42. Brahma-svaranāḍābhīnandita, 43. Kusumasambhava, 44. Prāptasena, 45. Kāndrabhānu, 46. Merukūṭa, 47. Kāndraprabha, 48. Vimalanetra, 49. Girirāgaghosha-svara, 50. Kusumaprabha, 51. Kusumavṛiṣṭyabhiprakṛta, 52. Ratnaṇḍra, 53. Padmabimbyupasobhita, 54.

Kandanagandha, 55. *Ratnābhībhāsa*, 56. *Nimi*, 57. *Mahāvvyūha*, 58. *Vyapagatakhiladosha*, 59. *Brahmaghosha*, 60. *Saptaratnābhivṛishā*, 61. *Mahāgunadhara*, 62. *Mahātamālapatra* *kandanakardama*, 63. *Kusumābhigñā*, 64. *Agñānavidhvamsana*, 65. *Kesarin*, 66. *Muktakhatra*, 67. *Suvarnagarbha*, 68. *Vaidūryagarbha*, 69. *Mahāketu*, 70. *Dharmaketu*, 71. *Ratnaketu*, 72. *Ratnasrī*, 73. *Lokendra*, 74. *Narendra*, 75. *Kāruṇika*, 76. *Lokasundara*, 77. *Brahmaketu*, 78. *Dharmamati*, 79. *Simha*, 80. *Simhamati*. After *Simhamati*, a holy and fully enlightened Tathāgata arose in the world, *Lokesvararāga* by name, perfect in knowledge and conduct, a *Sugata*, knowing the world, without a superior, charioteer of men whose passions have to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, a Buddha, a *Bhagavat*. And again during the time of the preaching of this holy and fully enlightened Tathāgata *Lokesvararāga*, O *Ānanda*, there was a *Bhikshu*, *Dharmākara* by name, richly endowed with memory, with understanding, prudence, and wisdom,—richly endowed with vigour, and of noble character.

§ 4. ‘Then, O *Ānanda*, that *Bhikshu* *Dharmākara*, having risen from his seat, having put his cloak on one shoulder, and knelt on the earth with his right knee, stretching forth his folded hands to where the *Bhagavat* Tathāgata *Lokesvararāga* was, and, after worshipping the *Bhagavat*, he, at that very time, praised him in his presence with these *Gāthās*¹:

“O thou of immeasurable light, whose knowledge

¹ As the text of these *Gāthās* is far from satisfactory, I have given a translation of the Chinese translation by Saṅghavarman at the end of my edition, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, I, part ii, p. 79.

is endless and incomparable; not any other light can shine here (where thou art)! The rays of the moon of Śiva and of the jewel of the sun, were not bright here in the whole world. (1)

“The form also is infinite in the best of beings¹; thus also the voice of Buddha is of infinite sound; his virtue likewise, with meditation, knowledge², strength; like unto thee there is no one in this world. (2)

“The Law (dharma) is deep, wide, and subtle; the best of Buddhas is incomprehensible, like the ocean; therefore there is no further exaltation of the teacher; having left all faults, he is gone to the other shore³. (3)

“Then the best of Buddhas⁴, of endless light, lights up all regions, he the king of kings; and I, having become Buddha, and a master of the Law, may I deliver mankind from old age and death! (4)

“And I, on the strength of generosity, equanimity, virtue, forbearance, power, meditation and absorption, undertake here the first and best duties, and shall become a Buddha, the saviour of all beings. (5)

“And I, seeking for the knowledge of the best of the Blessed Ones, shall always worship many hundred thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, endless like the sand of the Gaṅgā, the incomparable lords. (6)

¹ It would be better to read *sattvasāra* as a vocative. See p. 22, l. 5.

² I have translated as if the reading were *pragñā*, which would, however, have spoiled the metre.

³ The text has *-dhikālam*, and *-bdhipāram* is suggested as a conjecture only.

⁴ I translate *buddhāvāra*.

"Whatever worlds there are, similar (in number) to the sand of the Gaṅgā, and the endless countries which exist besides, there everywhere I shall send out light, because I have attained such power¹. (7)

"My land is (to be) noble, the first and the best; the Bodhi-tree excellent in this world². There is incomparable happiness arising from Nirvāṇa, and this also I shall explain as vain. (8)

"Beings³ come hither from the ten quarters; having arrived there they quickly show my happiness. May Buddha there teach me the truth,—I form a desire full of true strength and vigour. (9)

"I, knowing the worlds of the ten quarters, possessed of absolute knowledge—they also always proclaim my thought! May I, gone to Avīci hell, always abide there, but I shall never cease to practise the power of prayer! [i.e. May I remain in hell, if I cease to pray.]" (10)

§ 5. 'Then, O Ānanda, that Bhikshu Dharmākara, having praised the Bhagavat, the Tathāgata Lokeshvararāga, in his presence, with those Gāthās, spoke thus: "O Bhagavat, I wish to know the highest perfect knowledge. Again and again I raise and incline my thoughts towards the highest perfect knowledge. May therefore the Bhagavat, as a teacher, thus teach me the Law, that I may quickly know the highest perfect knowledge. May I become in the world a Tathāgata, equal to the

¹ The text is obscure, Saṅghavarman translates: 'My light will shine over all these countries, thus my strength and power will be immeasurable.'

² According to the Chinese translation.

³ Should it be sattvā?

unequaled. And may the Bhagavat proclaim those signs by which I may comprehend the perfection of all good qualities of a Buddha country."

'After this, O Ânanda, the Bhagavat Lokeshvararâga, the Tathâgata, thus spoke to that Bhikshu :

"Do you by yourself, O Bhikshu, know the perfection of all excellences and good qualities of a Buddha country?"

'He said : "O Bhagavat, I could not do this, but the Bhagavat alone. Explain the perfection of the excellences and all the good qualities of Buddha countries of the other Tathâgatas, after hearing which we may fulfil every one of their signs."

'Then, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata Lokeshvararâga, holy and fully enlightened, knowing the good disposition of that Bhikshu, taught for a full koṭi of years the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of Buddha countries belonging to eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas, together with the signs, indication, and description, desiring welfare, wishing for benefits, compassionate, full of compassion, so that there might never be an end of Buddha countries, having conceived great pity for all beings. The measure of life of that Tathâgata was full forty kalpas.

§ 6. 'Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, taking the perfections of all the excellences and good qualities of those Buddha countries, of those eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas, and concentrating them all on one Buddha country, worshipped with his head the feet of the Bhagavat Lokeshvararâga, the Tathâgata, turned respectfully round him to the right, and walked away from the presence of this Bhagavat. And

afterwards, for the space of five kalpas, he thus concentrated the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of the Buddha countries, such as had never been known before in the ten quarters of the whole world, more excellent, and more perfect than any, and composed the most excellent prayer.

§ 7. 'Thus, O Ānanda, that Bhikshu concentrated in his mind a perfection of a Buddha country eighty-one times more immeasurable, noble, and excellent than the perfection of the eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries that had been told him by the Bhagavat Lokesvararāga, the Tathāgata. And then, proceeding to where the Tathāgata was, he worshipped the feet of the Bhagavat with his head, and said: "O Bhagavat, the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of the Buddha countries has been concentrated by me."

'After this, O Ānanda, the Tathāgata Lokesvararāga thus spoke to the Bhikshu: "Preach then, O Bhikshu;—the Tathāgata allows it. Now is the proper time, O Bhikshu. Delight the assembly, produce joy, let the lion's voice be heard, so that now and hereafter, noble-minded Bodhisattvas, hearing it, may comprehend the different subjects (or occasions) of the prayers for the perfection of the good qualities of a Buddha country."

'Then, O Ānanda, that Bhikshu Dharmākara thus spoke at that time to the Bhagavat: "May the Bhagavat thus listen to me, to what my own prayers are, and how, after I shall have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my own Buddha country will then be endowed with all inconceivable excellences and good qualities."

§ 8. 1. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine there should be either hell, brute-creation¹, the realm of departed spirits, or the body of Asuras, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

2. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should fall away (die), and fall into hell, the brute-creation, the realm of departed spirits, or into the body of Asuras, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

3. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be of one colour, viz. a golden colour, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

4. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine there should be perceived any difference between gods and men, except when people count and tell, saying: 'These are gods and men, but only in ordinary and imperfect parlance,' then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

5. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not be possessed of the highest Pâramitâs of miraculous power and self-control, so that they could at least in the shortest moment of one thought step over a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

6. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be possessed of the recollection of their former births, so as at least to remember a hundred thousand

¹ Birth as an animal.

niyutas of koṭis of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

7. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all acquire the divine eye, so as at least to be able to see a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of worlds, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

8. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all acquire the divine ear, so as at least to be able to hear at the same time the good Law from a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

9. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be skilled in the knowledge of the thoughts of other people, so as at least to be able to know the deeds and thoughts of beings belonging to a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

10. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should form any idea of property, even with regard to their own body, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

11. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be firmly established, viz. in absolute truth, till they have reached Mahāparinirvāṇa, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

12. "O Bhagavat, if any being should be able to count the pupils belonging to me after I have

obtained the highest perfect knowledge in that Buddha country of mine, even if all beings who are contained in those three millions of spheres of worlds¹, after having become Pratyekabuddhas², should be counting for a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

13. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my light should be liable to be measured in this Buddha country of mine, even by the measure of a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

14. "O Bhagavat, if the measure of the life of the beings in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, should be liable to be measured, excepting always by their own power of prayer, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

15. "O Bhagavat, if the measure of my life after I have obtained Bodhi (Buddha knowledge) should be limited, even by numbering a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

16. "O Bhagavat, if, for the beings in this Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, even the name of sin should exist, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

17. "O Bhagavat, if immeasurable and innumerable blessed Buddhas in immeasurable Buddha

¹ Trisâhasra mahâsâhasra.

² Men ready for Buddhaship, but who decline to preach or communicate their knowledge.

countries do not glorify my name, after I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge); if they do not preach my fame and proclaim my praise, and utter it together, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

18¹. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who have directed their thought towards the highest perfect knowledge in other worlds, and who, after having heard my name, when I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge), have meditated on me with serene thoughts; if at the moment of their death, after having approached them, surrounded by an assembly of Bhikshus, I should not stand before them, worshipped by them, that is, so that their thoughts should not be troubled, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

19. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who in immeasurable and innumerable Buddha countries, after they have heard my name, when I shall have obtained Bodhi, should direct their thought to be born in that Buddha country of mine, and should for that purpose bring their stock of merit to maturity, if these should not be born in that Buddha country, even those who have only ten times repeated the thought (of that Buddha country), barring always those beings who have committed the (five) *Ānantarya* sins², and who have caused an obstruction and abuse of the good Law, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

20. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who have been

¹ On *Pravīdhānas* 18 to 21, see note at the end.

² The five sins which bring immediate retribution. Cf. Childers, s. v.

born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be bound to one birth only, before reaching the highest perfect knowledge, barring always the special prayers of those very noble-minded Bodhisattvas who have put on the whole armour (of the Law), who understand the welfare of all beings, who are devoted to all beings, who work for the attainment of Nirvâṇa of all beings, who wish to perform the duty of a Bodhisattva in all worlds, who wish to serve all Buddhas, and to bring beings, in number like grains of sand of the river Gaṅgâ, to the highest perfect knowledge, and who besides are turned towards the higher practice¹, and perfect in the practice of the Samantabhadra² discipline, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

21. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be able, after having gone to other Buddha countries, after their one morning-meal, to worship many hundreds of Buddhas, many thousands of Buddhas, many hundred thousands of Buddhas, many koṭis of Buddhas, &c., till up to many hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas, with objects which give every kind of pleasure, and this through the grace of the Buddha, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

22. "O Bhagavat, if those Bodhisattvas in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should wish their stock of merit to grow

¹ Possibly the same as the *uttarimagga*, Arhatship.

² See note at the end.

in the following shapes, viz. either in gold, in silver, in jewels, in pearls, in beryls, in shells, in stones, in corals, in crystal, in amber, in red pearls, in diamond, &c., or in any one of the other jewels; or in all kinds of perfumes, in flowers, in garlands, in ointment, in incense-powder, in cloaks, in umbrellas, in flags, in banners, or in lamps; or in all kinds of dancing, singing, and music;—and if such gifts should not appear for them, from being produced as soon as thought of, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

23. “O Bhagavat, if those beings who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all recite the story of the Law which is accompanied by omniscience, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

24. “O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should think thus: May we, remaining in this world, honour, revere, esteem, and worship the blessed Buddhas in immeasurable and innumerable Buddha countries, viz. with cloaks, alms-bowls, beds, stools, refreshments, medicines, utensils, with flowers, incense, lamps, perfumes, garlands, ointment, powder, cloaks, umbrellas, flags, banners, with different kinds of dancing, singing, and music, and with showers of jewels,—and if the blessed Buddhas should not accept them, when they are produced as soon as thought of, viz. from compassion, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

25. “O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be in possession of strength of body as strong as the diamond (or thunderbolt?) of

Nârâyana, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

26. "O Bhagavat, if any being in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should learn the limit of the beauty of (its) ornament, even if he be possessed of the divine eye, and should know (its) various beauty, saying: 'That Buddha country possesses so much beauty and so much magnificence,' then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

27. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, a Bodhisattva possessed even of a very small stock of merit, should not perceive the Bodhi-tree of noble beauty, at least a hundred yoganas in height, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

28. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, either teaching or learning should have to be made by any being, and they should not all be in possession of the perfect knowledge, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

29. "O Bhagavat, if that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not be so brilliant, that in it could be seen on all sides immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries, as a round face is seen in a highly burnished round mirror, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

30. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be a hundred thousand of vases full of different sweet perfumes, made of all kinds of jewels, always smoking with incense, fit for the worship of Bodhi-

sattvas and Tathāgatas, rising into the sky beyond gods, men, and all things, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

31. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be showers of sweet jewel-flowers, always pouring down, and if there should not be sweet-sounding music-clouds, always playing, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

32. "O Bhagavat, if the beings belonging to me, after I have obtained Bodhi, who are visible by their splendour, in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable worlds, should not all be filled with pleasure, far beyond gods and men, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

33. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the noble-minded Bodhisattvas in immeasurable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries on all sides, after having heard my name, should not be delivered from birth, through the merit arising from that hearing, and should not be strong in the knowledge of Dhāraṇīs, until they have obtained the very throne of Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

34. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, women in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries on all sides, after having heard my name, should allow carelessness to arise, should not turn their thoughts towards Bodhi, should, when they are free from birth, not despise their female nature; and if they, being born again, should assume a second female nature, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

35. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas who in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries round about in the ten quarters having heard my name, and having fallen down, shall worship me with prostrate reverence, should not, when performing the duty of Bodhisattvas, be honoured by the world and by the gods, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

36. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the work of dyeing, sewing, drying, washing of his cloaks should have to be performed by any Bodhisattva, and they should not perceive themselves, as quick as thought, covered by newly-produced excellent cloaks, granted to them by the Tathâgata, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

37. "O Bhagavat, if the beings who are born at the same time in that Buddha country, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not obtain such happiness as that of the holy Bhikshu who is free from pain and has obtained the third meditation, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

38. "O Bhagavat, if those Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not produce from different jewel-trees such a mass of excellent ornaments in that Buddha country, as they should wish for, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

39. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in other Buddha countries, when they have heard my name, after I shall have obtained Bodhi, should suffer any diminution in the strength of their senses, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

40. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas, from hearing my name in a place of a different Buddha country, should not obtain the Samādhi (ecstasy) called Suvibhaktavatt, in which Samādhi the Bodhisattvas will see immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, blessed Buddhas one moment after another; and if that Samādhi of theirs should come to an end meanwhile, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

41. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, beings, having heard my name in Buddha countries different from this, should not, through the stock of merit which follows on that hearing, obtain birth in a noble family, till they arrive at Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

42. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas who live in other Buddha countries, after hearing my name, till they have reached Bodhi by the stock of merit which follows on that hearing, should not all obtain a combination of their stock of merit with the joy and gladness of their Bodhisattva life, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

43. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas, as soon as they have heard my name, in other worlds, should not obtain the Samādhi called Samantānugata, in which Bodhisattvas honour one moment after another immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, blessed Buddhas, and if that Samādhi of theirs should come to an end before they have reached the throne of Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

44. "O Bhagavat, if the beings who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not hear, as quick as thought, such a teaching of the Law as they wish to hear, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

45. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas in this and other Buddha countries, as soon as they have heard my name, should ever turn back from the highest perfect knowledge, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

46. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, and have become a Buddha-teacher, the Bodhisattvas who hear my name in Buddha countries, and obtain the first, the second, and the third degrees of endurance, as soon as they have heard my name, should turn away again from Buddha, the Law, and the Church, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge."

§ 9. 'And again, O Ânanda, when he had spoken such prayers, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, at that time, through the grace of Buddha spoke these verses¹:

1. "If, when I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be for me an excellent Prañidhâna of such a character, then, O Prince, O Best of beings, may I not be endowed with the ten powers, incomparable, worthy of offerings².

2. "If there should not be for me such a country, endowed with many and various mighty and divine

¹ The translation of these verses, owing to the imperfect state of the text, is in many places tentative only.

² See verse 10.

endowments, I should gladly go to hell, suffering pain, and not be a King of treasures¹.

3. "If, when I have approached the Bodhi throne, my name should not quickly reach the ten quarters, the broad and many endless Buddha countries, may I not be a lord of the world, endowed with power.

4. "If indeed I should delight in the enjoyments of love, being deprived of zeal, understanding and prudence, even after having reached the incomparable and blessed Bodhi, may I not be a teacher in the world, endowed with power.

5. "The lord of vast light, incomparable and infinite, has illuminated all Buddha countries in all the quarters, he has quieted passions, all sins and errors, he has quieted the fire in the walk of hell.

6. "After making his broad eye lustrous, after driving away the darkness from all men, after removing all untimely misfortunes, he led hither those who dwell in Svarga (heaven) and who shine with endless light.

7. "The splendour of sun and moon does not shine in heaven, nor the fiery splendour of the maze of jewels of the gods; the Lord overcomes all splendour, he, the bright one, who has performed his former discipline.

8. "He is the best of men, the treasure of all who suffer; there is no one like him in all the quarters. Having completed a hundred thousand of good works, he, in his assembly, raised the lion-voice of Buddha.

9. "After having worshipped former self-existing Ginās, after having performed immeasurable koṭis

¹ A Nāga king?

of vows and penances, he became in this, his best of spiritual existences, the best of beings, possessed of the full power of prayers.

10. "As the Bhagavat, the Lord, who is possessed of unlimited light of knowledge, knows the three kinds of knowledge in the world, may I also be worthy of equal offerings¹, the best of sages, the leader of men.

11. "If, O Lord, this my prayer succeeds, after I have obtained Bodhi, may this sphere of a thousand worlds tremble, and may a shower of flowers descend on the hosts of gods."

12. 'Then the earth trembled, flowers were showered down, hundreds of instruments resounded in the sky, powder of heavenly sweet sandal-wood was scattered, and there was a voice saying: "Thou wilt be a Buddha in the world."

§ 10. 'That Bhikshu Dharmākara, the noble-minded Bodhisattva, O Ānanda, was possessed of this perfection of prayers. And a few Bodhisattvas only, O Ānanda, are possessed of such a perfection of prayers. There is on this earth an appearance of a few only of such prayers. Of a few, however, existence cannot be denied.

'Then again, O Ānanda, this Bhikshu Dharmākara having recited these peculiar prayers before the Bhagavat Lokeshvararāga, the Tathāgata, and before the world including gods, Māra, and Brahman, and before people consisting of Sramanas and Brāhmanas with gods, men, and Asuras, was established in the attainment of the true promise. And proclaiming this purity of the Buddha country, this

¹ See verse 1.

greatness and excellency of the Buddha country, and performing the duty of a Bodhisattva, he never conceived the remotest thoughts of lust, malevolence, and cruelty, during a hundred thousand *niyutas* of *koṭis* of years, immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, measureless, immense, inexpressible; and he never conceived the idea of lust, malevolence, and cruelty, nay, he never conceived the idea of form, sound, smell, taste, and touch. He was gentle, charming indeed, and compassionate; pleasant to live with, agreeable, amiable, content, of few wishes, satisfied, retired, not evil, not foolish, not suspicious, not crooked, not wicked, not deceitful, tender¹, kindly speaking, always zealous, docile in the searching after the pure Law. And for the good of all beings, he recited the great prayer, showing respect to friends, teachers, masters, the Church, the Law, and Buddha, always girded for the performance of the duties of the Bodhisattva, righteous, gentle, not deceitful, not flattering, virtuous, a leader for the sake of rousing others to perform all good laws, producing by his activity the ideas of emptiness, causelessness, and purposelessness, and he was well guarded in his speech. Then, performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, after having given up all speaking which, when spoken, serves to injure one's self or others or both, he employed only such speech as served the pleasure and benefit of himself, others, or both. And he was so wise that, when entering into capitals, kingdoms, countries, towns, cities, and villages, he was always perfectly restrained with regard to all objects of sense. Performing

¹ Sukhiloma, for *sukhulâma* or *sukhumâla* (i.e. *sukumâra*).

himself the duties of the Bodhisattva without interruption, he walked himself in the highest perfection (pāramitā) of liberality, and he also roused others to walk in the same. And himself walking in the highest perfections of knowledge, meditation, strength, patience, and virtue, he roused others also to walk in the same. And he has collected so large a stock of merit that, wherever he is born, there arise for him many hundreds of thousands of *niyutas* of *koṭis* of treasures from out the earth.

‘By him, while he was thus performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, immeasurable and innumerable hundreds of thousands of *niyutas* of *koṭis* of beings were established in perfect enlightenment, of whom it is not easy to know the limit by means of speech. So many immeasurable and innumerable holy Buddhas were honoured, revered, esteemed, and worshipped, and enabled to touch whatever causes pleasure, such as cloaks, alms-bowls, couches, seats, refreshments, medicines, and other furniture. It is not easy to know the limit by pointing it out in words, as to how many beings were established by him in the noble families of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, ministers, householders, and merchants. In the same manner they were established in the sovereignty of Gambūdvīpa (India), and they were established in the character of *Kakravartins*, *Lokapālas*, *Sakras*, *Suyāmas*, *Sutushitas*, *Sunirmitas*, *Vasavartins*, *Devarāgas*, and *Mahābrahmans*. So many immeasurable and innumerable Buddhas were honoured, revered, esteemed, and worshipped, and requested to turn the wheel of the Law, of whom it is not easy to know the limit by means of words.

‘And he collected such virtue, that out of his

mouth, while performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, during immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, measureless, inexpressible koṭis of kalpas, there breathed a sweet and more than heavenly smell of sandal-wood. From all the pores of his hair there arose the smell of lotus, and he was pleasing to everybody, gracious and beautiful, endowed with the fulness of the best bright colour¹. As his body was adorned with all the good signs and marks, there arose from the pores (of his hair) and from the palms of his hands all sorts of precious ornaments in the shape of all kinds of cloaks and vestments, in the shape of all kinds of flowers, incense, scents, garlands, ointments, umbrellas, flags, and banners, and in the shape of all kinds of instrumental music. And there appeared also, streaming forth from the palms of his hands, all kinds of viands and drink, food, hard and soft, and sweetmeats, and all kinds of enjoyments and pleasures. Thus then that Bhikshu Dharmākara, O Ānanda, had obtained the command of all necessities, after performing the duties of a Bodhisattva.'

§ 11. After this, the blessed Ānanda thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, has that Bhikshu Dharmākara, the noble-minded Bodhisattva, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, passed away, having entered Nirvāṇa, or has he not yet been enlightened, or is he now living and enlightened, and does he dwell now, remain, support himself, and teach the Law?'

The Bhagavat said: 'Not indeed, O Ānanda, has

¹ See Lal. Vist. p. 337.

that Tathâgata passed away, nor has he not yet come, but the Tathâgata, the holy, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, dwells now, remains, supports himself, and teaches the Law, in the western quarter, in the Buddha country, distant from this world by a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries, in the world which is called Sukhâvatī, being called Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened. He is surrounded by innumerable Bodhisattvas, and worshipped by endless Srâvakas, and in possession of the endless perfection of his Buddha country.

§ 12. 'And his light is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to know the limit of its measure, saying, he stands illuminating so many hundreds of Buddha countries, so many thousands of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of Buddha countries, so many koṭis of Buddha countries, so many hundred koṭis of Buddha countries, so many thousand koṭis of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of koṭis of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries. But indeed, O Ānanda, to put it briefly, a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries, equal to the sands of the river Gaṅgā, are always lighted up in the eastern quarter, by the light of that Bhagavat Amitâbha. Thus on every side in the southern, western, northern quarter, in the zenith and nadir, in every one of these quarters, there are a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddha countries, like the sands of the river Gaṅgā, always lighted up by the light of that Bhagavat Amitâbha, excepting the Buddhas, the Bhagavats, who, through the practice of their former

prayers, have lighted up the world by their own light, which is a fathom in length, or by their light which is one, two, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty *yoganas* in length, or a hundred or thousand or hundred thousand *yoganas* in length, until their brightness reaches many hundred thousand *niyutas* of *koṭis* of *yoganas* in length. There is not, O *Ānanda*, any case of likeness, by which the extent of the light of that *Tathāgata Amitābha* could be understood. Hence, O *Ānanda*, for that reason that *Tathāgata* is called *Amitābha* (possessed of infinite light), and he is called *Amita-prabha* (possessed of infinite splendour), *Amita-prabhāsa* (possessed of infinite brilliancy), *Asamāptaprabha* (whose light is never finished), *Asaṅgata-prabha* (whose light is not conditioned), *Prabhā-sikhotsrīṣhaprabha* (whose light proceeds from flames of light), *Sadivya-maniprabha* (whose light is that of heavenly jewels), *Apratihata-asmirāga-prabha* (whose light has the colour of unimpeded rays), *Rāgantya-prabha* (possessed of beautiful light), *Premantya-prabha* (possessed of lovely light), *Pramodantya-prabha* (possessed of delightful light), *Saṅgamantya-prabha* (possessed of attractive light), *Upaśhantya-prabha* (possessed of pleasant light), *Anibandhan-tya-prabha*¹ (possessed of light that cannot be stopped), *Ativīrya-prabha* (possessed of extremely powerful light), *Atulya-prabha* (possessed of incomparable light), *Abhibhūyanarendrābhūtrayendra-prabha*² (possessed of light greater than that of

¹ This seems better than *nibandhan-tya-prabha*, as printed in the text.

² This reading is conjectural and the translation doubtful. Perhaps the text was *anabhibhūyanarendrābhūtrayendra-prabhaḥ*.

the lords of men, nay, the lords of the three worlds), *Srântasāññakayendusūryagihmkarānaprabha* (possessed of light which bends the full moon and the sun), *Abhibhūyalokapālasakrabrahmasuddhāvāsamahesvarasarvadevagihmkarānaprabha* (possessed of light which bends all the conquered gods, Mahesvara, the *Suddhāvāsas*, Brahman, Sakra, and the *Lokapālas*).

‘This splendour of the Ārya (noble) is pure, great, producing bodily pleasure, happiness of mind, producing happiness, delight, and joy for men and not-men, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, *Garuḍas*, *Gandharvas*, *Yakshas*, *Nāgas*, *Asuras*, and *Devas*; and producing the pleasure of beings of good disposition¹.

‘And in this manner, O Ānanda, the Tathāgata² might speak for a whole kalpa on the work of the Tathāgata Amitābha, beginning with his light, and yet he would not be able to reach the end of the virtues of that light of that Tathāgata, neither would there be any failure of the self-confidence in the Tathāgata himself. And why? Because, O Ānanda, both these things are immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, and endless, viz. first, the greatness of the excellence of the light of that Tathāgata Amitābha, the Bhagavat, and secondly, the unsurpassed light of the knowledge possessed by the Tathāgata (by myself).

¹ Here the text adds (p. 30, l. 4), *kalyakusalamimīzeva-dviprāmodyakaraṇī*. The whole sentence is unintelligible.

² This refers to the Bhagavat Sākyamuni himself, who speaks of himself as the Tathāgata. What he means to say is that the light of Amitābha is infinite and that therefore even the Tathāgata could not finish the description of it. Yet this would not detract from the infinite power of the Tathāgata or diminish his *vaiśāradya* because that power too is infinite.

§ 13. 'And, O Ānanda, the assembly of the hearers of that Tathāgata Amitābha is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to learn its measure, so as to be able to say, there are so many koṭis of the hearers, so many hundreds, thousands, hundred-thousands, kaṅkaras, vimbaras, nayutas (niyutas?), ayutas, akshobhyas, vivāhas (masc.), srotas (?), oḡas¹, so many periods, called immeasurable, innumerable, countless, incomparable, inconceivable. Now, for instance, O Ānanda, the Bhikṣhu Maudgalyāyana having obtained miraculous power, might, if he wished, count² in one day and night, how many kinds of stars there are in the universal world. Then, let there be a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of such men, endowed with miraculous powers, and let them do nothing else but count the first company (only) of the hearers of the Tathāgata Amitābha, during a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of years, and yet by them thus counting even the hundredth part would not be counted, even the thousandth, even the hundred thousandth; nay, not even so far as the minutest part, or likeness, or approach³ towards it would have been counted.

'Thus, for instance, O Ānanda, a man might throw out from the great ocean, which is not to be measured across by less than eighty-four thousand yoganās, one single drop of water by the sharp end of hair, which is divided a hundred times. What do you think then, Ānanda,—which would be greater, one drop of water which has been thrown up by the

¹ All these are names of fanciful measures.

² Nāgareṇa, 'with an instrument' or 'by some clever contrivance.'

³ See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapundarīka*, p. 317, note 2.

sharp pointed hair divided a hundred times, or the mass of water left in the great ocean ?'

Ânanda said : ' Even a thousand yoganas, O Bhagavat, would be a small portion of the great ocean, how much more then one drop of water thrown out by the sharp pointed hair divided a hundred times !'

Bhagavat said : ' As that one drop of water, exactly so large (so small in proportion) was the first company of the hearers. And let there be reckoning made by those Bhikshus, who are like Maudgalyâyana, counting for a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of years, and yet, as to the mass of water left in the great ocean, it would even then have to be considered as not counted. How much more with regard to the second, third, and the rest of the companies of the hearers ! Therefore the mass of hearers of the Bhagavat is endless and boundless, and receives the name of "immeasurable and innumerable."

§ 14. ' And, O Ânanda, the length of the life of that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to know its length, so as to be able to say (that it comprises) so many hundreds of kalpas, so many thousands of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of kalpas, so many koṭis of kalpas, so many hundreds of koṭis of kalpas, so many thousands of koṭis of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of koṭis of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of niyutas of koṭis of kalpas. Therefore, O Ânanda, the limit of the measure of the life of that Bhagavat is immeasurable indeed. Therefore that Tathâgata is called Amitâyus.

' And as, O Ânanda, the rule of making known the reckoning of kalpas exists here in this world, ten kalpas have passed now since Bhagavat Amitâyus,

the Tathāgata, arose and awoke to the highest perfect knowledge.

§ 15. 'And, O Ānanda, the world called Sukhāvati belonging to that Bhagavat Amitābha is prosperous, rich, good to live in, fertile, lovely, and filled with many gods and men. Then, O Ānanda, in that world there are neither hells, nor the brute creation, nor the realm of departed spirits, nor bodies of Asuras, nor untimely births¹. And there do not appear in this world such gems as are known in the world Sukhāvati.

§ 16. 'Now, O Ānanda, that world Sukhāvati is fragrant with several sweet-smelling scents, rich in manifold flowers and fruits, adorned with gem trees, and frequented by tribes of manifold sweet-voiced birds, which have been made by the Tathāgata (on purpose²). And, O Ānanda, those gem trees are of several colours, of many colours, and of many hundred thousand colours. There are gem trees there of golden-colour, and made of gold. There are those of silver-colour, and made of silver. There are those of beryl-colour, and made of beryl. There are those of crystal-colour, and made of crystal. There are those of coral-colour, and made of coral. There are those of red pearl-colour, and made of red pearls. There are those of diamond-colour, and made of diamonds.

'There are some trees of two gems, viz. gold and silver. There are some of three gems, viz. gold, silver, and beryl. There are some of four gems,

¹ These untimely births, i. e. being born out of time, when there are no Buddhas to listen to, are not mentioned in the first *Prāzidhāna*; nor the jewels.

² Cf. the eighth paragraph in the Smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha.

viz. gold, silver, beryl, and crystal. There are some of five gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, and coral. There are some of six gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, and red pearls. There are some of seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, red pearls, and diamonds as the seventh.

‘And there, O Ânanda, of the trees made of gold, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of gold, and the fruits are made of silver. Of trees made of silver, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of silver only, and the fruits are made of beryl. Of trees made of beryl, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of beryl, and the fruits are made of crystal. Of trees made of crystal, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of crystal only, and the fruits are made of coral. Of trees made of coral, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of coral only, and the fruits are made of red pearls. Of trees made of red pearls, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of red pearls only, and the fruits are made of diamonds. Of trees made of diamonds, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of diamonds only, and the fruits are made of gold.

‘Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of gold, the trunks of silver, the branches of beryl, the small branches of crystal, the leaves of coral, the flowers of red pearls, and the fruits of diamonds. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of

silver, the trunks of beryl, the branches of crystal, the small branches of coral, the leaves of red pearls, the flowers of diamonds, and the fruits of gold. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of beryl, the trunks of crystal, the branches of coral, the small branches of red pearls, the leaves of diamonds, the flowers of gold, and the fruits of silver. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of crystal, the trunks of coral, the branches of red pearls, the small branches of diamonds, the leaves of gold, the flowers of silver, and the fruits of beryl. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of coral, the trunks of red pearls, the branches of diamonds, the small branches of gold, the leaves of silver, the flowers of beryl, and the fruits of crystal. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of red pearls, the trunks of diamonds, the branches of gold, the small branches of silver, the leaves of beryl, the flowers of crystal, and the fruits of coral. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of diamonds, the trunks of gold, the branches of silver, the small branches of beryl, the leaves of crystal, the flowers of coral, and the fruits of red pearls. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of the seven gems, the trunks of the seven gems, the branches of the seven gems, the small branches of the seven gems, the leaves of the seven gems, the flowers of the seven gems, and the fruits of the seven gems.

‘And, O Ânanda, the roots, trunks, branches, small branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits of all those trees are pleasant to touch, and fragrant. And, when those (trees) are moved by the wind, a sweet and delightful sound proceeds from them, never

tiring, and never disagreeable to hear. That Buddha country, O Ānanda, is always on every side surrounded by such trees made of the seven gems, by masses of Kadālī (banana) trees, and rows of palm-trees made of the seven gems, and entirely surrounded with golden nets, and wholly covered with lotus flowers, made of all kinds of gems.

‘There are lotus flowers there, half a yogana in circumference. There are others, one yogana in circumference; and others, two, three, four, or five yoganās in circumference; nay, there are some, as much as ten yoganās in circumference. And from each gem-lotus there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand koṭīs of rays of light. And from each ray of light there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand koṭīs of Buddhas, with bodies of golden-colour, possessed of the thirty-two marks of great men, who go and teach the Law to beings in the immeasurable and innumerable worlds in the eastern quarter. Thus also in the southern, western, and northern quarters, above and below, in the cardinal and intermediate points, they go their way to the immeasurable and innumerable worlds and teach the Law to beings in the whole world.

§ 17. ‘And again, O Ānanda, there are no black mountains anywhere in that Buddha country, nor anywhere jewel mountains, nor anywhere Sumerus, kings of mountains, nor anywhere *Kakravāḍas*, great *Kakravāḍas*, kings of mountains. And that Buddha country is level on every side, lovely, like the palm of the hand, with districts full of jewels and treasures of every kind.’

After this, the blessed Ānanda spoke thus to the Bhagavat: ‘But in that case, O Bhagavat, where

do the gods consisting of the companies of the four Mahârâgas who dwell on the side of the Sumeru, and where do the Trâyastriṃsa gods who dwell on the top of the Sumeru, find their place ?'

Bhagavat said : 'What do you think, O Ânanda, where do these other beings find their place, who in this world dwell above the king of mountains, Sumeru, namely, the Yâmadevas, Tushitas, Nir-mânaratis, Paranirmitavasavartins, Brahmakâyikas, Brahmapurohitas, Mahâbrahmans, as far as the Akanishṭhas ?'

Ânanda replied : 'O Bhagavat, the result of works and the outcome of works are inconceivable' (i.e. I do not understand it).

Bhagavat said : 'Here, you see, the result of works and the outcome of works are inconceivable. But to the blessed Buddhas the position of Buddhas is not inconceivable, while to thee the holy and miraculous power of virtuous beings, whose stock of merit has become ripened, seems inconceivable.'

Ânanda said : 'I had no doubt on this, no difference of opinion, or hesitation ; on the contrary, I ask only the Tathâgata about this matter in order to destroy the doubts, the differences of opinion, and the hesitations of future beings.'

Bhagavat said : 'All right, Ânanda, this is what you ought to do.

§ 18. 'In that world Sukhâvati, O Ânanda, there flow different kinds of rivers ; there are great rivers there, one yogana in breadth ; there are rivers up to twenty, thirty, forty, fifty yoganâs in breadth, and up to twelve yoganâs in depth. All these rivers are delightful, carrying water of different sweet odour, carrying bunches of flowers adorned with various

gems, resounding with sweet voices. ¹ And, O Ānanda, there proceeds from an instrument which consists of hundred thousand koṭis of parts, which embodies heavenly music and is played by clever people, the same delightful sound which proceeds from those great rivers, the sound which is deep, unknown, incomprehensible, clear, pleasant to the ear, touching the heart, beloved, sweet, delightful, never tiring, never disagreeable, pleasant to hear, as if it always said, "Non-eternal, peaceful, unreal." Such a sound comes to be heard by these beings.

‘ And again, O Ānanda, the borders of those great rivers on both sides are filled with jewel trees of various scents, from which bunches of flowers, leaves, and branches of all kinds hang down. And if the beings, who are on the borders of those rivers, wish to enjoy sport full of heavenly delights, the water rises to the ankle only after they have stepped into the rivers, if they wish it to be so; or if they wish it, the water rises to their knees, to their hips, to their sides, and to their ears. And heavenly pleasures arise. Again, if the beings then wish the water to be cold, it is cold; if they wish it to be hot, it is hot; if they wish it to be hot and cold, it is hot and cold, according to their pleasure.

‘ And those great rivers flow along, full of water scented with the best perfumes of the Urugasāra sandal-wood, of Tagaras, Kālānusārin (dark, fragrant sandal-wood) trees, Agarus, and heavenly Tamālapatras; covered with flowers of the white water-lilies, and heavenly Utpalas, Padmas, Kumudas, and Pundarikas; full of delightful sounds of peacocks,

¹ Instead of tāsām, it is better to read tathā.

sparrows, *kunālas*, cuckoos, *sārikas*, parrots, ducks, geese, herons, cranes, swans ¹ and others; with small islands inhabited by flocks of birds, created by the Tathāgata; adorned with fields, full of metals; with fords on which it is easy to drink, free from mud, and covered with gold dust. And when these beings there desire, thinking what kind of wishes should be fulfilled for them, then exactly such wishes are fulfilled for them according to the Law ².

‘And, O Ānanda, the sound which rises from that water is delightful, and the whole Buddha country is aroused by it. And if beings, who stand on the borders of the river, wish that the sound should not come within their ear-shot, then it does not come within their ear-shot, even if they are possessed of the heavenly ear. And whatever sound a man wishes to hear, exactly that delightful sound he hears, as for instance, the sound “Buddha, Dharma (the Law), Saṅgha (the Church), the Pāramitās (highest perfections), the Bhūmis (stages), the Balas (powers), Vaisāradya (perfections), Āveṇikabuddhadharma (freedom from attachment), Pratisaṃvit (consciousness); Sūnyatā (emptiness), Animitta (unconditioned), Apraṇihita (free from desire), Anabhisamskāra (not made), Agāta (not born), Anutpāda (without origin), Abhāva (not being), and Nirodha (cessation); Sānta, prasānta, and upasānta (peace); Mahāmaitrī (great love), Mahākaruṇā (great pity), Mahāmuditā (great rejoicing), and Mahopekshā (great forgiveness); Anutpattikadharmakshānti

¹ The Tibetan translation puts these birds as follows: geese, swans, cranes, ducks, *kārandāvas*, parrots, *grouse* (*kokilas*), *kunālas*, *kalaviṅkas*, and peacocks.

² Instead of Dharmāḥ, the Tibetan translator seems to have read Dharmavat.

(resignation to consequences which have not yet arisen), and Abhishekabhûmipratilambha (attainment of the royal stage)."

'And having heard these sounds, everybody feels the highest delight and pleasure accompanied by retirement, passionlessness, quiet, cessation, law, and a stock of merit leading to the perfect knowledge.

'And, O Ânanda, there is nowhere in that Sukhâvatt world any sound of sin, obstacle, misfortune, distress, and destruction; there is nowhere any sound of pain, even the sound of perceiving what is neither pain nor pleasure is not there, O Ânanda, how much less the sound of pain. For that reason, O Ânanda, that world is called Sukhâvatt, shortly, but not in full. For, O Ânanda, the whole kalpa would come to an end, while the different causes of the pleasure of the world Sukhâvatt are being praised, and even then the end of those causes of happiness could not be reached.

§ 19. 'And again, O Ânanda, the beings, who have been and will be born in that world Sukhâvatt, will be endowed with such colour, strength, vigour, height and breadth, dominion, accumulation of virtue¹; with such enjoyments of dress, ornaments, gardens, palaces, and pavilions; and such enjoyments of touch, taste, smell, and sound; in fact with all enjoyments and pleasures, exactly like the Paranirmitavasavartin gods.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatt, beings do not take food consisting of gross materials of gravy or molasses; but whatever food they desire, such food they perceive, as if it were taken,

¹ Here the text seems corrupt.

and become delighted in body and mind. Yet they need not put it into their mouth.

‘And if, after they are satisfied, they wish different kinds of perfumes, then with these very heavenly kinds of perfumes the whole Buddha country is scented. And whosoever wishes to perceive there such perfume, every perfume of every scent of the Gandharvarāga does always reach his nose¹.

‘And in the same manner, if they desire musical instruments, banners, flags, umbrellas, cloaks, powders, ointments, garlands, and scents, then the whole Buddha country shines with such things. If they desire cloaks of different colours and many hundred thousand colours, then with these very best cloaks the whole Buddha country shines. And the people feel themselves covered with them.

‘And if they desire such ornaments, as for instance, head-ornaments, ear-ornaments, neck-ornaments, hand and foot ornaments, namely, diadems, earrings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, chains, ear-jewels, seals, gold strings, girdles, gold nets², pearl nets, jewel nets, nets of bells made of gold and jewels, then they see that Buddha country shining with such ornaments adorned with many hundred thousand jewels, that are fastened to ornament-trees. And they perceive themselves to be adorned with these ornaments.

‘And if they desire a palace, with colours and emblems of such and such height and width, adorned with hundred thousand gates made with different

¹ The Tibetan translator seems to have read: *tatra yas tam gandham āghrātukāmo na bhavati, tasya sarvaso gandhasaṅgā vāsana ka na samudākarati.*

² The Tibetan translation suggests the reading *svaragālā*.

jewels, covered with different heavenly flowers¹, full of couches strewn with beautiful cushions, then exactly such a palace appears before them. And in these delightful palaces they dwell, play, sport, walk about, being honoured, and surrounded by seven times seven thousands of Apsarases.

§ 20. 'And in that world, there is no difference between gods and men, except when they are spoken of in ordinary and imperfect parlance as gods and men. And, O Ânanda, as a low man and impotent man, before the face of the mighty king, is neither bright, nor warm, nor brilliant, nor is he self-confident and radiant,—thus Sakra, king of the Devas, if before the face of the Paranirmitavasavartin gods, is neither bright, nor warm, nor brilliant, namely, with regard to his gardens, palaces, dresses, ornaments, his dominion, his perfection, his miraculous power, or his supremacy, his comprehension of the Law, and his full enjoyment of the Law. And, O Ânanda, as the Paranirmitavasavartin gods are there, thus men must be considered in the world Sukhâvatī.

§ 21. 'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatī, when the time of forenoon has come, the winds are greatly agitated and blowing everywhere in the four quarters. And they shake and drive many beautiful, graceful, and many-coloured stalks of the gem trees, which are perfumed with sweet heavenly scents, so that many hundred beautiful flowers of delightful scent fall down on the great earth, which is all full of jewels. And with these flowers that

¹ Instead of pushpa the Tibetan translator seems to have read dūshya, 'garment.'

Buddha country is adorned on every side seven fathoms deep. As a clever man might spread out a flower-bed on the earth and make it even with both his hands, beautiful and charming, even thus with those flowers of various scents and colours that Buddha country is shining on every side seven fathoms deep. And these many flowers are soft, pleasant to touch, if one may use a comparison, like *Kāṭilindika* (some kind of soft substance). If one puts one's foot on them, they sink down four inches ; if one raises one's foot, they rise again four inches. When the time of the forenoon has gone again, those flowers vanish without leaving anything behind. Then that Buddha country is again clean, pleasant, beautiful, and without fading flowers. The winds blow again everywhere in the four quarters, and scatter down fresh flowers as before. And as it is in the forenoon, so it is at noon, at twilight, in the first, middle, and last watch of the night. And the beings, if touched by those winds which blow perfume with various scents, are as full of happiness as a Bhikshu (mendicant) who has obtained *Nirvāṇa*.

§ 22. 'And in that Buddha country, O Ānanda, no mention is ever made of the names of fire, sun, moon, planets, *Nakshatras* (constellations), and stars, or of blinding darkness. There is no mention even of day and night, except in the conversation of the Tathāgata. Nor is there any idea of predial property belonging to monasteries.

§ 23. 'And again, O Ānanda, in that world *Sukhāvati* at the proper time clouds full of heavenly perfumed water pour down heavenly flowers of all colours ; heavenly seven jewels, heavenly sandalwood-powder, and heavenly umbrellas, flags, and

banners are poured down. And in the sky, the heavenly flowers of all colours, and heavenly canopies are held, likewise heavenly excellent umbrellas and all kinds of ornaments, heavenly musical instruments are played, and heavenly Apsarases dance.

§ 24. 'And again, O Ânanda, in that Buddha country whatever beings have been born, and are being born, and will be born, are always constant in absolute truth, till they have reached Nirvâna. And why is that? Because there is no room or mention there of the other two divisions (râsis), such as beings not constant or constant in falsehood.

'On this wise, O Ânanda, that world is briefly called Sukhâvatī, not at full length. Even a kalpa, O Ânanda, would come to an end, while the causes of happiness which exist in that world Sukhâvatī are being praised, and yet it would be impossible to reach the end of them.'

§ 25. Then the Bhagavat at that time spoke the following verses¹:

'Thus, O Ânanda, the world Sukhâvatī is endowed with immeasurable good qualities and excellences.

§ 26. 'And again, O Ânanda, in the ten quarters, and in each of them, in all the Buddha countries equal in number to the sand of the Gaṅgā, the

¹ The text of these verses is so corrupt that I thought it best to follow the example of the five Chinese translators, all of whom leave them out. They only repeat what was said before, that people might go on for ever praising the excellences of Sukhâvatī, yet they would never reach the end of them, and that the merit of hearing even the name of Sukhâvatī is greater than all other blessings on earth. The best thing, however, is to have faith in Gîna, and to drive away all doubt. The Tibetan translator gives a translation of seven verses, but his translation also seems as obscure as the original.

blessed Buddhas equal in number to the sand of the Gaṅgā, glorify the name of the blessed Amitābha, the Tathāgata, they preach his fame, they proclaim his glory, they extol his virtue. And why? Because all beings who hear the name of the blessed Amitābha, and having heard it, raise their thought with joyful longing, even for once only, will not turn away again from the highest perfect knowledge.

§ 27. 'And before the eyes of those beings, O Ānanda, who again and again think of the Tathāgata reverently, and who make the great and unmeasured stock of good works grow, turning their thought towards Bodhi (knowledge), and who pray to be born in that world, Amitābha, the Tathāgata, holy and fully enlightened, when the time of their death has approached, will appear, surrounded by many companies of Bhikshus and honoured by them. And then these beings, having seen the Bhagavat, their thoughts filled with joy, will, when they have died, be born in that world of Sukhāvati. And if, O Ānanda, any son or daughter of a good family should wish—What?—How then may I see that Tathāgata Amitābha visibly, then he must raise his thought on to the highest perfect knowledge, he must direct his thought with perseverance and excessive desire towards that Buddha country, and direct the stock of his good works towards being born there.

§ 28. 'But before the eyes of those who do not care much about the Tathāgata Amitābha, and who do not vigorously increase the great and unmeasured stock of their good works, the Tathāgata Amitābha, holy and fully enlightened, will appear, at the time of death, with the company of Bhikshus, in breadth

and height and form and beauty, very like (the former), and very like (the real Tathâgata), but only created by thought. And they, through their meditation that dwells on perceiving the sight of the Tathâgata, and with unfailing memory, will, when they have died, be born in the same Buddha country.

§ 29. 'And again, O Ānanda, those beings who meditate on the Tathâgata by giving him the ten thoughts, and who will direct their desire towards that Buddha country, and who will feel satisfaction when the profound doctrines are being preached, and who will not fall off, nor despair, nor fail, but will meditate on that Tathâgata, if it were by one thought only, and will direct their desire toward that Buddha country, they also will see the Tathâgata Amitâbha, while they are in a dream, they will be born in the world Sukhâvatī, and will never turn away from the highest perfect knowledge.

§ 30. 'And, O Ānanda, after thus seeing the cause and effect, the Tathâgatas of the ten quarters, in immeasurable and innumerable worlds, glorify the name of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, preach his fame, and proclaim his praise. And again, O Ānanda, in that Buddha country, Bodhisattvas equal in number to the sand of the Gaṅgâ approach, from the ten quarters, and in each quarter towards that Tathâgata Amitâbha, in order to see him, to bow before him, to worship him, to consult him, and likewise in order to see that company of Bodhisattvas, and the different kinds of perfection in the multitude of ornaments and excellences belonging to that Buddha country.'

§ 31. Then at that time, the Bhagavat, in order

to illustrate this matter in fuller measure, recited these verses¹:

1. 'As there are Buddha countries equal to the sand of the river Gaṅgā in the eastern quarter, whence all the Bodhisattvas come to worship the Buddha, the lord Amitāyu ;

2. 'And they having taken many bunches of flowers of different colours, sweetly-scented and delightful, shower them down on the best leader of men, on Amitāyu, worshipped by gods and men ;—

3. 'In the same manner there are as many Buddha countries in the southern, western, and northern quarters, whence they come with the Bodhisattvas to worship the Buddha, the lord Amitāyu.

4. 'And they having taken many handfulls of scents of different colours, sweetly-scented and delightful, shower them down on the best leader of men, on Amitāyu, worshipped by gods and men.

5. 'These many Bodhisattvas having worshipped and revered the feet of Amitaprabha, and having walked round him respectfully, speak thus: "Oh, the country of Buddha shines wonderfully!"

6. 'And they cover him again with handfulls of flowers, with thoughts jubilant, with incomparable joy, and proclaim their wish before that lord: "May our country also be such as this."

7. 'And what was thrown there as handfulls of flowers arose in the form of an umbrella extending over a hundred yoganas, and the beautiful country shines and is well adorned, and flowers cover the whole body of Buddha.

¹ In these verses there are again many doubtful passages which could be rendered tentatively only.

8. 'These Bodhisattvas having thus honoured him, how do they act?—Delighted they pronounce this speech: "Gains by those people are well gained, by whom the name of the best man has been heard.

9. "'By us also all the gain has been well gained, because we have come to this Buddha country. See this dream-like country¹ how beautiful it is, which was made by the teacher during a hundred thousand kalpas.

10. "'Look, the Buddha possessed of a mass of the best virtues shines, surrounded by Bodhisattvas. Endless is his splendour², and endless the light, and endless the life, and endless the assembly."

11. 'And the lord Amitāyu makes a smile of thirty-six niyutas of koṭis of rays, which rays having issued from the circle of his mouth light up the thousand koṭis of Buddha countries.

12. 'And all these rays having returned there again settle on the head of the lord; gods and men produce (perceive) the delight, because they have seen there this light of him.

13. 'There rises the Buddha-son, glorious, he indeed the mighty Avalokitesvara, and says: "What is the reason there, O Bhagavat, what is the cause, that thou smilest, O lord of the world?"

14. "'Explain this, for thou knowest the sense, and art full of kind compassion, the deliverer of many living beings. All beings will be filled with joyful thoughts, when they have thus heard this excellent and delightful speech.

15. "'And the Bodhisattvas who have come from

¹ Maitra, 'love,' possibly 'kindness,' or was it kshetra?

² Amitā asyābhā?

many worlds to Sukhâvatī in order to see the Buddha, having heard it and having perceived the great joy, will quickly inspect this country.

16. "And beings, come to this noble country, (quickly) obtain miraculous power, divine eye and divine ear, they remember their former births, and know the highest wisdom."

17. 'Then Buddha Amitāyu preaches: "This prayer was mine formerly, so that beings having in any way whatever heard my name should for ever go to my country."

18. "And this my excellent prayer has been fulfilled, and beings having quickly come here from many worlds into my presence, never return from here, not even for one birth."

19. 'If a Bodhisattva wishes here that his country should be such as this, and that he also should deliver many beings, through his name, through his preaching, and through his sight,

20. 'Let him quickly and with speed go to the world Sukhâvatī, and having gone near Amita-prabha, let him worship a thousand koṭis of Buddhas.

21. 'Having worshipped many koṭis of Buddhas, and having gone to many countries by means of their miraculous power, and having performed adoration in the presence of the Sugatas, they will go to Sukhâvatī with devotion¹.

§ 32. 'And again, O Ānanda, there is a Bodhi-tree belonging to Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, holy and fully enlightened. That Bodhi-tree is ten hun-

¹ The Tibetan translation has 'in the morning,' as if the text had been *pūrvabhakta*.

dred yoganas in height, having petals, leaves, and branches spread over eight hundred yoganas, having a circumference near the base of the root of five hundred yoganas, always in leaf, always in flower, always in fruit, of different colours, of many hundred thousand colours, of different leaves, of different flowers, of different fruits, adorned with many beautiful ornaments, shining with precious jewels, bright like the moon, beautified with precious jewels (such as are) fastened on Sakra's head, strewn with *Kintâmani*¹ jewels, well adorned with the best jewels of the sea, more than heavenly, hung with golden strings, adorned with hundreds of gold chains, jewel-garlands, necklaces, bracelets, strings of red pearls and blue pearls, lion twists (*Simhalatâ*), girdles, bunches, strings of jewels, and all kinds of jewels, covered with nets of bells, nets of all kinds of jewels, nets of pearls, and nets of gold, adorned with the emblems of the dolphin, the Svastika, the Nandyâvarta, and the moon, adorned with nets of jewels and of bells, and with ornaments of gold and of all kinds of jewels, in fact adorned according to the desires of beings whatever their wishes may be.

‘And again, O Ânanda, the sound and noise of that Bodhi-tree, when it is moved by the wind, reaches immeasurable worlds. And, O Ânanda, for those beings whose hearing that Bodhi-tree reaches, no disease of the ear is to be feared until they reach Bodhi (highest knowledge). And for those immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, measureless, immense, and inexpressible beings, whose sight that Bodhi-tree reaches, no disease of the eye

¹ Jewels yielding every wish.

is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. And again, O Ānanda, for those beings who smell the scent of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the nose is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. For those beings who taste the fruits of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the tongue is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. For those beings who are lighted up by the light of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the body is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. And again, O Ānanda, for those beings who meditate on that Bodhi-tree according to the Law, henceforward until they reach the Bodhi, no perplexity of their thought is to be feared. And all those beings, through the seeing of that Bodhi-tree, never turn away, namely, from the highest perfect knowledge. And they obtain three kinds of kshānti or resignation, namely, Ghoshā-nugā, Anulomikī (resignation to natural consequences), and Anutpattika-dharma-kshānti (resignation to consequences which have not yet arisen), through the power of the former prayers of that same Tathāgata Amitāyus, through the service rendered by them to the former Gīnas, and through the performance of the former prayers, to be well accomplished, and to be well conceived, without failure or without flaw.

§ 33. 'And again, O Ānanda, those Bodhisattvas who have been born, are being born, or will be born there, are all bound to one birth only¹, and will thence indeed obtain the highest perfect knowledge; barring always the power of prayers, as in the case of those Bodhisattvas who are preaching with the voice of lions, who are girded with the noble armour

¹ Their present birth.

(of the Law), and who are devoted to the work of helping all people to attain Parinirvāṇa.

§ 34. 'And again, O Ānanda, in that Buddha country, those who are Śrāvakas are possessed of the light of a fathom, and those who are Bodhisattvas are possessed of the light of a hundred thousand koṭis of yoganās; barring always the two Bodhisattvas, by whose light that world is everywhere shining with eternal splendour.'

Then the blessed Ānanda said this to the Bhagavat: 'What are the names, O Bhagavat, of those two noble-minded Bodhisattvas?'

The Bhagavat said: 'One of them, O Ānanda, is the noble-minded Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and the second is Mahāsthāmaprāpta by name. And, O Ānanda, these two were born there, having left this Buddha country here¹.

§ 35. 'And, O Ānanda, those Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country are all endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man, possessed of perfect members, skilled in meditation and wisdom, clever in all kinds of wisdom, having sharp organs, having well-restrained organs, having organs of sense capable of thorough knowledge, not mean, possessed of the five kinds of strength, of patience under censure, and of endless and boundless good qualities.

¹ Saṅghavarman translates this passage: 'These two Bodhisattvas practised the discipline of Bodhisattva in this country, and after death they were miraculously born in that Buddha country.' Bodhiruṭi translates: 'O Ānanda, these two Bodhisattvas went to be born in that country from the world Sahā, when they had exhausted the measure of their life (here).' The world Sahā belongs to the Buddha Śākyamuni.

§ 36. 'And again, O Ânanda, all those Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country are not deprived of the sight of Buddha, nor liable to fall down (to the evil states), until they reach the Bodhi. Henceforward they all will never be forgetful of their former births¹; barring always those who are devoted to their former place, during the disturbances of the kalpas, and while the five kinds of corruption prevail, when there is the appearance of blessed Buddhas in the world, as for instance, that of me at present.

§ 37. 'And again, O Ânanda, all the Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country, having gone during one morning meal to the other world, worship many hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas, as many as they like, through the favour of Buddha. They consider in many ways that they should worship (Buddhas) with such and such flowers, incense, lamps, scents, garlands, ointments, powder, cloaks, umbrellas, flags, banners, ensigns, music, concerts, and musical instruments; and, as soon as they have considered this, there arise also on their hands exactly such materials for every kind of worship. And while performing worship for those blessed Buddhas with those materials, beginning with flowers and ending with musical instruments, they lay up for themselves much immeasurable and innumerable merit. Again, if they wish that such handfulls of flowers should be produced on their hands, then such handfulls of heavenly flowers, of different colours, of many colours, of different scents, are produced on their hands as soon as thought of. They shower

¹ 'Na' must be left out, or we must read nagâtavagâtismarâ.

again and again such handfulls of flowers upon those blessed Buddhas. And the very smallest handfull of flowers, being thrown on high, appears above in the sky as an umbrella of flowers ten *yoganas* in circumference. And when the second has been thrown after it, the first does not fall down on the earth. There are handfulls of flowers there, which having been thrown up, appear in the sky as umbrellas of flowers twenty *yoganas* in circumference. There appear in the sky some flower-umbrellas, thirty, forty, or fifty *yoganas* in circumference, as far as a hundred thousand *yoganas* in circumference. Those (Bodhisattvas) there who perceive the noble pleasure and joy, and obtain the noble strength of thought, having caused a great and immeasurable and innumerable stock of good works to ripen, and having worshipped many hundred thousand *niyutas* of *koṭis* of Buddhas, turn again to the world *Sukhâvatî* in one morning, through the favour of practising the former prayers of the same *Tathâgata Amitâyus*, owing to the hearing of the Law formerly given, owing to the stock of good works produced under former *Ginas*, owing to the perfect completion in the success of former prayers, owing to the well-ordered state of mind¹.

§ 38. 'And again, O *Ânanda*, all those beings who have been born in that Buddha country recite the story of the Law, which is accompanied by omniscience². And for the beings in that Buddha

¹ The text of this passage is very imperfect in all the MSS. Comparing the sentence with the last sentence of Chapter XXXII, it might seem possible to read *paripûrṇânûnatayâ*, or *paripûryatayânûnatayâ*, for *paripûryâtmabhûtayâ*. On *suviḥbhakta*, see Childers, s. v. *vibhagati*.

² See the twenty-third *Pravṛddhâna*.

country there exists no idea of property whatever¹. And all those going and walking through that Buddha country feel neither pleasure nor pain; stepping forward they have no desire, and with desire they do not step forward. They give no thought to any beings. And again, O Ānanda, for those beings who have been born in that world Sukhāvati, there is no idea of others, no idea of self, no idea of inequality, no strife, no dispute, no opposition. Full of equanimity, of benevolent thought, of tender thought, of affectionate thought, of useful thought, of serene thought, of firm thought, of unbiassed thought, of undisturbed thought, of unagitated thought, of thought (fixed on) the practice of discipline and transcendent wisdom, having entered on knowledge which is a firm support to all thoughts, equal to the ocean in wisdom, equal to the mountain Meru in knowledge, rich in many good qualities, delighting in the music of the Bodhyaṅgas², devoted to the music of Buddha, they discard the eye of flesh, and assume the heavenly eye. And having approached the eye of wisdom, having reached the eye of the Law, producing the eye of Buddha, showing it, lighting it, and fully exhibiting it, they attain perfect wisdom. And being bent on the equilibrium of the three elements³, having subdued and calmed their thoughts, endowed with a perception of the causes of all

¹ See the tenth Praṇidhāna.

² 'Requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha.'—Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 93 b.

³ Probably the three dhātus, Kāmadhātu, Rūpadhātu, and Arūpadhātu; see Childers, s. v. dhātu.

things, clever in explanation of causes, endowed with the power of explaining the Law (or things such as they really are), clever in taking and refusing, clever in leading and not leading, clever in resting¹, they, being regardless of worldly stories, derive true pleasures from stories transcending the world. They are clever in examining all things, familiar with the knowledge of the cessation of the working of all things, perceiving even what cannot be seen, caring for nothing, attached to nothing, without cares, without pain, free without clinging to anything, free from impurity², of blameless behaviour, not clinging to anything, intent on the deep or profound laws, they do not sink, elevated to the entrance into the knowledge of Buddha difficult to comprehend, having obtained the path of one vehicle³, free from doubt, beyond the reach of questionings, knowing the thoughts of others, free from self-confidence. Being elevated in knowledge, they are like the Sumeru; being imperturbable in thought, they are like the ocean; they surpass the light of the sun and moon, by the light of wisdom, and by the whiteness, brilliancy, purity, and beauty of their knowledge; by their light and splendour, they are like the colour of molten gold; by their patiently bearing the good and evil deeds of all beings, they are like the earth; by their cleaning and carrying off the taint⁴ of all sins, they are

¹ The text may originally have been *sthânâsthânakusalâh*.

² The next words *aparyasthâyinah* and *abhigñâsvamûla-sthâyinah* seem to have a technical meaning, but neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese translators give an intelligible rendering.

³ Saṅghavarman translates 'one vehicle.'

⁴ The Tibetan translation presupposes *mala* instead of *mûla*.

like water ; by their burning the evil of pride¹ in anything, they are like the king of fire ; by not clinging to anything, they are like the wind ; by pervading all things and yet not caring for anything, they are like the ether ; by not being tainted by the whole world, they are like lotuses ; by their shouting forth the Law, they are like the great cloud at the rainy season ; by showering down the whole ocean of the Law, they are like the great rain ; by overpowering great troops, they are like bulls ; by the highest restraint of their thoughts, they are like great elephants ; by being well trained, they are like noble horses ; by their fearlessness, confidence, and heroism, they are like the lion, the king of beasts ; by affording protection to all beings, they are like the Nyagrodha (fig-tree), the king of trees ; by not being shaken by any calumniators, they are like the (Sumeru), the king of mountains ; by their feeling of unlimited love, they are like the sky ; by their precedence, owing to their command of the Law, and their stock of all merit, they are like the great Brahman ; by their not dwelling in what they have accumulated, they are like birds ; by their scattering all calumniators, they are like Garuḍa, king of birds ; by their not being averse to our obtaining difficult things, they are like the Udumbara flowers ; calm like elephants², because their senses are neither crooked nor shaken ; clever in decision, full of the sweet flavour of patience ; without envy, because they do not hanker after the happiness of others ; wise, because in their search after the Law, never

¹ Māna, 'pride,' is one of the Klesas.

² The Tibetan translator seems to have read *sagaravat*, instead of *nāgavat*.

tired of discussions on the Law; like the precious beryl, through their value; (like) jewel-mines¹, by their sacred knowledge; sweet-sounding by the noise of the great drum of the Law, striking the great kettledrum of the Law, blowing the great trumpet-shell of the Law, raising the great banner of the Law, lighting the torch of the Law, looking for wisdom, not foolish, faultless, passionless, pure, refined, not greedy, fond of distributing, generous, open-handed, fond of distributing gifts, not stingy in giving instruction and food, not attached, without fear, without desires, wise, patient, energetic, bashful, orderly, fearless², full of knowledge, happy, pleasant to live with, obliging, enlightening the world³, free from sorrow, free from taint, having left off the winking of the eye, possessing lightly acquired knowledge, strong in reasoning, strong in prayer, not crooked, not perverse; then, having accumulated a hundred thousand *niyutas* of *koṭis* of *lakshas*⁴ of virtue, delivered from the thorns of pride, free from illusion, hatred, and passion; pure, devoted to what is pure, famous by the *Gina*-power, learned in the world, elevated by their purified knowledge, sons of the *Gina*, endowed with the vigour of thought, heroes, firm, unselfish⁵, free from faults, unequalled, free from anger, collected, noble, heroes, bashful, energetic, possessed of memory, understanding, and prudence;

¹ The Tibetan translation seems to have read *ratnâkarasa-drîśâḥ*.

² If the same as *nirgahana*.

³ The next words are unintelligible in their present form.

⁴ The Tibetan translation has *Buddha* for *laksha*.

⁵ *Asamâḥ* in the Tibetan translation.

sending forth the weapons of knowledge, possessed of purity, shining, free from faults and taints, endowed with memory, resting on serene knowledge. And such, O Ânanda, are the beings in that Buddha country, stated briefly. But if the Tathâgatas should describe them fully, even in a length of life that should last for a hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of kalpas, yet the end of the virtues of those good people would not be reached, and yet there would be no failure of the self-confidence of the Tathâgata. And why? Because, O Ânanda, both are indeed inconceivable and incomparable, viz. first, the virtues of those Bodhisattvas, and secondly, the unsurpassed light of knowledge of the Tathâgata¹.

§ 39. 'And now, O Ânanda, stand up, facing westward, and having taken a handful of flowers, fall down. This is the quarter where that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, dwells, remains, supports himself, and teaches the Law, whose spotless and pure name, famed in every quarter of the whole world with its ten quarters, the blessed Buddhas, equal to (the grains of) the sand of the river Gaṅgâ, speaking and answering again and again without stopping, extol, praise, and eulogize.'

After this, the blessed Ânanda said this to the Bhagavat: 'I wish, O Bhagavat, to see that Amitâbha, Amitaprabha, Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, and those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, who are possessed of a stock of merit amassed under many hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas.'

¹ For these passages, see the end of Chapter XII.

At that moment this speech was spoken by the blessed Ānanda, and immediately that Amitābha, the Tathāgata, holy and fully enlightened, let such a ray of light go out of the palm of his own hand, that even the most distant Buddha country was shining with the great splendour. And again at that time, whatever black mountains, or jewel-mountains, or Merus, great Merus, Muṭilindas, great Muṭilindas, *Kakra-vāḍas*, great *Kakravāḍas*, or erections, or pillars, trees, woods, gardens, palaces, belonging to the gods and men, exist everywhere in hundred thousand *koṭis* of Buddha countries; all these were pervaded and overcome by the light of that Tathāgata. And as a man, followed by another at a distance of a fathom only, would see the other man, when the sun has risen, exactly in the same manner the Bhikshus, Bhikṣuṇīs, Upāsakas (laymen), Upāsikās (laywomen), gods, Nāgas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, men and not-men, in this Buddha country, saw at that time that Amitābha, the Tathāgata, holy and fully enlightened, like the Sumeru, the king of mountains, elevated above all countries, surpassing all quarters, shining, warming, glittering, blazing; and they saw that great mass of Bodhisattvas, and that company of Bhikshus, viz. by the grace of Buddha, from the pureness of that light. And as this great earth might be, when all covered with water, so that no trees, no mountains, no islands, no grasses, bushes, herbs, large trees, no rivers, chasms, water-falls, would be seen, but only the one great earth which had all become an ocean, in exactly the same manner there is neither mark nor sign whatever to be seen in that Buddha country, except Srāvakas,

spreading their light over a fathom, and those Bodhisattvas, spreading their light over a hundred thousand kotis of yoganas. And that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, overshadowing that mass of Srâvakas and that mass of Bodhisattvas, is seen, illuminating all quarters. Again at that time all those Bodhisattvas, Srâvakas, gods and men in that world Sukhâvati, saw this world Sahâ and Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, surrounded by a holy company of Bhikshus, teaching the Law.

§ 40. Then, the Bhagavat addressed the noble-minded Bodhisattva Agita, and said: 'Do you see, O Agita, the perfection of the array of ornaments and good qualities in that Buddha country; and above in the sky (places) with charming parks¹, charming gardens, charming rivers and lotus lakes, scattered with many precious Padmas, Utpalas, Kumudas, and Pundarikas; and below, from the earth to the abode of the Akanishthas, the surface of the sky, covered with flowers, ornamented with wreaths of flowers, shining on the rows of many precious columns, frequented by flocks of all kinds of birds created by the Tathâgata?'

The Bodhisattva Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those flocks of immortal birds, making the whole Buddha country resound with the voice of Buddha, so that those Bodhisattvas are never without meditating on Buddha?'

Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

¹ A substantive seems to be wanting to which all these adjectives would refer.

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those beings, who have ascended to the palaces which extend over a hundred thousand yoganas in the sky, walking about respectfully?'

Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Agita, is there any difference between the gods called Paranirmitavasavartins, and men in the world Sukhâvatī?'

Agita said: 'I do not, O Bhagavat, perceive even one difference, so far as the men in that world of Sukhâvatī are endowed with great supernatural powers.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those men dwelling within the calyx of excellent lotus-flowers in that world Sukhâvatī?'

He said: 'As gods called Trāyastrimsas or Yāmas, having entered into palaces of fifty or hundred or five hundred yoganas in extent, are playing, sporting, walking about, exactly in the same manner I see, O Bhagavat, these men dwelling within the calyx of excellent lotus-flowers in the world Sukhâvatī.

§ 41. 'Again there are, O Bhagavat, beings who, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the lotus-flowers. What is there, O Bhagavat, the cause, what the reason, that some dwell within the calyx, while others, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the lotus-flowers?'

The Bhagavat said: 'Those Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, entertain doubt about being born in the world Sukhâvatī, and with that thought amass a stock of merit, for them there is the dwelling within the calyx. Those, on the contrary, who are filled with faith, and being

free from doubt, amass a stock of merit in order to be born in the world Sukhāvatt, and conceive, believe, and trust in the perfect knowledge of the blessed Buddhas, they, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus. And those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, raise their thought in order to see Amitābha, the Tathāgata, holy and fully enlightened, who never entertain a doubt, believe in the perfect knowledge of Buddha and in their own stock of merit, for them, being born miraculously, and appearing cross-legged, there is, in one minute, such a body as that of other beings who have been born there long before. See, O Agita, the excellent, immeasurable, unfailing, unlimited wisdom, that namely for their own benefit they are deprived during five hundred years of seeing Buddhas, seeing Bodhisattvas, hearing the Law, speaking about the Law (with others), and thus collecting a stock of merit; they are indeed deprived of the successful attainment of every stock of merit, and that through their forming ideas tainted with doubt.

‘And, O Agita, there might be a dungeon belonging to an anointed Kshatriya king, inlaid entirely with gold and beryl, in which cushions, garlands, wreaths and strings are fixed, having canopies of different colours and kind, covered with silk cushions, scattered over with various flowers and blossoms, scented with excellent scents, adorned with arches, courts, windows, pinnacles, fire-places, and terraces, covered with nets of bells of the seven kinds of gems, having four angles, four pillars, four doors, four stairs; and the son of that king having been

thrown into the dungeon for some misdeed is there, bound with a chain made of the Gâmbûnada gold. And suppose there is a couch prepared for him, covered with many woollen cloths, spread over with cotton and feather cushions, having Kâliṅga coverings, and carpets, together with coverlids¹, red on both sides, beautiful and charming. There he might be then either sitting or resting. And there might be brought to him much food and drink, of various kinds, pure and well prepared. What do you think, O Agita, would the enjoyment be great for that prince ?'

Agita said: 'Yes², it would be great, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Agita, would he even taste it there, and notice it, or would he feel any satisfaction from it ?'

He said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat; but on the contrary, when he had been led away by the king and thrown into the dungeon, he would only wish for deliverance from there. He would seek for the nobles, princes, ministers, women³, elders (rich merchants), householders, and lords of castles, who might deliver him from that dungeon. Moreover, O Bhagavat, there is no pleasure for that prince in that dungeon, nor is he liberated, until the king shows him favour.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Thus, O Agita, it is with those Bodhisattvas who, having fallen into doubt, amass a stock of merit, but doubt the knowledge of Buddha. They are born in that world Sukhâ-

¹ The text is corrupt. One might begin a new word with *sottarapada* ~~kk~~ *h* *ada* *h*.

² One expects, No.

³ Stryâgâra, like the German Frauenzimmer.

vatt, through the hearing of Buddha's name, and through the serenity of thought only; they do not, however, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus, being born miraculously, but dwell only in the calyx of the lotus-flowers. Moreover for them there exist ideas of palaces and gardens¹. There is no discharge, there is no phlegm or mucus, there is nothing disagreeable to the mind. But they are deprived of seeing Buddhas, hearing the Law, seeing Bodhisattvas, speaking about and ascertaining the Law, (gathering) any (new) stock of merit, and practising the Law, during five hundred years. Moreover they do not rejoice there or perceive satisfaction. But they wish to remove one another, and then they step out behind. And it is not known whether their exit takes place above, below, or across. See, O Agita, there might be worshippings of many hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas during those five hundred years, and also many, immense, innumerable, immeasurable stocks of merit to be amassed. But all this they destroy by the fault of doubt. See, O Agita, to how great an injury the doubt of the Bodhisattvas leads. Therefore now, O Agita, after the Bodhisattvas without doubting have quickly raised their thoughts towards the Bodhi, in order to obtain power of conferring happiness for the benefit of all creatures, their stock of merit should be turned towards their being born in the world Sukhâvatī, where the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, dwells.'

§ 42. After these words, the Bodhisattva Agita

¹ They imagine they are living in palaces and gardens.

thus spoke to the Bhagavat : ' O Bhagavat, will the Bodhisattvas, who have gone away from this Buddha country, or from the side of other blessed Buddhas, be born in the world Sukhâvatī ? '

The Bhagavat said : ' Indeed, O Agita, seventy-two niyutas of koṭis of Bodhisattvas are gone away from this Buddha country, who will be born in the world Sukhâvatī ; Bodhisattvas, who will never return, thanks to the stock of merit, which they have accumulated under many hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas. What then shall be said of those with smaller stocks of merit¹ ?

1. Eighteen hundred niyutas of koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī from the place of the Tathâgata Dushprasaha.
2. There lives in the Eastern quarter the Tathâgata named Ratnâkara. From his place ninety koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī.
3. Twenty-two koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī from the place of the Tathâgata Gyotishprabha.
4. Twenty-five koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī from the place of the Tathâgata Amitaprabha.
5. Sixty koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī from the place of the Tathâgata Lokapradîpa.
6. Sixty-four koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī from the place of the Tathâgata Nâgâbhibhû.
7. Twenty-five koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī from the place of the Tathâgata Viragaḥprabha.
8. Sixteen koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatī from the place of the Tathâgata Simha.
9. Eighteen thousand

¹. What is meant is that their number is much larger.

Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhāvati from the place of the Tathāgata *Simha* (sic). 10. Eighty-one niyutas of koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhāvati from the place of the Tathāgata *Śrīkūṭa*. 11. Ten niyutas of koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhāvati from the place of the Tathāgata *Narendrarāga*. 12. Twelve thousand Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhāvati from the place of the Tathāgata *Balābhigṇa*. 13. Twenty-five koṭis of Bodhisattvas¹, who have obtained strength, having gone to one place in one week of eight days, and having turned to the West during ninety hundred thousand niyutas of koṭis of kalpas², will be born in the world Sukhāvati from the place of the Tathāgata *Pushpadhvaga*. 14. Twelve koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhāvati from the place of the Tathāgata *Gvalanādhipati*. 15. From the place of the Tathāgata *Vaisāradypaprāpta*, sixty-nine koṭis of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhāvati, in order to see the Tathāgata *Amitābha*, to bow before him, to worship him, to ask questions of him, and to consult him. For this reason, O *Agita*, I might proclaim during a full niyuta of koṭis of kalpas the names of those Tathāgatas, from whom the Bodhisattvas proceed in order to see that Tathāgata *Amitābha* in the world Sukhāvati, to

¹ It should be *pañcaviṃsatir*.

² Saṅghavarman's translation of this passage is: 'Within seven days they can take hold of the firm conditions (dharma) practised by a noble-minded one during hundred thousands of koṭis of kalpas.' Bodhiruṅgi's is: 'Within seven days they can cause beings to separate from their state of transmigration during hundred thousands of niyutas of koṭis.'

bow before him, and to worship him, and yet the end could not be reached.

§ 43. 'See, O Agita, what easy gains are gained by those beings who will hear the name of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, holy and fully enlightened. Nor will those beings be of little faith¹, who will obtain at least one joyful thought of that Tathâgata and of this treatise of the Law. Therefore now, O Agita, I invite you, and command you to proclaim this treatise of the Law, before the world together with the gods. Having plunged into the vast universe full of fire, no one ought to turn back, if he has but once conceived the thought of going across. And why? Because *koṭis* of Bodhisattvas indeed, O Agita, return from the highest perfect knowledge, on account of not hearing such treatises of the Law as this. Therefore, from a wish for this treatise of the Law, a great effort should be made to hear, learn, and remember it, and to study it for the sake of fully grasping it and widely making it known. A good copy of it should be kept, after it has been copied in a book, if only during one night and day, or even during the time necessary for milking a cow. The name of Master should be given to a teacher who desires to conduct quickly innumerable beings to the state of never returning from the highest perfect knowledge, namely, in order that they may see the Buddha country of that blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, and to acquire the excellent perfection of the array of good qualities peculiar to his own Buddha country.

¹ *Hînâdhimuktika*, see *Vagracchedikâ* XV; or 'following the lower Law.'

‘ And, O Agita, such beings will have easily gained their gains who, having amassed a stock of merit, having performed service under former Ginas, and having been guided by Buddhas, shall hear in future, until the destruction of the good Law, such-like excellent treatises of the Law, treatises which are praised, eulogized, and approved of by all Buddhas, and convey quickly the great knowledge of omniscience. And those also who, when they have heard it, shall obtain excellent delight and pleasure, and will learn, retain, recite and grasp, and wisely preach it to others, and be delighted by its study, or, having copied it at least, will worship it, will certainly produce much good work, so that it is difficult to count it.

‘ Thus indeed, O Agita, I have done what a Tathâgata ought to do. It is now for you to devote yourself to it without any doubt. Do not doubt the perfect and unfailing knowledge of Buddha. Do not enter into the dungeon made of gems built up in every way. For indeed, the birth of a Buddha, O Agita, is difficult to be met with, so is the instruction in the Law, and also a timely birth¹. O Agita, the way to gain the perfection (pâramitâ) of all stocks of merit has been proclaimed by me. Do now exert yourselves and move forward. O Agita, I grant indeed a great favour to this treatise of the Law. Be valiant so that the laws of Buddhas may not perish or disappear. Do not break the command of the Tathâgata.’

§ 44. Then at that time, the Bhagavat spoke these verses :

¹ Of the hearer ; so that the student should be born at a time when there is a Buddha on earth.

1. 'Such hearings of me will not be for people who have not done good ; but those who are heroes and perfect, they will hear this speech.

2. 'And those by whom the Lord of the world, the enlightened and the light-giver, has been seen, and the law been heard reverentially, will obtain the highest joy.

3. 'Low people of slothful minds cannot find any delight in the laws of Buddha ; those who have worshipped in the Buddha countries learn the service of the Lords of the three worlds.

4. 'As a blind man in darkness does not know the way, and much less can show it, so also he who is (only) a *Srāvaka*¹ in the knowledge of Buddha ; how then should beings who are ignorant !

5. 'The Buddha only knows the virtues of a Buddha ; but not gods, *Nāgas*, *Asuras*, *Yakshas*, and *Srāvakas* (disciples) ; even for *Anekabuddhas*² there is no such way, as when the knowledge of a Buddha is being manifested.

6. 'If all beings had attained bliss, knowing the highest meaning in pure wisdom, they would not in *koṭis* of kalpas or even in a longer time tell all the virtues of one Buddha.

7. 'Thereupon they would attain *Nirvāṇa*, preaching for many *koṭis* of kalpas, and yet the measure of the knowledge of a Buddha would not be reached, for such is the wonderfulness of the knowledge of the *Gīnas*.

8. 'Therefore a learned man of an intelligent race³ who believes my words, after having perceived

¹ Those who are as yet hearers only of the Law.

² Should it be *Pratyekabuddhas* ?

³ The text is evidently corrupt, and the translation conjectural.

all paths of the knowledge of the *Ginas*, should utter speech, saying, "Buddha is wise."

9. 'Now and then a man is found, now and then a Buddha appears, knowledge of the object of faith is acquired after a long time,—therefore one should strive to acquire (the knowledge of) the object (of faith) ¹.'

§ 45. And while this treatise of the Law was being delivered, twelve *koṭis* of *niyutas* of beings obtained the pure and spotless eye of the Law with regard to Laws. Twenty-four hundred thousand *niyutas* of *koṭis* of beings obtained the *Anâgâmin*² reward. Eight hundred *Bhikshus* had their thoughts delivered from faults so as to cling no more to anything. Twenty-five *koṭis* of *Bodhisattvas* obtained resignation to things to come. And by forty hundred thousand *niyutas* of *koṭis* of the human and divine race, thoughts such as had never risen before were turned toward the highest perfect knowledge, and their stocks of merit were made to grow toward their being born in the world *Sukhâvatī*, from a desire to see the *Tathâgata*, the blessed *Amitâbha*. And all of them having been born there, will in proper order be born in other worlds, as *Tathâgatas*, called *Mañgusvara* (sweet-voiced). And eighty *koṭis* of *niyutas* having acquired resignation under the *Tathâgata* *Dīpaṅkara*, never turning back again from the highest perfect knowledge, rendered perfect by the

¹ The tenth verse is again unintelligible, but may have meant something like that 'those who having heard the best Laws, are joyful in remembering *Sugata*, are our friends in time past, and they also who wish for enlightenment.'

² One who is not born again, except in the *Brahma* world, and then may obtain *Nirvâṇa*.

Tathâgata Amitâyus, practising the duties of former Bodhisattvas, will carry out, after they are born in the world SukhâvatĪ, the duties enjoined in the former *Pravīdhânas* (prayers).

§ 46. At that time this universe (the three millions of worlds) trembled in six ways. And various miracles were seen. On earth everything was perfect, and human and divine instruments were played, and the shout of joy was heard as far as the world of the *Akanishthas*.

§ 47. Thus spoke the Bhagavat enraptured, and the noble-minded Bodhisattva Agita, and the blessed Ānanda, the whole Assembly, and the world, with gods, men, spirits, mighty birds, and fairies, applauded the speech of the Bhagavat.

The praise of the beauty of the excellences of SukhâvatĪ, the country of the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, the entry of the Bodhisattva on the stage of 'never returning,' the story of Amitâbha, the Mahâyânasûtra of the Description of SukhâvatĪ is finished.

NOTE

BY THE REV. BUNYIU NANJIO, M. A.,

ON THE TWO PRAVIDHĀNAS,
THE 18TH AND 21ST, MISSING IN THE TEXT.

IN the Chinese translations of the Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha, made by Saṅghavarman, A. D. 252, and Bodhiruḥi, A. D. 693-713, there are altogether 48 Praṇidhānas, not 46, as in the Sanskrit text. The 18th and the 21st in the translations are evidently wanting in the Sanskrit text, and the latter part of the 19th Praṇidhāna in that text is the latter part of the lost 18th, according to the translations. This 18th Praṇidhāna, however, is so important that it is called by Gen-ku, the teacher of Shin-ran, the founder of the Shin-shiu sect, 'the king of the Praṇidhānas.'

Saṅghavarman's translation of the 18th, 20th, and 21st is as follows:—

18. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters should believe in me with serene thoughts, and should wish to be born in my country, and should have say ten times thought of me (or repeated my name),—if they should not be born there, may I not obtain the perfect knowledge;—barring only those beings who have committed the five deadly sins, and who have spoken evil of the good Law.'

The 18th Praṇidhāna in the Sanskrit text agrees with the 19th in both Chinese translations; but the 20th in these translations is somewhat shorter than the 19th in the Sanskrit text. The shorter translation is as follows:—

20. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters, after they have heard my name, should direct their thoughts towards my country and should plant the roots of merit (or prepare their stock of merit), and should bring them to maturity with their serene thoughts, and wish to be born in my country,—if they should not accomplish (their desire), may I not obtain the perfect knowledge.

21. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if gods and men in my country should not all be endowed perfectly with the thirty-two marks of the great man, may I not obtain the perfect knowledge.'

I have tried to restore the Sanskrit text for the above three Prañidhānas, in accordance with the Chinese translations.

The 18th may be formed chiefly out of the 19th in the text, something as follows:—

॥ १८ ॥ सवैश्वे मगवन्बोधिप्राप्तस्य ये सत्त्वा चक्षेयुः शोकधातुषु मम नामधेयं श्रुत्वा तच्च बुद्धचैवे चित्तं प्रेरयेयुः पपत्तये प्रसन्नचित्ता माम-
नुसरेयुस्ते तच्च बुद्धचैवे नोपपत्तेरन्नतश्चो दशमिच्छित्तोत्पादपरिवर्तेः
स्थापयित्वा नन्तर्यकारिणः सर्वमप्रतिषेधावरणकृतांश्च सत्त्वाश्चा तावद्-
हमनुत्तरां सम्बन्धबोधिममिसंबुद्धेयं ॥

Note.—The fulfilment of this Prañidhāna is given in the text (p. 47, ll. 1-4), as the reason of the fulfilment of the 17th:—

•। तत्कस्य हेतोः। ये केचित्सत्त्वास्तस्य मगवतोऽमिताभस्य नामधेयं
श्रुत्वा चांतश्च एकचित्तोत्पादमप्यध्याश्रयेण प्रसादसहयतेन
चित्तमुत्पादयन्ति ते सर्वेऽविवर्तिकाश्चां संलग्नानुरागाः सम्बन्ध-
बोधिः ॥ २६ ॥

In the Chinese translations, the exception of two kinds of beings is repeated at the end of this fulfilment.

The 20th (i. e. 19th in the text) may then be shortened like this :—

॥२०॥ सर्वेक्षे मनवन्बोधिप्राप्तस्त्वाप्रमेयासंक्षेपेण बुद्धचेष्टेण ये सत्त्वा मम नामधेयं श्रुत्वा तत्र बुद्धचेष्टे चित्तं प्रेरयेयुष्यपपत्तये कुशल-
मूलानि च परित्यामयेयुस्ते तत्र बुद्धचेष्टे नोपपक्षेरन्ता तावद्दहमनुत्तरां
सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुध्येयं ॥

The fulfilment of this Prañidhāna may be the 27th chapter in the text, with the exception of some portion on the appearance of Amitābha before a dying man, which belongs to the 19th (i. e. 18th in the text) Prañidhāna.

ये चानंद केचित्सत्त्वास्तं तचानतं पुनः सत्कारमनसिकरिष्यन्ति
बहुपरिमितं कुशलमूलमवरोपयिष्यन्ति बोधये चित्तं परित्याम्य तत्र
च शोकधातावुपपत्तये प्रविधास्यन्ति ° । (ततस्)ते (तं) मनवन्तं ब्रूया
प्रसन्नचित्ताश्रयुताः संतस्तथैव सुखावत्त्वां शोकधातावुपपत्स्यन्ति । (p. 47.)

The 21st may be like this :—

॥२१॥ सर्वेक्षे मनवन्बोधिप्राप्तस्त तत्र बुद्धचेष्टे ये सत्त्वाः प्रत्वाजाता
मवेयुस्ते सर्वे न द्वाविंशत्यहापुष्यलक्षसमन्वागता मवेयुर्मा तावद्दह-
मनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुध्येयं ॥

This Prañidhāna is found in the Tibetan translation.

The fulfilment of this Prañidhāna is to be found in chap. 35 (p. 56) as follows :—

तत्र चानंद बुद्धचेष्टे ये बोधिसत्त्वाः प्रत्वाजाताः सर्वे ते द्वाविंशत्य-
हापुष्यलक्षसमन्वागताः ° ।

B. N.

INDEX OF WORDS.

Roman numerals refer to the chapters, Arabic figures with p. to the pages of the edition of the Sanskrit text in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, without p. to the verses in certain chapters. Arabic figures in parentheses give the number in the lists of names.

- Akanishṭha, XVII.
 Akanishṭha-bhavana, the abode of the Akanishṭhas, XL, p. 64 ; XLVI.
 akwala, sin, XVIII, p. 40.
 akṣaṇopapatti, of untimely birth, XV.
 agāta, not born, XVIII, p. 40.
 agātismara, forgetful of former births, XXXVI (conjecture).
 Agita, the Bodhisattva Agita, XL, p. 64.
 Agñānavidhvamsana, N. of a Tathāgata, III (64).
 Ativīryaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 Atulyaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 aduḥkhasukhavedanā, perceiving what is neither pain nor pleasure, XVIII, p. 40.
 Anantarya, crimes (five), VIII, 19.
 anabhisamskāra, not made, XVIII, p. 40.
 Anāgāmi-(phala), the Anāgāmin's (reward), reward of not being born again on earth, XLV, p. 76 (conjectural reading).
 Anibandhanīyaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 animitta, causelessness, X, p. 26.
 animitta,unconditioned,XVIII,p.40.
 aniyata, not bent on anything (?), XXIV.
 Aniruddha, N. pr., I (20).
 anutpattikadharmakṣānti, resignation to consequences which have not yet arisen, XVIII, p. 40 ; XXXII end ; XLV, p. 76.
 anutpāda, without origin, XVIII, p. 40.
 Anupalīpta, N. of a Tathāgata, III (8).
 anulomikī kṣānti, resignation to natural consequences, XXXII end.
 Anekabuddha, pl. Pratyekabuddhas ? XLIV, 5.
 apāya, misery, XVIII, p. 40.
 apraṇihita, purposelessness, X, p. 26.
 apraṇihita, free from desire, XVIII, p. 40.
 Apratihataṛaṁmirāgaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 Apsaras, the Apsarases, XIX, p. 42 ; XXIII.
 abhāva, not-being, XVIII, p. 40.
 Abhibhūyanarendrābhūtrayendraprabha [by conjecture] = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 Abhibhūyalokapālasakrabhmasudhāvāsamaheṣvarasarvadevagihmīkaraṇaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 abhishekabhūmipratilambha, attainment of the royal stage, XVIII, p. 40.
 abhisambudh (samyaksambodhim), obtain the highest perfect knowledge, XI ; XIV.
 amanushya, not-man, XXXIX, p. 63.
 amātya, minister, X, p. 27.
 Amitaprabha, Amitaprabhāsa = Amitābha, XII, p. 29 ; XXXI, 5, 20 ; XXXIX, p. 62 ; XLII (4).
 Amitābha, I ; XI to XV ; XXVI to XXXI ; XXXIX ; XLV, p. 76.
 Amitāyu, XXXI, 1-4, 11, 17.

- Amitāyus = Amitābha, XIV ; XXXII ; XXXVII, p. 58 ; XXXIX, p. 62 ; XLV, p. 76.
- Amogharāga, N. pr., I (28).
- arthavaśa, cause and effect, XXX.
- Arhat, holy, I ; XI ; XXVII ; XXVIII ; XXXII ; XXXIX, p. 62.
- Avalokiteśvara, Buddha's son, XXXI, 13 ; XXXIV.
- Avīki, hell, IV, 10.
- Avidyāndhakāravīdhvaṃsanakara, N. of a Tathāgata, III (35).
- avaivartika, never returning (for a new birth), XXXI, 18. See also XXXII, p. 55 ; XLII, p. 69 ; XLV, p. 76.
- avaivartikatva, the state of never returning, XLIII, p. 72.
- Āsvagat, N. pr., I (2).
- Aśaṅgataprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
- Asamāptaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
- Asura, Asuras, VIII, 1, 2 ; X, p. 25 ; XII, p. 30 ; XXXIX, p. 63 ; XLIV, 5 ; XLVII.
- ātāryopādhyāya, teachers and masters, X, p. 26.
- Āgātakaundīnya, N. pr., I (1).
- Ānanda, N. pr., I (34) ; II, &c. ; XI, &c. &c.
- ārāmaparigraha, predial property with regard to monasteries, XXII.
- Ārya, XII, p. 30.
- āveśikabuddhadharma, freedom from attachment, XVIII, p. 40.
- āśrava, fault, XLV, p. 76.
- āsura-kāya, the body of Asuras, VIII, 1, 2 ; XV.
- Uttaptavaidūryanirbhāsa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (30).
- uttarīkaryā, the higher practice, VIII, 20.
- Udakaandra, N. of a Tathāgata, III (34).
- unmiṣṭa, question, II, p. 4.
- upaśānta, peace, XVIII, p. 40.
- upādhyāya, teacher, X, p. 26 ; XLIII, p. 72.
- Upāsaka, layman, } XXXIX, p. 63.
- Upāsikā, laywoman, }
- Upośaṇīyaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
- Uruvilvākāśyapa, N. pr., I (10).
- riddhi, miraculous power, VIII, 5.
- riddhimat, endowed with miraculous power, XIII, p. 31.
- riddhivasitā, miraculous power, VIII, 5 ; XIII, p. 31.
- riddhībala, miraculous power, XXXI, 16, 21.
- ekagātipratibaddha, bound to one birth only, VIII, 20 ; XXXIII.
- ekagātiya, of one birth only, XXXI, 18.
- ekāyanamārga, the path of one vehicle, XXXVIII, p. 59.
- aupapāduka, born miraculously, XLI, p. 65.
- Kampila, N. pr., I (22).
- karman (karmavāṇam vipākab, karmābhisaṃskārab, the result of works, and the outcome of works), XVII, p. 37.
- kāma, lust, X, p. 25.
- Kāruṇika, N. of a Tathāgata, III (75).
- Kālaparvata, black mountain, XVII beg. ; XXXIX, p. 63.
- Kinnara, Kinnaras, XII, p. 30 ; XXXIX, p. 63.
- Kumārakāśyapa, N. pr., I (13).
- kusalamūla, stock of merit, VIII, 19, 22, 27, 41, 42 ; XVII ; XVIII, p. 40 ; XXVII ; XXVIII ; XXXVII, p. 58 ; XXXVIII, p. 60, &c.
- Kusumaprabha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (50).
- Kusumavṛiṣṭyabhiprakīrṇa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (51).
- Kusumasambhava, N. of a Tathāgata, III (43).
- Kusumābhigṛā, N. of a Tathāgata, III (63).
- Keśarin, N. of a Tathāgata, III (65).
- kṣatriya, Kṣatriyas, X, p. 27.
- kṣānti, endurance, VIII, 46 ; patience (pāramitā), X, p. 26 ; three kinds of resignation, XXXII, p. 55.
- Khadiravaṣika, N. pr., I (25).

- Gandharva, XII, p. 30; XXXIX, p. 63; XLVII.
- gandharvarāga (doubtful, text probably corrupt), XIX, p. 41.
- Gayākāryapa, N. pr., I (12).
- Garudā and Garuḍas, XII, p. 30; XXXIX, p. 63; XLVII.
- gāthā, verse, IV; IX; XXV; XXXI; XLIV.
- Girirāgaghosha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (12).
- Girirāgaghosheśvara, N. of a Tathāgata, III (49).
- Grīdhrakrūta, the mountain G., I.
- grīhapati, householder, X, p. 27.
- ghoshānugā (kshānti, resignation), following the sound, XXXII end.
- ākavartitva, sovereignty, X, p. 27.
- Kakravāḍa (mountains), XVII; XXXIX, p. 63.
- Kandana, N. of a Tathāgata, III (6).
- Kandanagandha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (4, 54).
- Kandābbibbū, N. of a Tathāgata, III (18).
- Kandraprabha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (47).
- Kandrabbānu, N. of a Tathāgata, III (45).
- Kandrasūryagihmīkarana, N. of a Tathāgata, III (29).
- kāryākaraṇa, practice of discipline, XXXVIII, p. 59.
- kāturmahārāgakāyika (gods), consisting of the companies of the four Mahārāgas, XVII.
- Kittadhārābuddhisankusmitābhyudgata, N. of a Tathāgata, III (31).
- kintāmaniratna, jewel which yields every wish, XXXII.
- Kullapatka, N. pr., I (31).
- Gambūdvipeśvara, sovereign of India, X, p. 27.
- gātismara, possessed of the recollection of former births, VIII, 6; XXXI, 16; XX XVI.
- Gāmbūnadasuvarṇa, gold coming from the river G., II, p. 3.
- Gina=Buddha, II, p. 3; IX, 9; XXV, 5; XLIII, p. 72; XLIV, 7, 8.
- Ginabala, Gina-power, XXXVIII, p. 61.
- Ginasutāb, sons of the Gina, XXXVIII, p. 61.
- gñānadarsana, intellectual knowledge, II, p. 4.
- Gyotishprabha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (15); XLII (3).
- Gvalanādhipati, a Tathāgata, XLII (14).
- Tathāgata, list of eighty-one T's, III; XI; XII; XXXVIII, p. 62, &c. &c.
- tiryagyoni, brute-creation, VIII, 1, 2; XV.
- Tishya, N. of a Tathāgata, III (38).
- Tushita, XVII.
- Tūryaghosha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (19).
- Trāyastriṃsa (gods), XL, p. 63.
- trisāhasramahāsahasra, the three millions of spheres of worlds, VIII, 12; XLIII, p. 71; XLVI.
- traidhātukasamatā, equilibrium of the three elements, XX XVIII, p. 59.
- dāna, liberality, X, p. 26 (pāramitā).
- divyaṃ ākshuṣ, the divine eye, VIII, 7, 26; XXXI, 16; XXXVIII, p. 59 (opp. māṃsa-ākshuṣ).
- divyaṃ śrotam, the divine ear, VIII, 8; XXXI, 16.
- Dīpankara, N. of a Tathāgata, III (1).
- duḥkha, pain, XVIII, p. 40.
- durgati, distress, XVIII, p. 40.
- Dushprasaha, a Tathāgata, XLII (1).
- deva, god, XII, p. 30; XXXIX, p. 63; XLVII, &c.
- devanāgāsuraśaśvāvakāb, XLIV, 5.
- devarāgatva, sovereignty of the gods, X, p. 27.
- dharma, Law, XVIII, pp. 39, 40; dharmam deśayati, XI.
- dharma, a thing, XXXVIII, p. 59.
- dharmā, plur. (gambhīra, profound), doctrines, XXIX.
- dharmakathā, the story of the Law, XXXVIII beg.
- Dharmaketu, N. of a Tathāgata, III (70).

dharmakakrapravartana, turning the wheel of the Law, X, p. 27.
 dharmakakshus, eye of the Law, XXXVIII, p. 59; XLV, p. 76.
 Dharmamati, N. of a Tathâgata, III (78).
 Dharmamativinanditarâga, N. of a Tathâgata, III (39).
 Dharmâkara, N. of a Bhikshu, III end; IV; V; VI; VII; X, p. 25; XI.
 dharmolkâ, torch of the Law, XXXVIII, p. 61.
 dhâtu, cause, XXXVIII, p. 59.
 Dhâraṇis, VIII, 33.
 dhyâna (pâramitâ), meditation, X, p. 26.

Nadikâryapa, N. pr., I (11).
 Nanda, N. pr., I (32).
 Nandika, N. pr., I (21).
 Narendra, N. of a Tathâgata, III (74).
 Narendrarâga, a Tathâgata, XLII (11).
 Nâga and Nâgas, XII, p. 30; XXXIX, p. 63; XLIV, 5.
 Nâgâbhibhû, N. of a Tathâgata, III (10); XLII (6).
 Nârâyanavâgra, the diamond (or thunderbolt?) of N., VIII, 25.
 Nimi, N. of a Tathâgata, III (56).
 niraya, hell, VIII, 1, 2; XV.
 nirodha, cessation, XVIII, p. 40.
 nirodha, Nirvâna, XXI, p. 44.
 Nirmânarati, XVII.
 nirvâna, XXIV.
 nirvrita bhû, to attain Nirvâna, XLIV, 7.
 nishparidâha, free from pain, VIII, 37.
 nivarana, obstacle, XVIII, p. 40.

paṅkamandalanamaskâra, prostrate reverence, VIII, 35.
 Patka, N. pr., I (30).
 padma, lotus (men born in lotus-flowers), XL; XLI.
 Padmabimbyupasobhita, N. of a Tathâgata, III (53).
 paraṅkittagñâna, knowledge of the thoughts of other people, VIII, 9.
 Paranirmitavaravartin (gods), XVII; XIX, p. 41; XX; XL, p. 65.
 paramârtha, highest truth, XXV, 1.

parigrahasamgñâ, idea of possession, VIII, 10.
 parinam, causat., to bring to maturity, VIII, 19.
 parinirvâna, the Nirvâna, VIII, 20; XXXIII.
 parinirvrita, having entered Nirvâna, XI.
 parikshaṅkitta (kshâ?), having inquiring thoughts, I.
 parshad, the Assembly, VII; IX, 8; XLVII.
 pâramikovida, knowing the highest wisdom, XXXI, 16.
 Pâramitâ, highest perfection, II, p. 4; VIII, 5; X, p. 26; XVIII, p. 40.
 Pârâyanika, N. pr., I (29).
 purushadamyasârathi, III, p. 7.
 Pushpadhvaga, a Tathâgata, XLII (13).
 Pushpâkara, N. of a Tathâgata, III (33).
 Pushpâvatîvanarâgasaukusumitâbhigñâ, N. of a Tathâgata, III (32).
 Pûrva-Maitrâyanîputra, N. pr., I (9).
 pûrvagina, former Ginas, XXXII end; XXXVII end.
 pûrvadattadharmaśravaṇa, hearing of the Law formerly given, XXVII end.
 pûrvapranidhâna, former prayers, XXXII end; XXXVII end; XLV end.
 pragñâ (pâramitâ), knowledge, X, p. 26.
 pragñâkakshus, eye of wisdom, XXXVIII, p. 59.
 pragñâpâramitâ, transcendental wisdom, XXXVIII, p. 59.
 pranidhâ, to pray, XXVII.
 pranidhâna, prayer, VI; VII, p. 11; VIII, 14, 20; IX; XII, p. 29; see pûrvapranidhâna.
 pranidhânavâsa, the power of prayer, XXXIII.
 pranidhânasampad, perfection of prayer, X, p. 25.
 pranidhi, prayer, IV, 10; IX, 9, 11; X, p. 25; XXXI, 17, 18.
 pranidhisthâna, subject of prayer, VII, p. 11.
 Pratâpavat, N. of a Tathâgata, III (2).
 pratibhâna, understanding, II, p. 4.

- pratisamvit, perfect knowledge, VIII, 28; consciousness, XVIII, p. 40.
- Pratyekabuddha, VIII, 12.
- pradakṣiṇīkṛi, to walk round respectfully, XXXI, 5.
- Prabhākara, N. of a Tathāgata, III (3).
- Prabhārikhotsrīṣhaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
- Pramodanīyaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
- prāṇta, peace, XVIII, p. 40.
- prāthīyā, miracle, XLVI.
- Prāptasena, N. of a Tathāgata, III (44).
- pretavishaya, the realm of the departed spirits, VIII, 1, 2; XV.
- Premanīyaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
- bala, the Balas or powers, XVIII, p. 40.
- Balābhigṇa, a Tathāgata, XLII (12).
- Buddha, II, &c., sing. and plur.; XII, p. 29; XXXI, 1, &c. &c.
- buddhakṣhetra, a Buddha country, V; VI; VII; XI; XII, &c. &c.
- buddhaśakṣus, eye of Buddha, XXXVIII, p. 59.
- buddhagṇāna, knowledge of Buddha, XXXVIII, p. 59.
- buddhadharmasaṅghāḥ, Buddha, the Law, and the Church, VIII, 46; X, p. 26; XVIII, p. 39.
- buddhaśāstri, Buddha teacher, VIII, 46.
- buddhasaṃgīti, music of Buddha, XXXVIII, p. 59.
- bodhi, knowledge, VIII, 15 seqq.; XXVII; XXXII, p. 55; XXXVI; XLI, p. 69.
- bodhiparinīṣpatti, perfect knowledge, XVIII, p. 40.
- bodhivṛkṣa, a Bodhi tree, VIII, 27; XXXII.
- Bodhisattva, I; X, p. 25, sing. and plur.; XXX; XXXI; XXXIX, &c. &c.
- bodhyaṅgasamgīti, music of the Bodhyaṅgas, XXXVIII, p. 59.
- Brahmakāyika, XVII.
- Brahmaketu, N. of a Tathāgata, III (77).
- Brahmaghoṣa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (17, 59).
- Brahman, X, p. 25; XII, p. 29.
- Brahmapurohita, XVII.
- Brahmasvaranādābhinandita, N. of a Tathāgata, III (42).
- brāhmaṇa, Brāhmaṇa, X, pp. 25, 27.
- Bhagavat, I; II, &c.
- Bhadragit, N. pr., I (5).
- bhikṣhu, a mendicant (nīrodhasa-māpanna), XXI, p. 44, &c.; XXXIX, p. 63.
- bhikṣhuṇī, nun, XXXIX, p. 63.
- bhūmi, the Bhūmis or stages, XVIII, p. 40.
- Maṅgusvara, 'sweet-voiced' (Tathāgatas), XLV, p. 76.
- manuṣyāmanuṣyāḥ, men and not men, XII, p. 30; XXXIX, p. 63.
- mañi? IV, 8.
- mahārddhika, endowed with great supernatural powers, XL, p. 65.
- Mahākaphila, N. pr., I (18).
- mahākaruṇā, highest compassion, II, p. 4; XVIII, p. 40.
- Mahākāyapa, N. pr., I (14).
- Mahāketu, N. of a Tathāgata, III (69).
- Mahākaṇṣṭhīlīya, N. pr., I (17).
- Mahāgandharāgaṇirbhāsa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (24).
- Mahāgusadhara, N. of a Tathāgata, III (61).
- Mahāgusadharabuddhiprāptābhigṇa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (28).
- mahāśakravāḍa, Great Kakravāḍa mountains, XVII; XXXIX, p. 63.
- Mahātunda, N. pr., I (19).
- Mahātāmālapatraśāṇḍanakardama, N. of a Tathāgata, III (62).
- mahādharmaḍundubhi, the great drum of the Law, XXXVIII, p. 61.
- mahādharmaḍvaga, the great banner of the Law, XXXVIII, p. 61.
- mahādharmaḍherī, the great kettle-drum of the Law, XXXVIII, p. 61.
- mahādharmaśaṅkha, the great trumpet-shell of the Law, XXXVIII, p. 61.
- Mahānāga, I, p. 2; II, p. 3.
- Mahānāman, N. pr., I (4).

- mahâparinirvâṇa, VIII, 11.
 mahâpurushalakṣhaṇa, the (thirty-two) marks of a great man, XVI, p. 36; XXXV.
 mahâpramīdhâna, the great prayer, X, p. 25.
 mahâbrahmatva, X, p. 27.
 Mahâbrahman, the great Brahman, XVII; XXXVIII, p. 60.
 Mahâmuṭtilinda, XXXIX, p. 63.
 mahâmuditâ, great rejoicing, XVIII, p. 40.
 Mahâmeru, the great Meru, XXXIX, p. 63.
 mahâmaitrî, great love, XVIII, p. 40.
 Mahâmaudgalayâna, N. pr., I (16).
 Mahârâgas (four), XVII, p. 37.
 Mahâvyūha, N. of a Tathâgata, III (57).
 Mahârâvaka, great disciple, I, p. 2 (bis).
 mahâsamnâha, the whole armour (of the Law), VIII, 20.
 Mahâsthâmaprâpta, name of a Bodhisattva, XXXIV.
 Maheśvara, XII, p. 29 end.
 Mahopekṣhâ, great forgiveness, XVIII, p. 40.
 mahoraga, XII, p. 30; XXXIX, p. 63.
 mânusha, men, XLVII.
 Mâra (samâraka), X, p. 25.
 mithyâtvanīyata, bent on falsehood, XXIV.
 mīmāṃsâ, philosophy, II, p. 4.
 mīmāṃsâgñâna, philosophical knowledge, II, p. 3.
 Muktakusumapratimandītaprabha, N. of a Tathâgata, III (20).
 Muktaḥḥatratra, N. of a Tathâgata, III (66).
 Muktaḥḥatratrapravâtasadrīsa, N. of a Tathâgata, III (37).
 Muṭtilinda, XXXIX, p. 63.
 Meru, XXXVIII, p. 59; XXXIX, p. 63.
 Merukūṭa, N. of a Tathâgata, III (13, 46).
 Maitrâyanīputra, see Pūrṇa-Maitrâyanīputra.
 Maitreya, N. of a Bodhisattva, I end.
 Maudgalayâna, XIII, p. 31.
 Yaksha, Yakshas, XII, p. 30; XXXIX, p. 63; XLIV, 5.
 yathâbhūtapratigñâ, the true promise, X, p. 25.
 Yasodeva, N. pr., I (6).
 Yâmâ devâb, the Yâmadevas, XVII, p. 37; XL, p. 65.
 Raṇaḥḡgaha, N. of a Tathâgata, III (27).
 Ratnaketu, N. of a Tathâgata, III (71).
 Ratnâkandra, N. of a Tathâgata, III (52).
 ratnaparvata, jewel-mountain, XVII; XXXIX, p. 63.
 ratnavriksha, gem-tree, XVI, p. 33.
 Ratnaśrī, N. of a Tathâgata, III (72).
 Ratnâkara, a Tathâgata, XLII (2).
 Ratnâbhibhâsa, N. of a Tathâgata, III (55).
 Râkshasa, XXXIX, p. 63.
 râgadveshamohâb, illusion, hatred, and passion, XXXVIII, p. 61.
 Râgagrīha, the city, I.
 Râganiyaprabha = Amitâbha, XII, p. 29.
 râsi, division (two divisions of beings), XXIV.
 Râhula, N. pr., I (33).
 rūpaḥḡbdagandharasasprashavya-dharmâb, all qualified objects of senses, X, p. 26.
 rūpaḥḡbdagandharasasprashavya-samgñâ, the idea of form, sound, smell, taste, and touch, X, p. 25.
 Revata, N. pr., I (24).
 lokadhātu, world, VIII, 7, 18, &c.
 lokanâtha, protector of the world, IX, 3.
 Lokapâla, XII, p. 29.
 lokapâlatva, X, p. 27.
 Lokapradīpa, a Tathâgata, XLII (5).
 Lokasundara, N. of a Tathâgata, III (76).
 Lokendra, N. of a Tathâgata, III (36, 73).
 Lokeśvararâga, N. of a Tathâgata, III (81); IV; V; VI; VII.
 Vakula, N. pr., I (26).
 Varaprabha, N. of a Tathâgata, III (23).
 varavartitva, X, p. 27.
 varitâ, self-control, VIII, 5.

- vas, to perform one's religious duties, I, p. 1.
 Vāshpa, N. pr., I (3).
 vinipāta, destruction, XVIII, p. 40.
 vibhūti (puṣyā), (holy) miraculous power (of Buddhas), XVII.
 Vimala, N. pr., I (7).
 Vimalanetra, N. of a Tathāgata, III (48).
 Vimalaprabha, III (9).
 Vimalānana, N. of a Tathāgata, III (7).
 Viragaprabha, a Tathāgata, XLII (7).
 virāga, passionlessness, XVIII, p. 40.
 viveka, retirement, XVIII, p. 40.
 vihiṃsā, cruelty, X, p. 25.
 vīrya, strength, X, p. 26 (pāramitā).
 Vaidūryagarbha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (68).
 Vaidūryanirbhāsa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (16).
 vaiśāradya, experience, fearlessness, XVIII, p. 40.
 Vaiśāradyapṛāpta, a Tathāgata, XLII (15).
 Vyapagatakhiladosha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (58).
 Vyapagatakhilamalapatighosha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (25).
 vyāpāda, malevolence, X, p. 25.
 Sakra, king of Devas, XII, p. 29; XX; XXXII, p. 54.
 Sakratva, X, p. 27.
 Sākyamuni, XXXIX, p. 64.
 śānta (praśāntoparāntam), peace, XVIII, p. 40; śāntasahagatam, ibid.
 Śāriputra, N. pr., I (15).
 Śāstri (saṃgṛhā, the name of) Master, XLIII, p. 72.
 śīla (pāramitā), virtue, X, p. 26.
 śukladharma, the pure Law, X, p. 25.
 Suddhāvāsa, XII, p. 29.
 śūnyatā, emptiness, X, p. 26; XVIII, p. 40.
 Sūrakūṣa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (26).
 śraddhā, faith, XXV, 5.
 Śramaṇa, X, p. 25.
 Śrāntasaṃskṛtyendusūryagihmīkarana-prabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 śrāvaka, pupil, VIII, 12; XI; XXXIV; XXXIX, p. 63 seq.; XLIV, 4, 5.
 Śrīkūṣa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (21); XLII (10).
 śruta, sacred knowledge, XXXVIII, p. 61.
 śreshṭhin, merchant, X, p. 27.
 Saṅgamanīyaprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 saṅgha, the Church, XVIII, p. 39.
 Sadvīyamāṣiprabha = Amitābha, XII, p. 29.
 sadevaka, together with the gods, X, p. 25.
 saddharma, the good Law, VIII, 8.
 Saptaratnābhivṛṣṭa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (60).
 sabrahmaka, together with Brahman, X, p. 25.
 samantabhadraśāryā, Samantabhadra discipline, VIII, 20.
 Samantānugata, N. of a Samādhi, VIII, 43.
 Samādhi, ecstasy, II, p. 4; VIII, 40, 43; XXXVIII.
 samāra, together with Māra, X, p. 25.
 samyaktva, absolute truth, VIII, 11.
 samyaksambuddha, fully enlightened, II, p. 4; V; XXVII; XXVIII; XXXII beg.; XXXIX.
 samyaksambodhi (anuttarā), highest perfect knowledge, V; VII; VIII; X, p. 26; XI; XIV; XXVI; XXVII; XXIX; XXXII, p. 55; XXXIII; XLIII, p. 72; XLV, p. 76.
 samyagāgṛhā, perfect knowledge, I.
 sarvakusalamūlapāramitā, perfection of all stocks of merit, XLIII, p. 73.
 sarvagṛhāṇa, the knowledge of omniscience, XLIII, p. 72.
 sarvagṛhātā, omniscience, II, p. 3; VIII, 23; XXXVIII beg.
 sarvamanabrahmanika, together with Sramanas and Brāhmins, X, p. 25.
 Sahāloka dhātu, the world Sahā, XXXIX, p. 64.
 Sāgarameruśāndra, N. of a Tathāgata, III (41).
 Sāgaravarabuddhivikrāntābhigṛhā, N. of a Tathāgata, III (22).
 Simha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (79); XLII (8, 9).

- simhanāda*, the lion's voice, VII ; IX, 8.
Simhamati, N. of a Tathāgata, III (80).
Simhasāgarakūṭavinanditarāga, N. of a Tathāgata, III (40).
Sukhāvati, I ; XI ; XV ; XVIII ; XXXIX ; XL, &c.
Sugata, the sons of S., I, p. 1 ; III, p. 7 ; XXXI, 21 (the Sugatas) ; XLIV, 10.
sutushitva, X, p. 27.
Sunirmitatva, X, p. 27.
Subāhu, N. pr., I (8).
Subhūti, N. pr., I (23).
Sumeru, XVII, p. 37 ; XXXVIII, p. 59, plur. ; XXXIX, p. 63.
Sumerukalpa, N. of a Tathāgata, III (5).
suyāmatva, X, p. 27.
sulikhita, a good copy, XLIII, p. 72.
Suvarṇagarbha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (67).
Suvarṇaprabha, N. of a Tathāgata, III (14).
Suvibhaktavati, name of a Samādhi, VIII, 40.
Sūryodana, N. of a Tathāgata, III (11).
stryāgāra, room for women (Frauenzimmer), XLI, p. 67.
Sthavira, elder, I, p. 2 (bis).
Svāgata, N. pr., I (27).
svādhyāya, learning, VIII, 28.
hetubalika, strong in argument, XXXVIII, p. 61.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Bodhisattvas, II ; VII ; VIII, 20.
 Bodhi-tree, IV, 8 ; VIII, 27.
 Brâhmanas, X, p. 25.
 Buddha country, V ; VI ; VII, &c. ;
 X, p. 25 ; XI ; XII.
 Buddha, the Law and the Church,
 VIII, 46.
 Buddhas, X, p. 26 end.
 — possessed of thirty-two marks,
 XVI, p. 36.
 — proceeding from the rays of light
 that proceed from gem-lotuses,
 XVI, p. 36.
 — XVII.
 — praise Amitâbha, XXVI.
 Buddha's death, XXVII ; XXVIII.
 — son, XXXI, 13.

 Endurance, degrees of, VIII, 46.

 Gods, X, p. 25 ; XL, p. 65.
 — (thirty-three), XVII.
 — Buddhas, II.
 — and men, VIII, 4, 30, 32, 35.
 — no difference between them,
 XX.

 Jewel-flowers, VIII, 31.
 Jewel-trees, VIII, 38.

 Knowledge, six kinds of (*shada-*
 bhigñā), I.
 — highest perfect (*samyaksambo-*
 dhi), V, &c.
 — perfect (*pratisamvit*), VIII, 28.
 — three kinds of, IX, 10.

 Lion voice (*simhanâda*), IX, 8.
 Lotus, men living in lotus-flowers,
 XL, p. 65.

 Meditation, the third, VIII, 37.
 Music-clouds, VIII, 31.

 Nirvâṇa, IV, 8 ; VIII, 20 ; XI ;
 XXI ; XXIV ; XLIV, 7.

 Offerings, IX, 1, 10.

 Powers (ten), IX, 1.
 Prayer, IV, 10 ; VI ; VIII, 14, 20.

 Salvation, eight kinds of (*ashravi-*
 moksha), I.
 Shower of flowers, IX, 11.

 Women, VIII, 34.

-

THE SMALLER
SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÛHA.

THE SMALLER SUKHÂVATÎ-VYÛHA.

ADORATION TO THE OMNISCIENT !

§ 1. Thus it was heard by me : At one time the Blessed (Bhagavat, i.e. Buddha) dwelt at Srāvastī¹, in the Geta-grove, in the garden of Anāthapīṇḍaka, together with a large company of Bhikshus (mendicant friars), viz. with twelve hundred and fifty Bhikshus, all of them acquainted with the five kinds of knowledge², elders, great disciples³, and Arhats⁴,

¹ Srāvastī, capital of the Northern Koras, residence of king Prasenagit. It was in ruins when visited by Fa-hian (init.V. Saec.); not far from the modern Fizabad. Cf. Burnouf, Introduction, p. 22.

² Abhigñānābhigñātaiḥ. The Japanese text reads abhigñātābhāgñātaiḥ, i.e. abhigñātābhigñātaiḥ. If this were known to be the correct reading, we should translate it by 'known by known people,' notus a viris notis, i.e. well known, famous. Abhigñāta in the sense of known, famous, occurs in Lalitavistara, p. 25, and the Chinese translators adopted the same meaning here. Again, if we preferred the reading abhigñānābhigñātaiḥ, this, too, would admit of an intelligible rendering, viz. known or distinguished by the marks or characteristics, i.e. the good qualities which belong to a Bhikshu. But the technical meaning is 'possessed of a knowledge of the five abhigñās.' It would be better in that case to write abhigñātābhigñānāiḥ, but no MSS. seem to support that reading. The five abhigñās or abhigñānas which an Arhat ought to possess are the divine sight, the divine hearing, the knowledge of the thoughts of others, the remembrance of former existences, and magic power. See Burnouf, Lotus, Appendice, No. xiv. The larger text of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha has

^{3 4} See next page.

such as Sâriputra, the elder, Mahâmaudgalyâyana, Mahâkâsyapa, Mahâkapphina, Mahâkâtyâyana, Mahâkaushika, Revata, Suddhipanthaka, Nanda, Ânanda, Râhula, Gavâmpati, Bharadvâga, Kâlo-dayin, Vakkula, and Aniruddha. He dwelt together with these and many other great disciples, and together with many noble-minded Bodhisattvas, such as Mañgusri, the prince, the Bodhisattva Agita, the Bodhisattva Gandhahastin, the Bodhisattva Nityodyukta, the Bodhisattva Anikshiptadhura. He dwelt together with them and many other noble-minded Bodhisattvas, and with Sakra, the Indra or King⁵

abhiḡñânâbhiḡñaiḥ, and afterwards abhiḡñâtâbhiḡñaiḥ. The position of the participle as the uttara-pada in such compounds as abhiḡñânâbhiḡñâtaiḥ is common in Buddhist Sanskrit. Mr. Bendall has called my attention to the Pâli abhiññâta-abhiññâta (Vinaya-piṭaka, ed. Oldenberg, vol. i, p. 43), which favours the Chinese acceptance of the term.

⁵ Mahâsrâvaka, the great disciples; sometimes the eighty principal disciples.

⁴ Arhaddhiḥ. I have left the correct Sanskrit form, because the Japanese text gives the termination adbhīḥ. Hôgô's text has the more usual form arhantaiḥ. The change of the old classical arhat into the Pâli arahāṇa, and then back into Sanskrit arhanta, arahanta, and at last arihanta, with the meaning of 'destroyer of the enemies,' i.e. the passions, shows very clearly the different stages through which Sanskrit words passed in the different phases of Buddhist literature. In Tibet, in Mongolia, and in China, Arhat is translated by 'destroyer of the enemy,' i.e. ari-hanta. See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 287, Introduction, p. 295. Arhat is really the title of the Bhikshu on reaching the fourth degree of perfection. Cf. Sûtra of the 42 Sections, cap. 2. Clemens of Alexandria (d. 220) speaks of the *Σεμνοί* who worshipped a pyramid erected over the relics of a god. This may be a translation of Arhat, as Lassen ('De nom. Ind. philosoph.' in Rhein. Museum, vol. i, p. 187) and Burnouf (Introduction, p. 295) supposed, or a transliteration of Samana. Clemens also speaks of *Σεμνοί* (Stromat. p. 539, Potter).

⁵ Indra, the old Vedic god, has come to mean simply lord, and

of the Devas, and with Brahman Sahâmpati. With these and many other hundred thousand nayutas¹ of sons of the gods, Bhagavat dwelt at Srâvasti.

§ 2. Then Bhagavat addressed the honoured Sâriputra and said, 'O Sâriputra, after you have passed from here over a hundred thousand koṭis of Buddha countries there is in the Western part a Buddha country, a world called Sukhâvatī (the happy country). And there a Tathâgata, called Amitâyus, an Arhat, fully enlightened, dwells now, and remains, and supports himself, and teaches the Law².

'Now what do you think, Sâriputra, for what reason is that world called Sukhâvatī (the happy)? In that world Sukhâvatī, O Sâriputra, there is neither bodily nor mental pain for living beings. The sources of happiness are innumerable there. For that reason is that world called Sukhâvatī (the happy).

§ 3. 'And again, O Sâriputra, that world Sukhâvatī is adorned with seven terraces, with seven rows of

in the *Kanda Paritta* (Journal Asiatique, 1871, p. 220) we actually find Asurinda, the Indra or Lord of the Asuras.

¹ The numbers in Buddhist literature, if they once exceed a koṭi or koṭi, i.e. ten millions, become very vague, nor is their value always the same. Ayuta, i.e. a hundred koṭis; niyuta, i.e. a hundred ayutas; and nayuta, i.e. 1 with 22 zeros, are often confounded; nor does it matter much so far as any definite idea is concerned which such numerals convey to our mind. See Prof. H. Schubert, 'On large numbers,' in *Open Court*, Dec. 14, 1893.

² Tish/hati dhriyate yâpayati dharmam ka desayati. This is an idiomatic phrase, which occurs again and again in the Nepalese text of the *Sukhâvatī-vyūha* (MS. 26 b, ll. 1, 2; 55 a, l. 2, &c.). It seems to mean, he stands there, holds himself, supports himself, and teaches the law. Burnouf translates the same phrase by, 'ils se trouvent, vivent, existent' (*Lotus*, p. 354). On yâpeti in Pâli, see Fausbøll, *Dasaratha-gâtaka*, pp. 26, 28; and yâpana in Sanskrit.

palm-trees, and with strings of bells¹. It is enclosed on every side², beautiful, brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, and crystal³. With

¹ *Kiṅkiṅgāla*. The texts read *kaṅkaṇagalais ka* and *kaṅkaṇigalais ka*, and again later *kaṅkaṇigalunām* (also *lū*) and *kaṅkaṇigalānām*. Mr. Beal translates from Chinese 'seven rows of exquisite curtains,' and again 'gemmous curtains.' First of all, it seems clear that we must read *gāla*, net, web, instead of *gala*. Secondly, *kaṅkana*, bracelet, gives no sense, for what could be the meaning of nets or strings of bracelets? I prefer to read *kiṅkiṅgāla*, nets or strings or rows of bells. Such rows of bells served for ornamenting a garden, and it may be said of them that, if moved by the wind, they give forth certain sounds. In the commentary on *Dhammapada* 30, p. 191, we meet with *kiṅkinikagāla*, from which likewise the music proceeds; see Childers, s.v. *gāla*. In the MSS. of the Nepalese *Sukhāvātī-vyūha* (R.A.S.), p. 39 a, l. 4, I likewise find *svānaratnakīṅkiṅgālāni*, which settles the matter, and shows how little confidence we can place in the Japanese texts.

² *Anuparikshipta*, enclosed; see *parikkhepo* in Childers' Dictionary, and compare *pairidaēza*, paradise.

³ The four and seven precious things in Pāli are (according to Childers):—

1. <i>suvaṇṇam</i> ,	gold.
2. <i>ragatam</i> ,	silver.
3. <i>muttā</i> ,	pearls.
4. <i>maṇi</i> ,	gems (as sapphire, ruby).
5. <i>veḥuriyam</i> ,	cat's eye.
6. <i>vagiram</i> ,	diamond.
7. <i>pavālam</i> ,	coral.

Here Childers translates cat's eye; but s.v. *veḥuriyam*, he says, a precious stone, perhaps lapis lazuli.

In Sanskrit (Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 320):—

1. <i>suvarṇa</i> ,	gold.
2. <i>rūpya</i> ,	silver.
3. <i>vaizūrya</i> ,	lapis lazuli.
4. <i>sphaṭika</i> ,	crystal.
5. <i>lohitamukti</i> ,	red pearls.
6. <i>asmagarbha</i> ,	diamond.
7. <i>musāragalva</i> ,	coral.

such arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha country is that Buddha country adorned.

§ 4. 'And again, O Sâriputra, in that world Sukhâvatî there are lotus lakes, adorned with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals as the seventh. They are full of water which possesses the eight good qualities¹, their waters rise as high as the fords and bathing-places, so that even crows² may drink there; they are

Julien (Pèlerin Buddhistes, vol. ii, p. 482) gives the following list:—

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. sphatika, | rock crystal. |
| 2. vaidûrya, | lapis lazuli. |
| 3. âsmagarbha, | cornaline. |
| 4. musâragalva, | amber. |
| 5. padmarâga, | ruby. |

Vaidûrya (or Vaidûrya) is mentioned in the Tathâgataguna-gaṇanâtintyavishayâvatâranirdera (Wassilief, p. 161) as a precious stone which, if placed on green cloth, looks green, if placed on red cloth, red. The fact that vaidûrya is often compared with the colour of the eyes of a cat would seem to point to the cat's eye (see Borooah's Engl.-Sanskrit Dictionary, vol. ii, preface, p. ix), certainly not to lapis lazuli. Cat's eye is a kind of chalcedony. I see, however, that vaidûrya has been recognised as the original of the Greek *βήρυλλος*, a very ingenious conjecture, either of Weber's or of Pott's, considering that lingual *d* has a sound akin to *r*, and *ry* may be changed to *ly* and *ll* (Weber, Omina, p. 326). The Persian billaur or ballûr, which Skeat gives as the etymon of *βήρυλλος*, is of Arabic origin, means crystal, and could hardly have found its way into Greek at so early a time. See 'India, what can it teach us?' p. 267.

¹ The eight good qualities of water are limpidity and purity, refreshing coolness, sweetness, softness, fertilising qualities, calmness, power of preventing famine, productiveness. See Beal, Catena, p. 379.

² Kâkâpeya. One text reads kâkapeya, the other kâkâpeya. It is difficult to choose. The more usual word is kâkapeya, which is explained by Pâṇini, II, 1, 33. It is uncertain, however, whether kâkapeya is meant as a laudatory or as

strewn with golden sand. And in these lotus-lakes there are all around on the four sides four stairs, beautiful and brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal. And on every side of these lotus-lakes gem-trees are growing, beautiful and brilliant with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals as the seventh. And in those lotus-lakes lotus-flowers are growing, blue, blue-coloured, of blue splendour, blue to behold; yellow, yellow-coloured, of yellow splendour, yellow to behold; red, red-coloured, of red splendour, red to behold; white, white-coloured, of white splendour, white to behold; beautiful, beautifully-coloured, of beautiful splendour, beautiful to behold, and in circumference as large as the wheel of a chariot.

a depreciatory term. Böhlingk takes it in the latter sense, and translates *nadī kākapeyā*, by a shallow river that could be drunk up by a crow. Tārānātha takes it in the former sense, and translates *nadī kākapeyā*, as a river so full of water that a crow can drink it without bending its neck (*kākair anatakandharaiḥ pīyate; pūrṇodakatvena prarasye kākaiḥ peye nadyādau*). In our passage *kākapeya* must be a term of praise, and we therefore could only render it by 'ponds so full of water that crows could drink from them.' But why should so well known a word as *kākapeya* have been spelt *kākāpeya*, unless it was done intentionally? And if intentionally, what was it intended for? We must remember that Pāṇini, II, 1, 42 schol., teaches us how to form the word *tīrthakāka*, a crow at a *tīrtha*, which means a person in a wrong place. It would seem therefore that crows were considered out of place at a *tīrtha* or bathing-place, either because they were birds of ill omen, or because they defiled the water. From that point of view, *kākāpeya* would mean a pond not visited by crows, free from crows. Professor Pischel has called my attention to *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (J. R. A. S. 1875, p. 67, p. 21), where *kākapeyā* clearly refers to a full river. *Samatikkhika*, if this is the right reading, occurs in the same place as an epithet of

§ 5. 'And again, O Sāriputra, in that Buddha country there are heavenly musical instruments always played on, and the earth is lovely and of golden colour. And in that Buddha country a flower-rain of heavenly Māṇḍārava blossoms pours down three times every day, and three times every night. And the beings who are born there worship before their morning meal¹ a hundred thousand koṭis of Buddhas by going to other worlds; and having showered a hundred thousand koṭis of flowers upon each Tathāgata, they return to their own world in time for the afternoon rest². With such arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha country is that Buddha country adorned.

§ 6. 'And again, O Sāriputra, there are in that Buddha country swans, curlews³, and peacocks. Three times every night, and three times every day, they

a river, by the side of kākapeya, and I think it most likely that it means rising to a level with the tīrthas, the fords or bathing-places. Mr. Rhys Davids informs me that the commentary explains the two words by samatittikā ti samaharitā, kākapeyyā ti yatthatattha⁴ ti ūhiteṇa kākena sakkā patum ti.

¹ Purobhaktena. The text is difficult to read, but it can hardly be doubtful that purobhaktena corresponds to Pāli purebhattam (i.e. before the morning meal), opposed to paṭṭhābhattam, after the noonday meal (i.e. in the afternoon). See Childers, s.v. Pūrvabhaktikā would be the first repast, as Prof. Cowell informs me.

² Divāvihārāya, for the noonday rest, the siesta. See Childers, s.v. vihāra.

³ Krauñkâḥ. Snipe, curlew. Is it meant for Kuravīka, or Karavīka, a fine-voiced bird (according to Kern, the Sk. karāyikā), or for Kalaviṅka, Pāli Kalavīka? See Childers, s.v. opapātiko; Burnouf, Lotus, p. 566. I see, however, the same birds mentioned together elsewhere, as hamsakrauñkamayūrasukasālikakokila, &c. On mayūra see Mahāv., Introd. p. xxxix; Rv. I, 191, 14.

come together and perform a concert, each uttering his own note. And from them thus uttering proceeds a sound proclaiming the five virtues, the five powers, and the seven steps leading towards the highest knowledge¹. When the men there hear that sound, remembrance of Buddha, remembrance of the Law, remembrance of the Church, rises in their mind.

‘Now, do you think, O Sâriputra, that there are beings who have entered into the nature of animals (birds, &c.)? This is not to be thought of. The

¹ Indriyabalabodhyaṅgarabda. These are technical terms, but their meaning is not quite clear. Spence Hardy, in his *Manual*, p. 498, enumerates the five indrayas, viz. (1) sardhâwa, purity (probably śraddhâ, faith); (2) wiraya, persevering exertion (vīrya); (3) sati or smirti, the ascertainment of truth (smṛiti); (4) samâdhi, tranquillity; (5) pragnâwa, wisdom (pragñâ).

The five balayas (bala), he adds, are the same as the five indrayas.

The seven bowdyāṅga (bodhyaṅga) are according to him: (1) sihi or smirti, the ascertainment of the truth by mental application; (2) dharmmawicha, the investigation of causes; (3) wiraya, persevering exertion; (4) prîti, joy; (5) passadhi, or prasrabdhi, tranquillity; (6) samâdhi, tranquillity in a higher degree, including freedom from all that disturbs either body or mind; (7) upekshâ, equanimity.

It will be seen from this that some of these qualities or excellences occur both as indriyas and bodhyaṅgas, while balas are throughout identical with indriyas.

Burnouf, however, in his *Lotus*, gives a list of five balas (from the *Vocabulaire Pentaglotte*) which correspond with the five indriyas of Spence Hardy; viz. śraddhâ-bala, power of faith; vīrya-bala, power of vigour; smṛiti-bala, power of memory; samâdhi-bala, power of meditation; pragñâ-bala, power of knowledge. They precede the seven bodhyaṅgas both in the *Lotus*, the *Vocabulaire Pentaglotte*, and the *Lalita-vistara*.

To these seven bodhyaṅgas Burnouf has assigned a special treatise (*Appendice xii*, p. 796). They occur both in Sanskrit and Pâli. See also *Dharmasaṅgraha* s.v. in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

very name of hells is unknown in that Buddha country, and likewise that of (descent into) animal bodies and of the realm of Yama (the four apâyas)¹. No, these tribes of birds have been made on purpose by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, and they utter the sound of the Law. With such arrays of excellences, &c.

§ 7. 'And again, O Sâriputra, when those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sâriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand koṭis of sounds, when played by Âryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells moved by the wind. And when the men hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in them, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Church. With such arrays of excellences, &c.

§ 8. 'Now what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that Tathâgata called Amitâyus? The length of life (âyus), O Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata and of those men there is immeasurable (amita). Therefore is that Tathâgata called Amitâyus. And ten kalpas have passed, O Sâriputra, since that Tathâgata awoke to perfect knowledge.

§ 9. 'And what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that Tathâgata called Amitâbha? The

¹ Niraya, the hells, also called Naraka. Yamaloka, the realm of Yama, the judge of the dead, is explained as the four apâyas, i. e. Naraka, hell; Tiragyoni, birth as animals; Pretaloka, realm of the departed; Asuraloka, realm of evil spirits. The three terms which are here used together occur likewise in a passage translated by Burnouf, Introduction, p. 544.

splendour (ābhā), O Śāriputra, of that Tathāgata is unimpeded over all Buddha countries. Therefore is that Tathāgata called Amitābha.

‘And there is, O Śāriputra, an innumerable assembly of disciples with that Tathāgata, purified and venerable persons, whose number it is not easy to count. With such arrays of excellences, &c.

§ 10. ‘And again, O Śāriputra, of those beings also who are born in the Buddha country of the Tathāgata Amitāyus as purified Bodhisattvas, never to return again and bound by one birth only, of those Bodhisattvas also, O Śāriputra, the number is not easy to count, except they are reckoned as infinite in number ¹.

‘Then again all beings, O Śāriputra, ought to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country. And why? Because they come together there with such excellent men. Beings are not born in that Buddha country of the Tathāgata Amitāyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life ².

¹ Iti saṅkhyāṃ gaṇṇhanti, they are called; cf. Childers, s.v. saṅkhyā. Asaṅkhyeya, even more than aprameya, is the recognised term for infinity. Burnouf, Lotus, p. 852.

² Avaramātraka. This is the Pāli oramattako, ‘belonging merely to the present life,’ and the intention of the writer seems to be to inculcate the doctrine, that salvation can be obtained by mere repetitions of the name of Amitābha, in direct opposition to the original doctrine of Buddha, that as a man soweth, so he reapeth. Buddha would have taught that the kusalamūla, the root or the stock of good works performed in this world (avaramātraka), will bear fruit in the next, while here ‘vain repetitions’ seem all that is enjoyed. The Chinese translators take a different view of this passage. But from the end of this section, where we read kulaputrena vā kuladuhitrā vā tatra buddhakshetre kṛttaprāṇidhānam kartavyam, it seems clear that the locative (buddhakshetre) forms the object of the prāṇidhāna, the fervent prayer or longing. The Satpurushas already in the Buddhakshetra would be the innumerable men (manushyās) and Bodhisattvas mentioned before.

No, whatever son or daughter of a family shall hear the name of the blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights,—when that son or daughter of a family comes to die, then that Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples and followed by a host of Bodhi-sattvas, will stand before them at their hour of death, and they will depart this life with tranquil minds. After their death they will be born in the world Sukhâvatī, in the Buddha country of the same Amitâyus, the Tathâgata. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, having perceived this cause and effect¹, I with reverence say thus, Every son and every daughter of a family ought with their whole mind to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country.

§ 11. 'And now, O Sâriputra, as I here at present glorify that world, thus in the East, O Sâriputra, other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Akshobhya, the Tathâgata Merudhvaga, the Tathâgata Mahâmeru, the Tathâgata Meruprabhâsa, and the Tathâgata Mañgudhvaga, equal in number to the sand of the river Gaṅgâ, comprehend their own Buddha countries in their speech, and then reveal them².

¹ Arthavasa, lit. the power of the thing; cf. Dhammapada, p. 388, v. 289.

² I am not quite certain as to the meaning of this passage, but if we enter into the bold metaphor of the text, viz. that the Buddhas cover the Buddha countries with the organ of their tongue and then unroll it, what is intended can hardly be anything but that they first try to find words for the excellences of those countries, and then reveal or proclaim them. Burnouf, however (Lotus, p. 417), takes the expression in a literal sense, though he is shocked by its grotesqueness. On these Buddhas and their countries, see Burnouf, Lotus, p. 113.

Accept this repetition of the Law, called the "Favour of all Buddhas," which magnifies their inconceivable excellences.

§ 12. 'Thus also in the South do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the Tathâgata *Yasakprabha*, the Tathâgata *Mahârêiskandha*, the Tathâgata *Merupradîpa*, the Tathâgata *Anantavîrya*, equal in number to the sand of the river *Gaṅgâ*, comprehend their own Buddha countries in their speech, and then reveal them. Accept, &c.

§ 13. 'Thus also in the West do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata *Amitâyus*, the Tathâgata *Amitaskandha*, the Tathâgata *Amitadhvaga*, the Tathâgata *Mahâprabha*, the Tathâgata *Mahâratnaketu*, the Tathâgata *Suddharasmiprabha*, equal in number to the sand of the river *Gaṅgâ*, comprehend, &c.

§ 14. 'Thus also in the North do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata *Mahârêiskandha*, the Tathâgata *Vaisvânaranirghosha*, the Tathâgata *Dundubhisvaranirghosha*, the Tathâgata *Dushpradharsha*, the Tathâgata *Âdityasambhava*, the Tathâgata *Galeniprabha* (*Gvalanaprabha* ?), the Tathâgata *Prabhâkara*, equal in number to the sand, &c.

§ 15. 'Thus also in the Nadir do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata *Simha*, the Tathâgata *Yasas*, the Tathâgata *Yasakprabhâva*, the Tathâgata *Dharma*, the Tathâgata *Dharmadhara*, the Tathâgata *Dharmadhvaga*, equal in number to the sand, &c.

§ 16. 'Thus also in the Zenith do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata *Brahmaghosha*, the Tathâgata *Nakshatrarâga*, the Tathâgata *Indraketudhvagarâga*, the Tathâgata *Gandhottama*, the Tathâgata *Gandhaprabhâsa*, the Tathâgata *Mahârêiskandha*, the Tathâgata *Ratnakusumasampushpitagâtra*,

the Tathāgata Sālendrarāga, the Tathāgata Ratnotpalasrī, the Tathāgata Sarvārthadarsa, the Tathāgata Sumerukalpa, equal in number to the sand, &c.¹

§ 17. 'Now what do you think, O Sāriputra, for what reason is that repetition (treatise) of the Law called the Favour of all Buddhas? Every son or daughter of a family who shall hear the name of that repetition of the Law and retain in their memory the names of those blessed Buddhas, will be favoured by the Buddhas, and will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. Therefore, then, O Sāriputra, believe², accept, and do not doubt of me and those blessed Buddhas!

'Whatever sons or daughters of a family shall make mental prayer for the Buddha country of that blessed Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, or are making it now or have made it formerly, all these will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. They will be born in that Buddha country, have been born, or are being born

¹ It should be remarked that the Tathāgatas here assigned to the ten quarters differ entirely from those assigned to them in the Lalita-vistara, Book XX. Not even Amitābha is mentioned there.

² Pratiyatha. The texts give again and again pratiyatha, evidently the Pāli form, instead of pratiyata. I have left tha, the Pāli termination of the 2 p. pl. in the imperative, instead of ta, because that form was clearly intended, while pa for pra may be an accident. Yet I have little doubt that pratiyatha was in the original text. That it is meant for the imperative, we see from sraddadhādhvam, &c., further on. Other traces of the influence of Pāli or Prākṛit on the Sanskrit of our Sūtra appear in arhantaiḥ, the various reading for arhadbhiḥ, which I preferred; sambahula for bahula; dhriyate yāpayati; purobhaktena; anyatra; saṅkhyāṃ gakkhanti; avaramātraka; veshana instead of veshana, in nirveshana; dharmaparyāya (Corp. Inscript. plate xv), &c.

now. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, mental prayer is to be made for that Buddha country by faithful sons and daughters of a family.

§ 18. 'And as I at present magnify here the inconceivable excellences of those blessed Buddhas, thus, O Sâriputra, do those blessed Buddhas magnify my own inconceivable excellences.

'A very difficult work has been done by Sâkyamuni, the sovereign of the Sâkyas. Having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Sahâ, he taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of the present kalpa, during this corruption of mankind, during this corruption of belief, during this corruption of life, during this corruption of passions.

§ 19. 'This is even for me, O Sâriputra, an extremely difficult work that, having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Sahâ, I taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of mankind, of belief, of passion, of life, and of this present kalpa.'

§ 20. Thus spoke Bhagavat joyful in his mind. And the honourable Sâriputra, and the Bhikshus and Bodhisattvas, and the whole world with the gods, men, evil spirits and genii, applauded the speech of Bhagavat.

This is the Mahâyânasûtra ¹
called Sukhâvatî-vyûha.

¹ The Sukhâvatî-vyûha, even in its shortest text, is called a Mahâyâna-sûtra, nor is there any reason why a Mahâyâna-sûtra should not be short. The meaning of Mahâyâna-sûtra is simply a Sûtra belonging to the Mahâyâna school, the school of the Great Boat. It was Burnouf who, in his Introduction to the History of Buddhism, tried very hard to establish a distinction between the

Vaipulya or developed Sūtras, and what he calls the simple Sūtras. Now, the Vaipulya Sūtras may all belong to the Mahāyāna school, but that would not prove that all the Sūtras of the Mahāyāna school are Vaipulya or developed Sūtras. The name of simple Sūtra, in opposition to the Vaipulya or developed Sūtras, is not recognised by the Buddhists themselves; at least, I know no name for simple Sūtras. No doubt there is a great difference between a Vaipulya Sūtra, such as the Lotus of the Good Law, translated by Burnouf, and the Sūtras which Burnouf translated, for instance, from the Divyāvadāna. But what Burnouf considers as the distinguishing mark of a Vaipulya Sūtra, viz. the occurrence of Bodhisattvas, as followers of the Buddha Śākyamuni, would no longer seem to be tenable *, unless we classed our short Sukhāvatī-vyūha as a Vaipulya or developed Sūtra. For this there is no authority. Our Sūtra is a Mahāyāna Sūtra, but never called a Vaipulya Sūtra, and yet in this Sūtra the Bodhisattvas constitute a very considerable portion among the followers of Buddha. But more than that, Amitābha, the Buddha of Sukhāvatī, another personage whom Burnouf looks upon as peculiar to the Vaipulya Sūtras, who is, in fact, one of the Dhyāni-buddhas, though not called by that name in our Sūtra, forms the chief object of its teaching, and is represented as known to Buddha Śākyamuni, nay, as having become a Buddha long before the Buddha Śākyamuni †. The larger text of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha would certainly, according to Burnouf's definition, seem to fall into the category of the Vaipulya Sūtras. But it is not so called in the MSS. which I have seen, and Burnouf himself gives an analysis of that Sūtra (Introduction, p. 99) as a specimen of a Mahāyāna, but not of a Vaipulya Sūtra.

* 'La présence des Bodhisattvas ou leur absence intéresse donc le fonds même des livres où on la remarque, et il est bien évident que ce seul point trace une ligne de démarcation profonde entre les Sūtras ordinaires et les Sūtras développés.'—Burnouf, Introduction, p. 112.

† 'L'idée d'un ou de plusieurs Buddhas surhumains, celle de Bodhisattvas créés par eux, sont des conceptions aussi étrangères à ces livres (les Sūtras simples) que celle d'un Âdibuddha ou d'un Dieu.'—Burnouf, Introduction, p. 120.

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

IN THE SMALLER SUKHÂVATÎ-VYŪHA.

- Ādityasambhava**, the Tathāgata, page 100.
Agita, the Bodhisattva, 90.
Akshobhya, the Tathāgata, 99.
Amitābha, the Tathāgata, 97 seq.; 103.
Amitadhvaga, the Tathāgata, 100.
Amitaskandha, the Tathāgata, 100.
Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, 91; 97 seqq.; 100 seq.; repetition of the name of A., 98 seq.
Ānanda, 90.
Anantavīrya, the Tathāgata, 100.
Anāthapīṇḍaka, 89.
Anikshiptadhura, the Bodhisattva, 90.
Animal bodies, descent into, 96 seq.
Aniruddha, 90.
Arhat, 89, see note 4; 91.
Bharadvāga, 90.
Bhikshus, 89; 102.
Bodhisattvas, 90; 98; 99; 102; 103.
Brahmaghosha, the Tathāgata, 100.
Brahman Sahāmpati, 91.
Buddha countries, 91 seqq.
Buddhas, 95; 99 seqq.; Buddha, the Law, the Church, 96; 97; 'Favour of all Buddhas,' 100; 101.
Burnouf, on the Mahāyāna-sūtras, 102 seq.
Cause and effect (arthavaṃsa), 99.
Devas, king of the, 91.
Dharma, the Tathāgata, 100.
Dharmadhara, the Tathāgata, 100.
Dharmadhvaga, the Tathāgata, 100.
Dhyāni-buddhas, 103.
Dundubhisvaranirghosha, the Tathāgata, 100.
Dushpradharsha, the Tathāgata, 100.
Galeniprabha, the Tathāgata, 100.
Gandhahastin, the Bodhisattva, 90.
Gandhaprabhāsa, the Tathāgata, 100.
Gandhottama, the Tathāgata, 100.
Gavāmpati, 90.
Gems, four and seven, 92 seq., see note 3; 94.
Gem-trees, 94.
Gemii, 102.
Gods, 102.
Great disciples (mahārāvaka), 89, see note 3.
Gvalanaprabha, see Galeniprabha.
Hells, 97.
Indra or King, 90, see note 5.
Indrakēṭudhvagarāga, the Tathāgata, 100.
Kālodāyin, 90.
Kandrasūryapradīpa, the Tathāgata, 100.
Knowledge, five kinds of, 89, see note 2; steps leading towards the highest k., 96; transcendent true k., 101; 102.
Mahākapphina, 90.
Mahākāśyapa, 90.
Mahākātyāyana, 90.
Mahākaushika, 90.
Mahāmaudgalyāyana, 90.
Mahāmeru, the Tathāgata, 99.
Mahāprabha, the Tathāgata, 100.
Mahāratnaketu, the Tathāgata, 100.

- Mahârîskandha, the Tathâgata, 100 (tris).
 Mahâyâna-sûtra, 102 seq.
 Mañgudhvaga, the Tathâgata, 99.
 Mañgusri, the prince, 90.
 Men and gods, 102.
 Merudhvaga, the Tathâgata, 99.
 Meruprabhâsa, the Tathâgata, 99.
 Merupradipa, the Tathâgata, 100.

 Nakshatrarâga, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Nanda, 90.
 Nityodyukta, the Bodhisattva, 90.
 Numbers in Buddhist literature, 91, note 1.

 Pâli, its influence on Sanskrit, 101, note 2.
 Powers, five, 96.
 Prabhâkara, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Prayer, 98 ; 101 seq.

 Râhula, 90.
 Ratnakusumasampushpitagâtra, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Ratnotpalasrî, the Tathâgata, 101.
 Revata, 90.

 Sahâ, the world S., 102.
 Sakra, the king of the Devas, 90.

 Sâkyamuni, the sovereign of the Sâkyas, 102.
 Sâlendrarâga, the Tathâgata, 101.
 Sâriputra, the elder, 90 seqq.
 Sarvârthadarsa, the Tathâgata, 101.
 Zepuoi, 90, note 4.
 Simha, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Spirits, evil, 102.
 Srâvastî, 89 ; 91.
 Steps (seven) leading to the highest knowledge (bodhyaṅga), 96.
 Sudharasmiprabha, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Suddhipanthaka, 90.
 Sukhâvatî, 91 seqq. ; 99.
 Sumerukalpa, the Tathâgata, 101.

 Tathâgata, 91 ; 95 ; 97 seqq.

 Vaipulya Sûtras, 103.
 Vaisvânaranirghosha, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Vakkula, 90.
 Virtues, five, 96.

 Water, eight good qualities of, 93.

 Yama, realm of, 97.
 Yasabprabha, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Yasabprabhâva, the Tathâgata, 100.
 Yavas, the Tathâgata, 100.

INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS,

CHIEFLY THOSE EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.

- anuparikshipta, enclosed, page 92, note 2.
 apāya, the four apāyas, i. e. hell, 97, see note.
 aprameya, infinite, 98, n. 1.
 abhigñā and abhigñāna, the five kinds of knowledge, 89, n. 2.
 abhigñānābhigñāta, 89, n. 2.
 ayuta, a hundred koṭis, 91, n. 1.
 arahanta and arihanta = arhat, 90, n. 4.
 arthavaśa, cause and effect, 99, n. 1.
 arhat, 90, n. 4.
 arhanta = arhat, 90, n. 4; 101, n. 2.
 avaramātraka, belonging merely to the present life, 98, n. 2; 101, n. 2.
 asaṅkhyeya, infinite, 98, n. 1.
 asuraloka, realm of evil spirits, 97 note.
 Asurinda, lord of the Asuras, 90, n. 5.
 indra, lord, 90, n. 5.
 indriya, five virtues, 96 note.
 kaṅkaṇagala, see kiṅkiṇigāla.
 kākāpeya (kākāpeya), to be drunk even by crows, 93, n. 2.
 kiṅkiṇigāla, string of bells, 92, n. 1.
 koṭi, ten millions, 91, n. 1.
 krauñka, snipe, curlew, 95, n. 3.
 tiryagyoni, birth as animals, 97 note.
 tishṭhati dhriyate yāpayati, 'he stands there, holds himself, supports himself,' 91, n. 2.
 tīrthakāka, 'a crow at a tīrtha,' 94 note.
 divāvihāra, noonday rest, siesta, 95, n. 2.
 dharmam deśayati, he teaches the law, 91, n. 2.
 dharmaparyāya, 101, n. 2.
 nayuta, 1 with 22 zeros, 91, n. 1.
 naraka, hell, 97 note.
 niyuta, a hundred ayutas, 91, n. 1.
 niraya, hell, 97 note.
 nirvetana, 101, n. 2.
 purobhaktena, before the morning meal, 95, n. 1; 101, n. 2.
 prati, pratiyatha, 101, n. 2.
 pretaloka, realm of the departed, 97 note.
 bala, five powers, 96 note.
 bodhyaṅga, seven steps leading towards the highest knowledge, 96 note.
 mahā-rāvaka, great disciple, 90, n. 3.
 yamaloka, realm of Yama, 97 note.
 yāpayati, 'he supports himself,' 91, n. 2; 101, n. 2.
 vaidūrya, lapis lazuli, or cat's eye, 92 seq., n. 3.
 saṅkhyā, iti saṅkhyāṃ gaṇṭhanti, they are called, 98, n. 1; 101, n. 2.
 sambahula = bahula, 101, n. 2.
 sthā, see tishṭhati.

THE
VAGRAKKHEDIKÂ.

THE VAGRAKKHEDIKÂ

OR

DIAMOND-CUTTER.

ADORATION to the blessed Ārya-pragñā-pāramitā
(perfection of wisdom).

I.

Thus it was heard by me : At one time Bhagavat (the blessed Buddha) dwelt in Srāvastī, in the grove of Geta ¹, in the garden of Anāthapīṇḍada ², together with a large company of Bhikshus (mendicants), viz. with 1250 Bhikshus ³, with many noble-minded Bodhi-sattvas ⁴.

¹ Geta, son of king Prasenagit, to whom the park belonged before it was sold to Anāthapīṇḍada.

² Another name of Sudatta, meaning, literally, he who gives food to the poor.

³ The number of 1250 is explained by a Chinese priest Luñ-hiñ, in his commentary on the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra. According to the Dharmagupta-vinaya, which he quotes, the number consisted of 500 disciples of Urūvilva-kāśyapa, 300 of Gayā-kāśyapa, 200 of Nadi-kāśyapa, 150 of Śāriputra, and 100 of Maudgalyāyana. The Chinese translators often mistook the Sanskrit expression 'half-thirteen hundred,' i. e. 1250. See Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue of Tripiṭaka, p. 6.

⁴ Higher beings on the road to Bodhi or perfect knowledge. They are destined hereafter to become Buddhas themselves.

Then Bhagavat having in the forenoon put on his undergarment¹, and having taken his bowl and cloak, entered the great city of Srāvastī to collect alms. Then Bhagavat, after he had gone to the great city of Srāvastī to collect alms, performed the act of eating², and having returned from his round in the afternoon³, he put away his bowl and cloak, washed his feet, and sat down on the seat intended⁴ for him, crossing his legs⁵, holding his body upright, and turning his reflection upon himself. Then many Bhikshus approached to where Bhagavat was, saluted his feet with their heads, turned three times round him to the right, and sat down on one side. (I)

II.

At that time again the venerable Subhūti came to that assembly and sat down. Then rising from his seat and putting his robe over one shoulder, kneeling on the earth with his right knee, he stretched out his folded hands towards Bhagavat and said to him: 'It is wonderful, O Bhagavat, it is exceedingly wonderful, O Sugata, how much the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been favoured with the highest favour by the Tathāgata, the holy and

¹ In Pāli *pubbamhasamayam nivāsetva*, the technical expression for putting on the robes early in the morning; see Childers, s. v. *nivāseti*.

² In Pāli *katabhattakikkō*, see Childers, s. v.

³ In Pāli *paṭṭhābhaddham piṇḍapāṭapaṭikkānta*, see Childers, s. v. *piṇḍapāṭa*. Vig. observes that *paṭṭhābhaddham piṇḍapāṭapaṭikkānto* is a *ῥοτερον πρότερον*, as it means, having returned from his rounds, and then made his meal on the food obtained on his rounds.

⁴ Pāli *paññāta*.

⁵ Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 334.

fully enlightened! It is wonderful how much the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been instructed¹ with the highest instruction by the Tathâgata, the holy and fully enlightened! How then, O Bhagavat, should the son or the daughter of a good family, after having entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas, behave, how should he advance, and how should he restrain his thoughts?’

After the venerable Subhûti had thus spoken, Bhagavat said to him: ‘Well said, well said, Subhûti! So it is, Subhûti, so it is, as you say. The noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been favoured with the highest favour by the Tathâgata, the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been instructed with the highest instruction by the Tathâgata. Therefore, O Subhûti, listen and take it to heart, well and rightly. I shall tell you, how any one who has entered on the path of Bodhisattvas should behave, how he should advance, and how he should restrain his thoughts.’ Then the venerable Subhûti answered the Bhagavat and said: ‘So be it, O Bhagavat.’ (2)

III.

Then the Bhagavat thus spoke to him: ‘Any one, O Subhûti, who has entered here on the path of the Bodhisattvas must thus frame his thought: As many beings as there are in this world of beings, comprehended under the term of beings (either born of eggs, or from the womb, or from moisture, or miraculously), with form or without form, with name or without name, or neither with nor without name, as far as

¹ I have followed the Chinese translator, who translates *parindita* by instructed, entrusted, not by protected.

any known world of beings is known, all these must be delivered by me in the perfect world of Nirvāṇa. And yet, after I have thus delivered immeasurable beings, not one single being has been delivered. And why? If, O Subhūti, a Bodhisattva had any idea of (belief in) a being, he could not be called a Bodhisattva (one who is fit to become a Buddha). And why? Because, O Subhūti, no one is to be called a Bodhisattva, for whom there should exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, or the idea of a person.' (3)

IV.

'And again, O Subhūti, a gift should not be given by a Bodhisattva, while he believes¹ in objects; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in anything; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in form; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in the special qualities of sound, smell, taste, and touch. For thus, O Subhūti, should a gift be given by a noble-minded Bodhisattva, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause. And why? Because that Bodhisattva, O Subhūti, who gives a gift, without believing in anything, the measure of his stock of merit is not easy to learn.'—'What do you think, O Subhūti, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the eastern quarter?' Subhūti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat.'—Bhagavat said: 'In like manner, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the southern, western, northern quarters, below and above (nadir and zenith), in quarters and subquarters, in the ten quarters all round?' Subhūti said: 'Not indeed,

¹ To believe here means to depend on or to accept as real.

O Bhagavat.' Bhagavat said : 'In the same manner, O Subhûti, the measure of the stock of merit of a Bodhisattva, who gives a gift without believing in anything, is not easy to learn. And thus indeed, O Subhûti, should one who has entered on the path of Bodhisattvas give a gift, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause.' (4)

V.

'Now, what do you think, O Subhûti, should a Tathâgata be seen (known) by the possession of signs¹?' Subhûti said : 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because what has been preached by the Tathâgata as the possession of signs, that is indeed the possession of no-signs.'

After this, Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhûti : 'Wherever there is, O Subhûti, the possession of signs, there is falsehood ; wherever there is no possession of signs, there is no falsehood. Hence the Tathâgata is to be seen (known) from no-signs as signs².' (5)

VI.

After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat : 'Forsooth, O Bhagavat, will there be any beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years³, during the time

¹ Qualities by which he could be known.

² It would be easier to read *lakṣhaṇālakṣhaṇatvataḥ*, from the signs having the character of no-signs. M. de Harlez translates rightly, 'c'est par le non-marque de marquer que la Tathâgata doit être vu et reconnu.'

³ I have changed *Paññâsatī* into *Paññāsati*, because what is

of the decay of the good Law, who, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will frame a true idea¹? The Bhagavat said: 'Do not speak thus, Subhûti. Yes, there will be some beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the decay of the good Law, who will frame a true idea when these very words are being preached.

'And again, O Subhûti, there will be noble-minded Bodhisattvas, in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the decay of the good Law, there will be strong and good and wise beings, who, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will frame a true idea. But those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, O Subhûti, will not have served one Buddha only, and the stock

intended here is evidently the last of the periods of 500 years each, which, according to the Mahâyâna-Buddhists, elapsed after the death of Buddha. The following extract from the Mahâsannipâta-sûtra (Ta-tsi-king, No. 61 in Tripitaka), given to me by Mr. B. Nanjio, fully explains the subject. 'It is stated in the fifty-first section of the Mahâsannipâta-sûtra, that Buddha said: "After my Nirvâna, in the first 500 years, all the Bhikshus and others will be strong in deliberation in my correct Law. (Those who first obtain the 'holy fruit,' i.e. the Srota-âpannas, are called those who have obtained deliberation.) In the next or second 500 years, they will be strong in meditation. In the next or third 500 years, they will be strong in 'much learning,' i.e. bahusruta, religious knowledge. In the next or fourth 500 years, they will be strong in founding monasteries, &c. In the last or fifth 500 years, they will be strong in fighting and reproving. The pure (lit. white) Law will then become invisible."'

The question therefore amounts to this, whether in that corrupt age the law of Buddha will still be understood? and the answer is, that there will be always some excellent Bodhisattvas who, even in the age of corruption, can understand the preaching of the Law.

¹ Will understand them properly.

of their merit will not have been accumulated under one Buddha only; on the contrary, O Subhûti, those noble-minded Bodhisattvas will have served many hundred thousands of Buddhas, and the stock of their merit will have been accumulated under many hundred thousands of Buddhas; and they, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will obtain one and the same faith¹. They are known, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge; they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye; they are understood, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata. All these, O Subhûti, will produce and will hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit. And why? Because, O Subhûti, there does not exist in those noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of self, there does not exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, the idea of a person. Nor does there exist, O Subhûti, for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality (dharma), nor of no-quality. Neither does there exist, O Subhûti, any idea (*samgñâ*) or no-idea. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if there existed for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality, then they would believe in a self, they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And if there existed for them the idea of no-quality, even then they would believe in a self,

¹ I am doubtful about the exact meaning of *ekaḥittaprasâda*. Childers gives *ekaḥitta*, as an adjective, with the meaning of 'having the same thought,' and *ḥittaprasâda*, as faith in Buddha. But *ekaḥittaprasâda* may also be 'faith produced by one thought,' 'immediate faith,' and this too is a recognised form of faith in Buddhism. See Sukhâvatī, pp. 71, 108.

they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And why? Because, O Subhūti, neither quality nor no-quality is to be accepted by a noble-minded Bodhisattva. Therefore this hidden saying has been preached by the Tathāgata: "By those who know the teaching of the Law, as like unto a raft, all qualities indeed must be abandoned; much more no-qualities¹." (6)

VII.

And again Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhūti: 'What do you think, O Subhūti, is there anything (dharma) that was known by the Tathāgata under the name of the highest perfect knowledge, or anything that was taught by the Tathāgata?'

After these words, the venerable Subhūti spoke thus to Bhagavat: 'As I, O Bhagavat, understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, there is nothing that was known by the Tathāgata under the name of the highest perfect knowledge, nor is there anything that is taught by the Tathāgata. And why? Because that thing which was known or taught by the Tathāgata is incomprehensible and inexpressible. It is neither a thing nor no-thing. And why? Because the holy persons² are of imperfect power³.' (7)

¹ The same line is quoted in the *Abhidharmakosha-vyākhyā*.

² *Āryapudgala* need not be Bodhisattvas, but all who have entered on the path leading to *Nirvāṇa*.

³ Harlez: 'Parceque les entités supérieures sont produites telles sans être réelles et parfaites pour cela.' If *samskrīta* can be used in Buddhist literature in the sense of perfect, and *prabhāvitā* as power, my translation might pass, but even then the 'because' remains difficult.

VIII.

Bhagavat said : ' What do you think, O Subhûti, if a son or daughter of a good family filled this sphere of a million millions of worlds¹ with the seven gems or treasures, and gave it as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, would that son or daughter of a good family on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit ? ' Subhûti said : ' Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that son or daughter of a good family would on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit. And why ? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the stock of merit, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-stock of merit. Therefore the Tathâgata preaches : " A stock of merit, a stock of merit ² indeed ! " ' Bhagavat said : ' And if, O Subhûti, the son or daughter of a good family should fill this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven treasures and should give it as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, and if another after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only should fully teach others and explain it, he indeed would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit immeasurable and innumerable. And why ? Because, O Subhûti, the highest perfect knowledge of the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas is produced from it ; the blessed Buddhas are produced from it. And why ? Because, O Subhûti, when the Tathâgata preached :

¹ See Childers, s. v. Lokadhâtu.

² Or should it be, bhâshate-puṇyaskandhaḥ puṇyaskandha iti, i. e. he preaches no-stock of merit is the stock of merit ? It would not be applicable to later passages, but the style of the Sûtras varies.

“The qualities of Buddha, the qualities of Buddha indeed!” they were preached by him as no-qualities of Buddha. Therefore they are called the qualities of Buddha.’ (8)

IX.

Bhagavat said¹: ‘Now, what do you think, O Subhûti, does a Srota-âpanna² think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me?’ Subhûti said: ‘Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Srota-âpanna does not think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, he has not obtained any particular state (dharma). Therefore he is called a Srota-âpanna. He has not obtained any form, nor sounds, nor smells, nor tastes, nor things that can be touched. Therefore he is called a Srota-âpanna. If, O Bhagavat, a Srota-âpanna were to think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me, he would believe in a self, he would believe in a being, he would believe in a living being, he would believe in a person.’

Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, does a Sakridâgâmin think in this wise: The fruit of a Sakridâgâmin has been obtained by me?’ Subhûti said: ‘Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Sakri-

¹ This phrase is wanting in the Sanskrit MSS., but it is found in the Chinese translation of Dharmagupta, of the Sui dynasty (A. D. 589-618).

² Srota-âpanna, a man who has obtained the first grade of sanctification, literally, who has entered the stream. The second grade is that of the Sakridâgâmin, who returns once. The third grade is that of the Anâgâmin, who does not return at all, but is born in the Brahman world from whence he becomes an Arhat and may obtain Nirvâṇa.

dāgāmin does not think in this wise: The fruit of a Sakridāgāmin has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being (dharma), who has obtained the state of a Sakridāgāmin. Therefore he is called a Sakridāgāmin.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhūti, does an Anāgāmin think in this wise: The fruit of an Anāgāmin has been obtained by me?' Subhūti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, an Anāgāmin does not think in this wise: The fruit of an Anāgāmin has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being, who has obtained the state of an Anāgāmin. Therefore he is called an Anāgāmin.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhūti, does an Arhat think in this wise: The fruit of an Arhat has been obtained by me?' Subhūti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, an Arhat does not think in this wise: The fruit of an Arhat has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being, who is called an Arhat. Therefore he is called an Arhat. And if, O Bhagavat, an Arhat were to think in this wise: The state of an Arhat has been obtained by me, he would believe in a self, he would believe in a being, he would believe in a living being, he would believe in a person.

'And why? I have been pointed out, O Bhagavat, by the holy and fully enlightened Tathāgata, as the foremost of those who dwell in virtue¹.

¹ Araṇāvihārin. Rana is strife, then sin, therefore a rana might be peace and virtue, only the a would be short. Probably arana-vihārin was formed with reference to āraṇya-vihārin, living in

I, O Bhagavat, am an Arhat, freed from passion. And yet, O Bhagavat, I do not think in this wise: I am an Arhat, I am freed from passion. If, O Bhagavat, I should think in this wise, that the state of an Arhat has been obtained by me, then the Tathâgata would not have truly prophesied of me, saying: "Subhûti, the son of a good family, the foremost of those dwelling in virtue, does not dwell anywhere, and therefore he is called a dweller in virtue, a dweller in virtue indeed!"' (9)

X.

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dîpaṅkara¹, the holy and fully enlightened?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat; there is not anything which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dîpaṅkara, the holy and fully enlightened.'

Bhagavat said: 'If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva should say: "I shall create numbers of worlds," he would say what is untrue. And why? Because, O Subhûti, when the Tathâgata preached: "Numbers of worlds, numbers of worlds indeed!" they were preached by him as no-numbers. Therefore they are called numbers of worlds.'

'Therefore, O Subhûti, a noble-minded Bodhisattva should in this wise frame an independent

the forest, retired from the world, and in peace, just as arhan, worthy, was changed into arahan, the destroyer of sin. Beal translates, 'one who delights in the mortification of an Aranyaka (forest devotee).' De Harlez: 'chef de ceux qui ne sont plus attachés à la jouissance.'

¹ A former Buddha.

mind, which is to be framed as a mind not believing in anything, not believing in form, not believing in sound, smell, taste, and anything that can be touched. Now, for instance, O Subhûti, a man might have a body and a large body, so that his size should be as large as the king of mountains, Sumeru. Do you think then, O Subhûti, that his selfhood (he himself) would be large?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, his selfhood would be large. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, when the Tathâgata preached: "Selfhood, selfhood indeed!" it was preached by him as no-selfhood. Therefore it is called selfhood.' (10)

XI.

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, if there were as many Gaṅgâ rivers as there are grains of sand in the large river Gaṅgâ, would the grains of sand be many?' Subhûti said: 'Those Gaṅgâ rivers would indeed be many, much more the grains of sand in those Gaṅgâ rivers.' Bhagavat said: 'I tell you, O Subhûti, I announce to you, If a woman or man were to fill with the seven treasures as many worlds as there would be grains of sand in those Gaṅgâ rivers and present them as a gift to the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas—What do you think, O Subhûti, would that woman or man on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that woman or man would on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.' Bhagavat said: 'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man having filled so many worlds with the seven treasures should give them as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas,

and if another son or daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gāthā of four lines only, should fully teach others and explain it, he, indeed, would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.' (11)

XII.

'Then again, O Subhūti, that part of the world in which, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gāthā of four lines only, it should be preached or explained, would be like a *Kaitya* (holy shrine) for the whole world of gods, men, and spirits; what should we say then of those who learn the whole of this treatise of the Law to the end, who repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others? They, O Subhūti, will be endowed with the highest wonder¹. And in that place, O Subhūti, there dwells the teacher², or one after another holding the place of the wise preceptor³.' (12)

XIII.

After these words, the venerable Subhūti spoke thus to Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, how is this treatise of the Law called, and how can I learn it?' After this, Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhūti: 'This treatise of the Law, O Subhūti, is called the *Pragñā-pāramitā* (Transcendent wisdom), and you should learn it by that name. And why? Because, O Subhūti, what was preached by the Tathāgata as the *Pragñā-pāramitā*, that was preached by the

¹ With what excites the highest wonder.

² *Sastā*, often the name of Buddha, Pāli *satt ha*.

³ This may refer to a succession of teachers handing down the tradition one to the other.

Tathâgata as no-Pâramitâ. Therefore it is called the Pragñâ-pâramitâ.

'Then, what do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) that was preached by the Tathâgata?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, there is not anything that was preached by the Tathâgata.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think then, O Subhûti,—the dust of the earth which is found in this sphere of a million millions of worlds, is that much?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that dust of the earth would be much. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the dust of the earth, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-dust. Therefore it is called the dust of the earth. And what was preached by the Tathâgata as the sphere of worlds, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-sphere. Therefore it is called the sphere of worlds.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the thirty-two signs of a hero?' Subhûti said: 'No indeed, O Bhagavat; a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the thirty-two signs of a hero. And why? Because what was preached by the Tathâgata as the thirty-two signs of a hero, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-signs. Therefore they are called the thirty-two signs of a hero.'

Bhagavat said: 'If, O Subhûti, a woman or man should day by day sacrifice his life (selfhood¹) as

¹ Âtmabhâva seems to refer here to the living body, not to the spiritual Âtman, which, according to Buddha, can be got rid of by

many times as there are grains of sand in the river Gaṅgā, and if he should thus sacrifice his life for as many kalpas as there are grains of sand in the river Gaṅgā, and if another man, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gāthā of four lines only, should fully teach others and explain it, he indeed would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.' (13)

XIV.

At that time, the venerable Subhūti was moved by the power of the Law, shed tears, and having wiped his tears, he thus spoke to Bhagavat: 'It is wonderful, O Bhagavat, it is exceedingly wonderful, O Sugata, how fully this teaching of the Law has been preached by the Tathāgata for the benefit of those beings who entered on the foremost path (the path that leads to Nirvāṇa), and who entered on the best path, from whence, O Bhagavat, knowledge has been produced in me. Never indeed, O Bhagavat, has such a teaching of the Law been heard by me before. Those Bodhisattvas, O Bhagavat, will be endowed with the highest wonder¹, who when this Sūtra is being preached hear it and will frame to themselves a true idea. And why? Because what is a true idea is not a true idea. Therefore the Tathāgata preaches: "A true idea, a true idea indeed!"

'It is no wonder to me, O Bhagavat, that I accept and believe this treatise of the Law, which has been preached. And those beings also, O Bhagavat,

knowledge only. Buddha himself sacrificed his life again and again, and a willingness to die would probably be accepted for the deed.

¹ Will possess miraculous powers, and will be admired.

who will exist in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, who will learn this treatise of the Law, O Bhagavat, remember it, recite it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, they will indeed be endowed with the highest wonder.

‘But, O Bhagavat, there will not arise in them any idea of a self, any idea of a being, of a living being, or a person, nor does there exist for them any idea or no-idea. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, the idea of a self is no-idea, and the idea of a being, or a living being, or a person is no-idea. And why? Because the blessed Buddhas are freed from all ideas.’

After these words, Bhagavat thus spoke to the venerable Subhûti: ‘So it is, O Subhûti, so it is. Those beings, O Subhûti, who when this Sûtra was being recited here will not be disturbed or frightened or become alarmed, will be endowed with the highest wonder. And why? Because, O Subhûti, this was preached by the Tathâgata, as the Paramapâramitâ, which is no-Pâramitâ. And, O Subhûti, what the Tathâgata preaches as the Paramapâramitâ, that was preached also by immeasurable blessed Buddhas. Therefore it is called the Paramapâramitâ.

‘And, O Subhûti, the Pâramitâ or the highest perfection of endurance (kshânti) belonging to a Tathâgata, that also is no-Pâramitâ. And why? Because, O Subhûti, at the time when the king of Kaliṅga¹ cut my flesh from every limb, I had no idea of a self, of a being, of a living being, or of

¹ The Chinese text points to Kalirâgâ. On this Kalirâgâ or Kalinrîpa see Lalita-vistara, p. 191.

a person ; I had neither an idea nor no-idea. And why ? Because, O Subhûti, if I at that time had had an idea of a self, I should also have had an idea of malevolence. If I had had an idea of a being, or of a living being, or of a person, I should also have had an idea of malevolence. And why ? Because, O Subhûti, I remember the past 500 births, when I was the *Rîshi Kshântivâdin* (preacher of endurance). At that time also, I had no idea of a self, of a being, of a living being, of a person. Therefore then, O Subhûti, a noble-minded Bodhisattva, after putting aside all ideas, should raise his mind to the highest perfect knowledge. He should frame his mind so as not to believe (depend) in form, sound, smell, taste, or anything that can be touched, in something (dharma), in nothing or anything. And why ? Because what is believed is not believed (not to be depended on). Therefore the Tathâgata preaches : "A gift should not be given by a Bodhisattva¹ who believes in anything, it should not be given by one who believes in form, sound, smell, taste, or anything that can be touched."

'And again, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva should in such wise give his gift for the benefit of all beings. And why ? Because, O Subhûti, the idea of a being is no-idea. And those who are thus spoken of by the Tathâgata as all beings are indeed no-beings. And why ? Because, O Subhûti, a Tathâgata says what is real, says what is true, says the things as they are ; a Tathâgata does not speak untruth.

' But again, O Subhûti, whatever doctrine has been

¹ See before, chap. iv.

perceived, taught, and meditated on by a Tathâgata, in it there is neither truth nor falsehood. And as a man who has entered the darkness would not see anything, thus a Bodhisattva is to be considered who is immersed in objects, and who being immersed in objects gives a gift. But as a man who has eyes would, when the night becomes light, and the sun has risen, see many things, thus a Bodhisattva is to be considered who is not immersed in objects, and who not being immersed in objects gives a gift.

‘And again, O Subhûti, if any sons or daughters of good families will learn this treatise of the Law, will remember, recite, and understand it, and fully explain it to others, they, O Subhûti, are known by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, O Subhûti, will produce and hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit.’ (14)

XV.

‘And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man sacrificed in the morning as many lives as there are grains of sand in the river Gaṅgâ and did the same at noon and the same in the evening, and if in this way they sacrificed their lives for a hundred thousands of *niyutas* of *koṭis* of ages, and if another, after hearing this treatise of the Law, should not oppose it, then the latter would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. What should we say then of him who after having written it, learns it, remembers it, understands it, and fully explains it to others?

‘And again, O Subhûti, this treatise of the Law is

[49]

* K

incomprehensible and incomparable. And this treatise of the Law has been preached by the Tathâgata for the benefit of those beings who entered on the foremost path (the path that leads to Nirvâna), and who entered on the best path. And those who will learn this treatise of the Law, who will remember it, recite it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, they are known, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, O Subhûti, will be endowed with an immeasurable stock of merit, they will be endowed with an incomprehensible, incomparable, immeasurable and unmeasured stock of merit. All these beings, O Subhûti, will equally remember the Bodhi (the highest Buddha-knowledge), will recite it, and understand it. And why? Because it is not possible, O Subhûti, that this treatise of the Law should be heard by beings of little faith, by those who believe in self, in beings, in living beings, and in persons. It is impossible that this treatise of the Law should be heard by beings who have not acquired the knowledge of Bodhisattvas, or that it should be learned, remembered, recited, and understood by them. The thing is impossible.

‘And again, O Subhûti, that part of the world in which this Sûtra will be propounded, will have to be honoured by the whole world of gods, men, and evil spirits, will have to be worshipped, and will become like a *Kaitya* (a holy sepulchre).’ (15)

XVI.

‘And, O Subhûti, sons or daughters of a good family who will learn these very Sûtras, who will

remember them, recite them, understand them, thoroughly take them to heart, and fully explain them to others, they will be overcome¹, they will be greatly overcome. And why? Because, O Subhûti, whatever evil deeds these beings have done in a former birth, deeds that must lead to suffering, those deeds these beings, owing to their being overcome, after they have seen the Law, will destroy, and they will obtain the knowledge of Buddha.

‘I remember, O Subhûti, in the past, before innumerable and more than innumerable kalpas, there were eighty-four hundred thousands of niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas following after the venerable and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dīpaṅkara, who were pleased by me, and after being pleased were not displeased. And if, O Subhûti, these blessed Buddhas were pleased by me, and after being pleased were not displeased, and if on the other hand people at the last time, at the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, will learn these very Sûtras, remember them, recite them, understand them, and fully explain them to others, then, O Subhûti, in comparison with their stock of merit that former stock of merit will not come to one hundredth part, nay, not to one thousandth part, not to a hundred thousandth part, not to a ten millionth part, not to a hundred millionth part, not to a hundred thousand ten millionth part, not to a hundred thousands of niyutas ten millionth part. It will not bear number, nor fraction, nor counting, nor comparison, nor approach, nor analogy.

‘And if, O Subhûti, I were to tell you the stock of

¹ Paribhûta is explained by despised, but the sense, or even the non-sense, is difficult to understand.

merit of those sons or daughters of good families, and how large a stock of merit those sons or daughters of good families will produce, and hold fast at that time, people would become distracted and their thoughts would become bewildered. And again, O Subhûti, as this treatise of the Law preached by the Tathâgata is incomprehensible and incomparable, its rewards also must be expected (to be) incomprehensible.' (16)

XVII.

At that time the venerable Subhûti thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'How should a person, after having entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas, behave, how should he advance, and how should he restrain his thoughts?' Bhagavat said: 'He who has entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas should thus frame his thought: All beings must be delivered by me in the perfect world of Nirvâna; and yet after I have thus delivered these beings, no being has been delivered. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if a Bodhisattva had any idea of beings, he could not be called a Bodhisattva, and so on¹ from the idea of a living being to the idea of a person; if he had any such idea, he could not be called a Bodhisattva. And why? Because, O Subhûti, there is no such thing (dharma) as one who has entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas.

'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dîpaṅkara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge?' After this, the venerable Subhûti

¹ See chap. iii, p. 114.

spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'As far as I, O Bhagavat, understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, there is nothing which has been adopted by the Tathâgata from the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpaṅkara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge.' After this, Bhagavat thus spoke to the venerable Subhûti: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is. There is not, O Subhûti, anything which has been adopted by the Tathâgata from the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpaṅkara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge. And if, O Subhûti, anything had been adopted by the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata Dîpaṅkara would not have prophesied of me, saying¹: "Thou, O boy, wilt be in the future the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata called Sâkyamuni." Because then, O Subhûti, there is nothing that has been adopted by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata with regard to the highest perfect knowledge, therefore I was prophesied by the Tathâgata Dîpaṅkara, saying: "Thou, boy, wilt be in the future the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata called Sâkyamuni."

'And why, O Subhûti, the name of Tathâgata? It expresses true suchness. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses that he had no origin. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses the destruction of all qualities. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses one who had no origin whatever. And why this? Because, O Subhûti, no-origin is the highest goal.

'And whosoever, O Subhûti, should say that, by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata, the highest

¹ This prophecy is supposed to have been addressed by Dîpaṅkara to Sâkyamuni, before he had become a Buddha.

perfect knowledge has been known, he would speak an untruth, and would slander me, O Subhûti, with some untruth that he has learned. And why? Because there is no such thing, O Subhûti, as has been known by the Tathâgata with regard to the highest perfect knowledge. And in that, O Subhûti, which has been known and taught by the Tathâgata, there is neither truth nor falsehood. Therefore the Tathâgata preaches: "All things are Buddha-things." And why? Because what was preached by the Tathâgata, O Subhûti, as all things, that was preached as no-things; and therefore all things are called Buddha-things.

'Now, O Subhûti, a man might have a body and a large body.' The venerable Subhûti said: 'That man who was spoken of by the Tathâgata as a man with a body, with a large body, he, O Bhagavat, was spoken of by the Tathâgata as without a body, and therefore he is called a man with a body and with a large body.'

Bhagavat said: 'So it is, O Subhûti; and if a Bodhisattva were to say: "I shall deliver all beings," he ought not to be called a Bodhisattva. And why? Is there anything, O Subhûti, that is called a Bodhisattva?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, Bhagavat, there is nothing which is called a Bodhisattva.' Bhagavat said: 'Those who were spoken of as beings, beings indeed, O Subhûti, they were spoken of as no-beings by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called beings. Therefore the Tathâgata says: "All beings are without self, all beings are without life, without manhood¹, without a personality."

¹ Sans croissance, Harlez; see Childers, s. v. poriso.

‘If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva were to say: “I shall create numbers of worlds,” he would say what is untrue. And why? Because, what were spoken of as numbers of worlds, numbers of worlds indeed, O Subhûti, these were spoken of as no-numbers by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called numbers of worlds.

‘A Bodhisattva, O Subhûti, who believes that all things are without self, that all things are without self, he has faith, he is called a noble-minded Bodhisattva by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata.’ (17)

XVIII.

Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the bodily eye?’ Subhûti said: ‘So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the bodily eye.’

Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the heavenly eye?’ Subhûti said: ‘So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the heavenly eye.’

Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of knowledge?’ Subhûti said: ‘So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of knowledge.’

Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of the Law?’ Subhûti said: ‘So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of the Law.’

Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of Buddha?’ Subhûti said: ‘So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of Buddha.’

Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, as many grains of sand as there are in the great river Gaṅgâ—were they preached by the Tathâgata

‘as grains of sand?’ Subhûti said: ‘So it is, O Bhagavat, so it is, O Sugata, they were preached as grains of sand by the Tathâgata.’ Bhagavat said: ‘What do you think, O Subhûti, if there were as many Gaṅgâ rivers as there are grains of sand in the great river Gaṅgâ; and, if there were as many worlds as there are grains of sand in these, would these worlds be many?’ Subhûti said: ‘So it is, O Bhagavat, so it is, O Sugata, these worlds would be many.’ Bhagavat said: ‘As many beings as there are in all those worlds, I know the manifold trains of thought of them all. And why? Because what was preached as the train of thoughts, the train of thoughts indeed, O Subhûti, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-train of thoughts, and therefore it is called the train of thoughts. And why? Because, O Subhûti, a past thought is not perceived, a future thought is not perceived, and the present thought is not perceived.’ (18)

XIX.

‘What do you think, O Subhûti, if a son or a daughter of a good family should fill this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven treasures, and give it as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Buddhas, would that son or daughter of a good family produce on the strength of this a large stock of merit?’ Subhûti said: ‘Yes, a large one.’ Bhagavat said: ‘So it is, Subhûti, so it is; that son or daughter of a good family would produce on the strength of this a large stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. And why? Because what was preached as a stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed, O Subhûti, that was preached as no-stock

of merit by the Tathâgata, and therefore it is called a stock of merit. If, O Subhûti, there existed a stock of merit, the Tathâgata would not have preached: "A stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed!"' (19)

XX.

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is a Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the shape of his visible body?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the shape of his visible body. And why? Because, what was preached, O Bhagavat, as the shape of the visible body, the shape of the visible body indeed, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-shape of the visible body, and therefore it is called the shape of the visible body.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, should a Tathâgata be seen (known) by the possession of signs?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the possession of signs, that was preached as no-possession of signs by the Tathâgata, and therefore it is called the possession of signs.' (20)

XXI.

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does the Tathâgata think in this wise: The Law has been taught by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, does the Tathâgata think in this wise: The Law has been taught by me.' Bhagavat said: 'If a man should say that the Law has been taught by the Tathâgata, he would say what is not true; he

would slander me with untruth which he has learned. And why? Because, O Subhûti, it is said the teaching of the Law, the teaching of the Law indeed. O Subhûti, there is nothing that can be perceived by the name of the teaching of the Law.'

After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'Forsooth, O Bhagavat, will there be any beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, who, when they have heard these very Laws, will believe?' Bhagavat said: 'These, O Subhûti, are neither beings nor no-beings. And why? Because, O Subhûti, those who were preached as beings, beings indeed, they were preached as no-beings by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called beings.' (21)

XXII.

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is there anything which has been known by the Tathâgata in the form of the highest perfect knowledge?' The venerable Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, there is nothing, O Bhagavat, that has been known by the Tathâgata in the form of the highest perfect knowledge.' Bhagavat said: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is. Even the smallest thing is not known or perceived there, therefore it is called the highest perfect knowledge.' (22)

XXIII.

'Also, Subhûti, all is the same there, there is no difference there, and therefore it is called the highest perfect knowledge. Free from self, free from being, free from life, free from personality, that

highest perfect knowledge is always the same, and thus known with all good things. And why? Because, what were preached as good things, good things indeed, O Subhûti, they were preached as no-things by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called good things.' (23)

XXIV.

'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man, putting together as many heaps of the seven treasures as there are Sumerus, kings of mountains, in the sphere of a million millions of worlds, should give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and, if a son or a daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law, this *Pragñâpâramitâ*, one *Gâthâ* of four lines only, should teach it to others, then, O Subhûti, compared with his stock of merit, the former stock of merit would not come to the one hundredth part,' &c.¹, till 'it will not bear an approach.' (24)

XXV.

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, does a Tathâgata think in this wise: Beings have been delivered by me? You should not think so, O Subhûti. And why? Because there is no being, O Subhûti, that has been delivered by the Tathâgata. And, if there were a being, O Subhûti, that has been delivered by the Tathâgata, then the Tathâgata would believe in self, believe in a being, believe in a living being, and believe in a person. And what is called a belief in self, O Subhûti, that is preached

¹ As before, in chap. xvi.

as no-belief by the Tathâgata. And this is learned by children and ignorant persons; and they who were preached as children and ignorant persons, O Subhûti, were preached as no-persons by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called children and ignorant persons.' (25)

XXVI.

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is the Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the possession of signs?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat. So far as I know the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, the Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' Bhagavat said: 'Good, good, Subhûti, so it is, Subhûti; so it is, as you say; a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if the Tathâgata were to be seen (known) by the possession of signs, a wheel-turning king also would be a Tathâgata¹; therefore a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' The venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'As I understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' Then the Bhagavat at that moment preached these two Gâthâs:

They who saw me by form, and they who heard
me by sound,

They engaged in false endeavours, will not see me.

¹ This probably refers to the auspicious signs discovered in Sâkyamuni at his birth, which left it open whether he should become a king or a Buddha.

A Buddha is to be seen (known) from the Law; for the Lords (Buddhas) have the Law-body; And the nature of the Law cannot be understood, nor can it be made to be understood. (26)

XXVII.

‘What do you think then, O Subhûti, has the highest perfect knowledge been known by the Tathâgata through the possession of signs? You should not think so, O Subhûti. And why? Because, O Subhûti, the highest perfect knowledge would not be known by the Tathâgata through the possession of signs. Nor should anybody, O Subhûti, say to you that the destruction or annihilation of any thing is proclaimed by those who have entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas.’ (27)

XXVIII.

‘And if, O Subhûti, a son or a daughter of a good family were to fill worlds equal to the number of grains of sand of the river Gaṅgâ with the seven treasures, and give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and if a Bodhisattva acquired endurance in selfless and uncreated things, then the latter will on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.

‘But, O Subhûti, a stock of merit should not be appropriated by a noble-minded Bodhisattva.’ The venerable Subhûti said: ‘Should a stock of merit, O Bhagavat, not be appropriated by a Bodhisattva?’ Bhagavat said: ‘It should be appropriated, O Subhûti; it should not be appropriated; and therefore it is said: It should be appropriated.’ (28)

XXIX.

‘ And again, O Subhûti, if anybody were to say that the Tathâgata goes, or comes, or stands, or sits, or lies down, he, O Subhûti, does not understand the meaning of my preaching. And why? Because the word Tathâgata means one who does not go to anywhere, and does not come from anywhere; and therefore he is called the Tathâgata (truly come), holy and fully enlightened.’ (29)

XXX.

‘ And again, O Subhûti, if a son or a daughter of a good family were to take as many worlds as there are grains of earth-dust in this sphere of a million millions of worlds, and reduce them to such fine dust as can be made with immeasurable strength, like what is called a mass of the smallest atoms, do you think, O Subhûti, would that be a mass of many atoms?’ Subhûti said: ‘ Yes, Bhagavat, yes, Sugata, that would be a mass of many atoms. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, if it were a mass of many atoms, Bhagavat would not call it a mass of many atoms. And why? Because, what was preached as a mass of many atoms by the Tathâgata, that was preached as no-mass of atoms by the Tathâgata; and therefore it is called a mass of many atoms. And what was preached by the Tathâgata as the sphere of a million millions of worlds, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-sphere of worlds; and therefore it is called the sphere of a million millions of worlds. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, if there were a sphere of worlds, there would exist a belief in matter; and what was preached as a belief in matter by the Tathâgata, that was

preached as no-belief by the Tathâgata; and therefore it is called a belief in matter.' Bhagavat said: 'And a belief in matter itself, O Subhûti, is unmentionable and inexpressible; it is neither a thing nor no-thing, and this is known by children and ignorant persons.' (30)

XXXI.

'And why? Because, O Subhûti, if a man were to say that belief in self, belief in a being, belief in life, belief in personality had been preached by the Tathâgata, would he be speaking truly?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, Bhagavat, not indeed, Sugata; he would not be speaking truly. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as a belief in self, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-belief; therefore it is called belief in self.'

Bhagavat said: 'Thus then, O Subhûti, are all things to be perceived, to be looked upon, and to be believed by one who has entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas. And in this wise are they to be perceived, to be looked upon, and to be believed, that a man should believe neither in the idea of a thing nor in the idea of a no-thing. And why? Because, by saying: The idea of a thing, the idea of a thing indeed, it has been preached by the Tathâgata as no-idea of a thing.' (31)

XXXII.

'And, O Subhûti, if a noble-minded Bodhisattva were to fill immeasurable and innumerable spheres of worlds with the seven treasures, and give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas;

and if a son or a daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law, this *Pragñâ-pâramitâ*, one *Gâthâ* of four lines only, should learn it, repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, then the latter would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. And how should he explain it? As in the sky:

Stars, darkness, a lamp, a phantom, dew, a bubble.

A dream, a flash of lightning, and a cloud—thus we should look upon the world (all that was made).

Thus he should explain; therefore it is said: He should explain.'

Thus spoke the *Bhagavat* enraptured. The elder *Subhûti*, and the friars, nuns, the faithful laymen and women, and the *Bodhisattvas* also, and the whole world of gods, men, evil spirits and fairies, praised the preaching of the *Bhagavat*. (32)

Thus is finished the Diamond-cutter, the
· blessed *Pragñâpâramitâ*.

THE LARGER
PRAGÑÂ-PÂRAMITÂ-
HR/DAYA-SÛTRA.

THE LARGER PRAGÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ- HRIDAYA-SŪTRA.

ADORATION TO THE OMNISCIENT !

This I heard : At one time the Bhagavat dwelt at Rāgagrīha, on the hill Grīdhṛakūṭa, together with a large number of Bhikshus and a large number of Bodhisattvas.

At that time the Bhagavat was absorbed in a meditation, called Gambhīrāvasambodha. And at the same time the great Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara, performing his study in the deep Praḡñāpāramitā, thought thus : 'There are the five Skandhas, and those he (the Buddha ?) considered as something by nature empty.'

Then the venerable Śāriputra, through Buddha's power, thus spoke to the Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara : 'If the son or daughter of a family wishes to perform the study in the deep Praḡñāpāramitā, how is he to be taught ?'

On this the great Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara thus spoke to the venerable Śāriputra : 'If the son or daughter of a family wishes to perform the study in the deep Praḡñāpāramitā, he must think thus :

'There are five Skandhas, and these he considered as by their nature empty. Form is emptiness, and

emptiness indeed is form. Emptiness is not different from form, form is not different from emptiness. What is form that is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form. Thus perception, name, conception, and knowledge also are emptiness. Thus, O Sâriputra, all things have the character of emptiness, they have no beginning, no end, they are faultless and not faultless, they are not imperfect and not perfect. Therefore, O Sâriputra, here in this emptiness there is no form, no perception, no name, no concept, no knowledge. No eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind. No form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and objects. There is no eye, &c., till we come to 'there is no mind, no objects, no mind-knowledge. There is no knowledge, no ignorance, no destruction (of ignorance),' till we come to 'there is no decay and death, no destruction of decay and death; there are not (the Four Truths, viz.) that there is pain, origin of pain, stoppage of pain, and the path to it. There is no knowledge, no obtaining, no not-obtaining of Nirvâna. Therefore, O Sâriputra, as there is no obtaining (of Nirvâna), a man who has approached the Pragñâpâramitâ of the Bodhisattvas, dwells (for a time) enveloped in consciousness. But when the envelopment of consciousness has been annihilated, then he becomes free of all fear, beyond the reach of change, enjoying final Nirvâna.

'All Buddhas of the past, present, and future, after approaching the Pragñâpâramitâ, have awoke to the highest perfect knowledge.

'Therefore we ought to know the great verse of the Pragñâpâramitâ, the verse of the great wisdom, the unsurpassed verse, the verse which appeases

all pain—it is truth, because it is not false¹—the verse proclaimed in the *Pragñāpāramitā*²: “O wisdom, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svāhā!”

‘Thus, O Śāriputra, should a Bodhisattva teach in the study of the deep *Pragñāpāramitā*.’

Then when the Bhagavat had risen from that meditation, he gave his approval to the venerable Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, saying: ‘Well done, well done, noble son! So it is, noble son. So indeed must this study of the deep *Pragñāpāramitā* be performed. As it has been described by thee, it is applauded by Arhat Tathāgatas.’ Thus spoke Bhagavat with joyful mind. And the venerable Śāriputra, and the honourable Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and the whole assembly, and the world of gods, men, demons, and fairies praised the speech of the Bhagavat.

Here ends the *Pragñāpāramitāhrīdayasūtra*.

¹ It is truth, not falsehood, W text.

² Fit for obtaining *Pragñāpāramitā*, W text.

THE SMALLER
P R A G ÑÂ-PÂ R A M I T Â-
H R / D A Y A - S Û T R A .

THE SMALLER
PRAGÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-
HRIDAYA-SŪTRA.

ADORATION TO THE OMNISCIENT !

The venerable Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, performing his study in the deep Pragñāpāramitā (perfection of wisdom), thought thus: 'There are the five Skandhas, and these he considered as by their nature empty (phenomenal).'

'O Sāriputra,' he said, 'form here is emptiness, and emptiness indeed is form. Emptiness is not different from form, form is not different from emptiness. What is form that is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form.'

'The same applies to perception, name, conception, and knowledge.'

'Here, O Sāriputra, all things have the character of emptiness, they have no beginning, no end, they are faultless and not faultless, they are not imperfect and not perfect. Therefore, O Sāriputra, in this emptiness there is no form, no perception, no name, no concepts, no knowledge. No eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind. No form, sound, smell, taste, touch, objects.'

'There is no eye,' &c., till we come to 'there is no mind.'

(What is left out here are the eighteen Dhātus or aggregates, viz. eye, form, vision; ear, sound, hearing; nose, odour, smelling; tongue, flavour, tasting; body, touch, feeling; mind, objects, thought.)

‘There is no knowledge, no ignorance, no destruction of knowledge, no destruction of ignorance,’ &c., till we come to ‘there is no decay and death, no destruction of decay and death; there are not (the four truths, viz. that there) is pain, origin of pain, stoppage of pain, and the path to it. There is no knowledge, no obtaining (of Nirvāṇa).’

‘A man who has approached the Pragñāpāramitā of the Bodhisattva dwells enveloped in consciousness¹. But when the envelopment of consciousness has been annihilated, then he becomes free of all fear, beyond the reach of change, enjoying final Nirvāṇa.’

‘All Buddhas of the past, present, and future, after approaching the Pragñāpāramitā, have awoke to the highest perfect knowledge.’

‘Therefore one ought to know the great verse of the Pragñāpāramitā, the verse of the great wisdom, the unsurpassed verse, the peerless verse, which appeases all pain—it is truth, because it is not false—the verse proclaimed in the Pragñāpāramitā: “O wisdom, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svāhā!”’

Thus ends the heart of the Pragñāpāramitā.

¹ See Childers, s.v. *kittam*.

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

IN THE VAGRAKKHEDIKÂ AND THE PRAGÑÂ- PÂRAMITÂ-HR/DAYA-SÛTRA.

- Anâgâmin, one who does not return at all, page 120, note 2; 121.
 Anâthapindada, 111.
 Arhat, 120, n. 2; 121 seq.; A. Tathâgatas, 149.
 Ārya-pragñâ-pâramitâ, perfection of wisdom, 111.
 Āryâvalokiteśvara, N. of a Bodhisattva, 147; 149; 153.
 Atoms, 142.
 Avalokiteśvara, see Āryâvalokiteśvara.
 Being, term of, 113 seq.; belief in, idea of a b., 117, &c. &c.; see Self, 134.
 Bhagavat (Buddha), 111, &c. &c.; 147; 149.
 Bhikṣus, 111 seq.; 144; 147.
 Bodhi, highest knowledge, 111, n. 4; 130; 131.
 Bodhisattvas, 111, &c.; 126; 128; 134 seq.; 147 seqq.; 154; knowledge of B., 130; path of the B., 132; 141; 143.
 Brahman world, 120, n. 2.
 Buddha, 116 seq.; 125, n. 1; 147; qualities of B., 120; eye of B., 135; B. to be seen from the Law, 141; many Buddhas, 117; 119; 127; 131; 136; 148; 154; knowledge of B., 131.
 Buddha-eye, 117; 129; 130.
 Buddha-knowledge, 117; 129; 130; 131.
 Buddha-things, 134.
 Cause, idea of, 114 seq.
 Demons, see Spirits.
 Dhâtus, eighteen aggregates, 154.
 Dīpaṅkara, the Tathâgata, 122; 131; 132 seq.
 Emptiness, 147 seq.; 153.
 Eye (bodily, heavenly, &c.), 135.
 Fairies, 144; 149.
 Faith, 117; 135.
 Four Truths, 148; 154.
 Gambhīrâvasambodha, a kind of meditation, 147.
 Gâthâ of four lines, 119; 124; 126; 139; 144; two Gâthâs, 140 seq.
 Gayâ-kāśyapa, 111, n. 3.
 Geta, the grove of, 111.
 Gods, 130; 144; 149.
 Grīdhra-kūṭa, N. of a hill, 147.
 Hero, signs of a, 125.
 Holy persons (āryapudgala), 118.
 Idea (*samgñâ*), 117; 126 seq.; 128; idea of a thing, and no-idea, 143.
 Kaitya, holy shrine, 124; 130.
 Kālīṅga, king of, 127.
 Kalirāgan or *nrīpa*, 127, n. 1.
 Knowledge, highest perfect, 118; 119; 128; 132 seqq.; 138 seq.; 141; 148; 154; eye of k., 135; there is no k., 148.
 Kṣāntivādin, Rishi, 128.
 Law, decay of the good L., 116; 127; 131; 138; teaching of the L., 118; 138; treatise of the L., 119; 124; 126; 129 seq.; eye of the L., 135; Law taught by

- the Tathāgata, 137; Buddha seen from the L., 141.
 Law-body, 141.
 Laymen and women, 144.
 Matter, belief in, 142 seq.
 Maudgalyāyana, 111, n. 3.
 Men, gods, and evil spirits, 130; 144; 149.
 Merit, stock of, 114, &c. &c.
 Nadī-kāyapa, 111, n. 3.
 Nirvāṇa, 116 note; 148; 154; world of N., 114; 132; 120, n. 2; path leading to N., 126; 130.
 No-origin the highest goal, 133.
 Nuns, 144.
 Parama-pāramitā, 127.
 Pāramitā, 127.
 Person, personality, 117, &c. &c.; see Self.
 Pragñā-pāramitā (transcendent wisdom), 124 seq.; 139; 144; 147 seqq.; 153 seq.
 Prasenagit, 111, n. 1.
 Preceptor, the wise, 124.
 Quality (dharma), idea of, 117; qualities of Buddha, 120.
 Rāgagrīha, 147.
 Sakridāgāmin, a man who returns once, 120 seq.
 Sākyamuni, 133; 140, n. 1.
 Śāriputra, 111, n. 3; 147 seqq.; 153.
 Self, idea of and belief in a, 117; 120 seq.; 127 seq.; 130; 132; 138; 139; 143; all things are without self, 134.
 Selfhood, 123; 125.
 Signs, possession of, 115; 137; 140; 141; thirty-two signs of a hero, 125.
 Skandhas, five, 147; 153.
 Spirits, evil, 130; 144; 149.
 Srāvastī, 111 seq.
 Srota-āpanna, a man who has obtained the first grade of sanctification, 116 note; 120.
 Srota-āpatti, 120.
 Subhūti, 112, &c. &c.
 Sudatta, 111, n. 2.
 Sugata (Buddha), 112; 119; 123; 125; 126; 143.
 Sumeru, king of mountains, 123; plur., 139.
 Tathāgata, 112, &c. &c.; the name of T., 133; 142; Arhat Tathāgatas, 149.
 Teacher, i. e. Buddha, 124.
 Thoughts, train of, 136.
 Treasures, seven, 119; 123; 136; 139; 141; 143.
 Uruvilva-kāyapa, 111, n. 3.
 Wheel-turning king, 140.
 Worlds, sphere of a million millions of, 119; 125; 136; 139; 142; numbers of worlds, 122; 134 seq.; 143.

INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS,

CHIEFLY THOSE EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.

araṇyāvihārin, dwelling in virtue, page 121, note 1.	state, 120; an individual being, 121.
âtmabhāva, selfhood, life, 125, n. 1.	nivas, 112, n. 1.
âraṇya-vihârin, living in the forest, 121, n. 1.	paribhûta, overcome, despised (?), 131, n. 1.
Âryapudgala, one who has entered on the path leading to Nirvâṇa, 118, n. 2.	parîṇḍita, instructed, 113, n. 1.
ekakṛttaprasâda, 117, n. 1.	parîṇḍita, 112, n. 3.
Kṛitabhaktakṛtya, 112, n. 2.	pindapâta, 112, n. 3.
kshânti, endurance, 127.	punyakandha, 119, n. 2.
kṛttaprasâda, faith in Buddha, 117, n. 1.	pûrvâhnikâlasamayê nivâsya, 112, n. 1.
dharma, quality, 117; thing, 118; 122; 125; 128; 132; particular	pragñapta, 112, n. 4.
	prabhâvitâ, power, 18, n. 3.
	raja, strife, sin, 121, n. 1.
	śâstri, teacher = Buddha, 124, n. 2.
	samskrîta, perfect (?), 118, n. 3.
	samgṛhâ, idea, 117.

AMITÂYUR-DHYÂNA-
SÛTRA,

THE SÛTRA OF THE MEDITATION ON AMITÂYUS.

MEDITATION

ON

BUDDHA AMITÂYUS¹.

PART I.

§ 1. Thus it was heard by me: At one time the Buddha dwelt in Râgagriha, on the mountain Gridhrakûta, with a large assembly of Bhikshus and with thirty-two thousands of Bodhisattvas; with Mañgusri, Prince of the Law², at the head of the assembly.

§ 2. At that time, in the great city of Râgagriha there was a prince, the heir-apparent, named Agâ-tasatru. He listened to the wicked counsel of Devadatta and other friends and forcibly arrested Bimbisâra his father, the king, and shut him up by himself in a room with seven walls, proclaiming to all the courtiers that no one should approach (the king). The chief consort of the king, Vaidehi by

¹ Nanjio's Catalogue of Tripiṭaka, No. 198; translated into Chinese A. D. 424, by Kālayāsa, a Sramana from India.

² Sanskrit Kumārabhūta, 'prince' or 'princely,' but Chinese has 'prince of the law;' according to the commentator, K'-kō, he was called so because he was (skilled in) converting men by (teaching) the Law. K'-kō seems to have understood that Mañgusri was not a royal prince, but the name Kumārabhūta was given him as an honorific title. Max Müller, 'the prince' (p. 350, vol. ii, Selected Essays); Kern, 'the prince royal,' but he gives an alternative 'still a youth' (p. 4, Sadharmapundarika).

name, was true and faithful to her lord, the king. She supported him in this wise: having purified herself by bathing and washing, she anointed her body with honey and ghee mixed with corn-flour, and she concealed the juice of grapes in the various garlands she wore (in order to give him food without being noticed by the warder). As she stole in and made an offering to him, he was able to eat the flour and to drink the juice (of grapes). Then he called for water and rinsed his mouth. That done, the king stretched forth his folded hands towards the Mount *Gridhrakûta* and worshipped duly and respectfully the World-Honoured One, who at that time abode there. And he uttered the following prayer: 'Mahâmaudgalyâyana is my friend and relative; let him, I pray, feel compassion towards me, and come and communicate to me the eight prohibitive precepts¹ (of Buddha).' On this, Mahâmaudgalyâyana at once appeared before the king, coming with a speed equal to the flight of a falcon or an eagle, and communicated to him the eight precepts.

Day after day did he come. The World-Honoured One sent also his worthy disciple *Pûrna* to preach the Law to the king. Thus a period of three weeks passed by. The king showed by his countenance that he was happy and contented when he had an opportunity of hearing the Law as well as of enjoying the honey and flour.

§ 3. At that time, *Agâtasatru* asked the warder

¹ According to the commentator, *Shân-tão*, 'killing, stealing, adultery, lying, drinking, applying ointment, &c., music, and using ornamented chairs, &c.'

of the gate whether his father was yet alive. On this, the warder answered him : ' O Exalted king, the chief consort (of thy father) brought (food) and presented it to him by anointing her body with honey and flour and filling her garlands with the juice (of grapes), and the *Sramanas*, *Mahâmaudgalyâyana* and *Pûrṇa*, approached the king through the sky in order to preach the Law to him. It is, O king, impossible to prevent them coming.' When the prince heard this answer his indignation arose against his mother : ' My mother,' he cried, ' is, indeed, a rebel, for she was found in company with that rebel. Wicked people are those *Sramanas*, and it is their art of spells causing illusion and delusion that delayed the death of that wicked king for so many days.' Instantly he brandished his sharp sword, intending to slay his mother. At that moment, there intervened a minister named *Kāndraprabha*, who was possessed of great wisdom and intelligence, and *Gṛīva* (a famous physician). They saluted the prince and remonstrated with him, saying : ' We, ministers, O Great king, heard that since the beginning of the kalpas there had been several wicked kings, even to the number of eighteen thousand, who killed their own fathers, coveting the throne of (their respective) kingdoms, as mentioned in the *Sûtra* of the discourse of the *Veda*¹. Yet never have we heard of a man killing his mother, though he be void of virtue. Now, if thou, O king, shouldst dare to commit such a deadly sin, thou wouldst bring a stain upon the blood of the *Kshatriyas* (the kingly race). We cannot even

¹ This is non-Buddhistic, according to *Shân-tào*.

bear to hear of it. Thou art indeed a *Kandâla* (the lowest race); we shall not stay here with thee.' After this speech, the two great ministers retired stepping backward, each with his hand placed on his sword. *Agâtasatru* was then frightened, and greatly afraid of them, and asked *Glva*, saying: 'Wilt thou not be friendly to me?' In reply *Glva* said to him: 'Do not then, O Great king, by any means think of injuring thy mother.' On hearing this, the prince repented and sought for mercy, and at once laid down his sword and did his mother no hurt. He finally ordered the officers of the inner chambers to put the queen in a hidden palace and not to allow her to come out again.

§ 4. When *Vaidehi* was thus shut up in retirement she became afflicted by sorrow and distress. She began to do homage to Buddha from afar, looking towards the Mount *Grîdhrahakûta*. She uttered the following words: 'O Tathâgata! World-Honoured One! In former times thou hast constantly sent *Ânanda* to me for enquiry and consolation. I am now in sorrow and grief. Thou, O World-Honoured One, art majestic and exalted; in no way shall I be able to see thee. Wilt thou, I pray thee, command *Mahâmaudgalyâyana* and thy honoured disciple, *Ânanda*, to come and have an interview with me?' After this speech, she grieved and wept, shedding tears like a shower of rain. Before she raised her head from doing homage to the distant Buddha, the World-Honoured One knew what *Vaidehi* was wishing in her mind, though he was on the Mount *Grîdhrahakûta*. Therefore, he instantly ordered *Mahâmaudgalyâyana* and *Ânanda* to go to her through the sky. Buddha

himself disappeared from that mountain and appeared in the royal palace.

When the queen raised her head as she finished homage to Buddha, she saw before her the World-Honoured Buddha Śākyamuni, whose body was purple gold in colour, sitting on a lotus-flower which consists of a hundred jewels, with Mahāmaudgalyāyana attending on his left, and with Ānanda on his right. Sakra (Indra), Brahman, and other gods that protect the world were seen in the midst of the sky, everywhere showering heavenly flowers with which they made offerings to Buddha in their worship. Vaidehī, at the sight of Buddha the World-Honoured One, took off her garlands and prostrated herself on the ground, crying, sobbing, and speaking to Buddha : 'O World-Honoured One! what former sin of mine has produced such a wicked son? And again, O Exalted One, from what cause and circumstances hast thou such an affinity (by blood and religion) with Devadatta (Buddha's wicked cousin and once his disciple)?'

§ 5. 'My only prayer,' she continued, 'is this : O World-Honoured One, mayst thou preach to me in detail of all the places where there is no sorrow or trouble, and where I ought to go to be born anew. I am not satisfied with this world of depravities¹, with Gambudvīpa (India)², which is full of hells, full of hungry spirits (pretas), and of the brute creation. In this world of depravities, there is many an assemblage of the wicked. May I not

¹ For five depravities vide Smaller Sukhāvatī, § 18 ; Saddharmapundarikā by Kern, p. 58, § 140 note.

² But Japanese Buddhists take this in a wider sense.

hear, I pray, the voice of the wicked in the future ; and may I not see any wicked person.

‘ Now I throw my five limbs down to the ground before thee, and seek for thy mercy by confessing my sins. I pray for this only that the Sun-like Buddha may instruct me how to meditate on a world wherein all actions are pure.’ At that moment, the World-Honoured One flashed forth a golden ray from between his eyebrows. It extended to all the innumerable worlds of the ten quarters. On its return the ray rested on the top of Buddha’s head and transformed itself into a golden pillar just like the Mount Sumeru, wherein the pure and admirable countries of the Buddhas in the ten quarters appeared all at once illuminated.

One was a country consisting of seven jewels, another was a country all full of lotus-flowers ; one was like the palace of Mahesvara Deva (god Siva), another was like a mirror of crystal, with the countries in the ten quarters reflected therein. There were innumerable countries like these, resplendent, gorgeous, and delightful to look upon. All were meant for Vaidehi to see (and choose from).

Thereupon Vaidehi again spoke to Buddha : ‘ O World-Honoured One, although all other Buddha countries are pure and radiant with light, I should, nevertheless, wish myself to be born in the realm of Buddha Amitâyus (or Amitâbha), in the world of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvati). Now I simply pray thee, O World-Honoured One, to teach me how to concentrate my thought so as to obtain a right vision (of that country).’

§ 6. Thereupon the World-Honoured One gently smiled upon her, and rays of five colours issued

forth out of his mouth, each ray shining as far as the head of king Bimbisâra.

At that moment, the mental vision of that exalted king was perfectly clear though he was shut up in lonely retirement, and he could see the World-Honoured One from afar. As he paid homage with his head and face, he naturally increased and advanced (in wisdom), whereby he attained to the fruition of an Anâgâmin (the third of the four grades to Nirvâṇa).

§ 7. Then the World-Honoured One said: 'Now dost thou not know, O Vaidehī, that Buddha Amitâyus is not very far from here? Thou shouldst apply thy mind entirely to close meditation upon those who have already perfected the pure actions necessary for that Buddha country.

'I now proceed to fully expound them for thee in many parables, and thereby afford all ordinary persons of the future who wish to cultivate these pure actions an opportunity of being born in the Land of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatī) in the western quarter. Those who wish to be born in that country of Buddha have to cultivate a threefold goodness. Firstly, they should act filially towards their parents and support them; serve and respect their teachers and elders; be of compassionate mind, abstain from doing any injury, and cultivate the ten virtuous actions¹. Secondly, they should take and observe the vow of seeking refuge with the Three Jewels, fulfil all moral precepts, and not lower their dignity or neglect any ceremonial observance. Thirdly, they should give their whole mind

¹ I. e. observe the ten prohibitive precepts of Buddha.

to the attainment of the Bodhi (perfect wisdom), deeply believe in (the principle of) cause and effect, study and recite (the Sûtras of) the Mahâyâna doctrine, and persuade and encourage others who pursue the same course as themselves.

‘These three groups as enumerated are called the pure actions (leading to the Buddha country).’ ‘O Vaidehi!’ Buddha continued, ‘dost thou not understand now? These three classes of actions are the efficient cause of the pure actions taught by all the Buddhas of the past, present, and future.’

§ 8. Buddha then addressed Ânanda as well as Vaidehi : ‘Listen carefully, listen carefully! Ponder carefully on what you hear! I, Tathâgata, now declare the pure actions needful (for that Buddha country) for the sake of all beings hereafter, that are subject to the misery (inflicted) by the enemy, i. e. passion. Well done, O Vaidehi! Appropriate questions are those which thou hast asked¹! O Ânanda, do thou remember these words of me, of Buddha, and repeat them openly to many assemblies. I, Tathâgata, now teach Vaidehi and also all beings hereafter in order that they may meditate on the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvati) in the western quarter.

‘It is by the power of Buddha only that one can see that pure land (of Buddha) as clear as one sees the image of one’s face reflected in the transparent mirror held up before one.

‘When one sees the state of happiness of that country in its highest excellence, one greatly re-

¹ Vide supra, § 4; but those two questions, though appropriate, have not after all been answered by Buddha in this Sûtra.

joices in one's heart and immediately attains a spirit of resignation prepared to endure whatever consequences may yet arise¹. Buddha, turning again to Vaidehi, said: 'Thou art but an ordinary person; the quality of thy mind is feeble and inferior.

'Thou hast not as yet obtained the divine eye and canst not perceive what is at a distance. All the Buddhas, Tathâgatas have various means at their disposal and can therefore afford thee an opportunity of seeing (that Buddha country).' Then Vaidehi rejoined: 'O World-Honoured One, people such as I, can now see that land by the power of Buddha, but how shall all those beings who are to come after Buddha's Nirvâṇa, and who, as being depraved and devoid of good qualities, will be harassed by the five worldly sufferings²—how shall they see the World of Highest Happiness of the Buddha Amitâyus?'

PART II.

§ 9. Buddha then replied: 'Thou and all other beings besides ought to make it their only aim, with concentrated thought, to get a perception of the western quarter. You will ask how that perception is to be formed. I will explain it now. All beings, if not blind from birth, are uniformly possessed of sight, and they all see the setting sun. Thou shouldst sit down properly, looking in the western direction, and prepare thy thought for a close medi-

¹ Anutpatikadharmakshânti, cf. Larger Sukhâvatî, § 19, p. 39, and § 32, p. 5. Kern, 'the acquiescence in the eternal law,' *Saddharmapundarikâ* XI, p. 254.

² 1. Birth, 2. Old age, 3. Sickness, 4. Death, 5. Parting.

tation on the sun; cause thy mind to be firmly fixed (on it) so as to have an unwavering perception by the exclusive application (of thy thought), and gaze upon it (more particularly) when it is about to set and looks like a suspended drum.

‘After thou hast thus seen the sun, let (that image) remain clear and fixed, whether thine eyes be shut or open;—such is the perception of the sun, which is the First Meditation.

§ 10. ‘Next thou shouldst form the perception of water; gaze on the water clear and pure, and let (this image) also remain clear and fixed (afterwards); never allow thy thought to be scattered and lost.

‘When thou hast thus seen the water thou shouldst form the perception of ice. As thou seest the ice shining and transparent, thou shouldst imagine the appearance of lapis lazuli.

‘After that has been done, thou wilt see the ground consisting of lapis lazuli, transparent and shining both within and without. Beneath this ground of lapis lazuli there will be seen a golden banner with the seven jewels, diamonds and the rest, supporting the ground¹. It extends to the eight points of the compass, and thus the eight corners (of the ground) are perfectly filled up. Every side of the eight quarters consists of a hundred jewels, every jewel has a thousand rays, and every ray has eighty-four thousand colours which, when reflected in the ground of lapis lazuli, look like a thousand millions of suns, and it is difficult to see them all one by one. Over the surface of that ground of lapis lazuli there are

¹ ‘A banner supporting or lifting up the ground’ is rather strange, but there is no other way of translating it.

stretched golden ropes intertwined crosswise ; divisions are made by means of (strings of) seven jewels with every part clear and distinct.

‘ Each jewel has rays of five hundred colours which look like flowers or like the moon and stars. Lodged high up in the open sky these rays form a tower of rays, whose storeys and galleries are ten millions in number and built of a hundred jewels. Both sides of the tower have each a hundred millions of flowery banners furnished and decked with numberless musical instruments. Eight kinds of cool breezes proceed from the brilliant rays. When those musical instruments are played, they emit the sounds “suffering,” “non-existence,” “impermanence,” and “non-self;”—such is the perception of the water, which is the Second Meditation.

§ 11. ‘When this perception has been formed, thou shouldst meditate on its (constituents) one by one and make (the images) as clear as possible, so that they may never be scattered and lost, whether thine eyes be shut or open. Except only during the time of thy sleep, thou shouldst always keep this in thy mind. One who has reached this (stage of) perception is said to have dimly seen the Land of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatī).

‘One who has obtained the Samâdhi (the state of supernatural calm) is able to see the land (of that Buddha country) clearly and distinctly: (this state) is too much to be explained fully;—such is the perception of the land, and it is the Third Meditation.

‘Thou shouldst remember, O Ânanda, the Buddha words of mine, and repeat this law for attaining to the perception of the land (of the Buddha country)

for the sake of the great mass of the people hereafter who may wish to be delivered from their sufferings. If any one meditates on the land (of that Buddha country), his sins (which bind him to) births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas shall be expiated ; after the abandonment of his (present) body, he will assuredly be born in the pure land in the following life. The practice of this kind of meditation is called the "right meditation." If it be of another kind it is called "heretical meditation."

§ 12. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehi : 'When the perception of the land (of that Buddha country) has been gained, you should next meditate on the jewel-trees (of that country). In meditating on the jewel-trees, you should take each by itself and form a perception of the seven rows of trees ; every tree is eight hundred yoganâs high, and all the jewel-trees have flowers and leaves consisting of seven jewels all perfect. All flowers and leaves have colours like the colours of various jewels :— from the colour of lapis lazuli there issues a golden ray ; from the colour of crystal, a saffron ray ; from the colour of agate, a diamond ray ; from the colour of diamond, a ray of blue pearls. Corals, amber, and all other gems are used as ornaments for illumination ; nets of excellent pearls are spread over the trees, each tree is covered by seven sets of nets, and between one set and another there are five hundred millions of palaces built of excellent flowers, resembling the palace of the Lord Brahman ; all heavenly children live there quite naturally ; every child has a garland consisting of five hundred millions of precious gems like those that are fastened

on Sakra's (Indra's) head¹, the rays of which shine over a hundred yoganas, just as if a hundred millions of suns and moons were united together; it is difficult to explain them in detail. That (garland) is the most excellent among all, as it is the commixture of all sorts of jewels. Rows of these jewel-trees touch one another; the leaves of the trees also join one another.

'Among the dense foliage there blossom various beautiful flowers, upon which are miraculously found fruits of seven jewels. The leaves of the trees are all exactly equal in length and in breadth, measuring twenty-five yoganas each way; every leaf has a thousand colours and a hundred different pictures on it, just like a heavenly garland. There are many excellent flowers which have the colour of Gâmbûnada gold and an appearance of fire-wheels in motion, turning between the leaves in a graceful fashion. All the fruits are produced just (as easily) as if they flowed out from the pitcher of the God Sakra. There is a magnificent ray which transforms itself into numberless jewelled canopies with banners and flags. Within these jewelled canopies the works of all the Buddhas of the Great Chiliocosm appear illuminated; the Buddha countries of the ten quarters also are manifested therein. When you have seen these trees you should also meditate on them one by one in order. In meditating on the trees, trunks, branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits, let them all be distinct and clear;—such is the perception of the trees (of that Buddha country), and it is the Fourth Meditation.

¹ The text has *Sakrâbhiḥlagnamaziratna*, vide *infra*, §§ 16, 19.

§ 13. 'Next, you should perceive the water (of that country). The perception of the water is as follows :—

'In the Land of Highest Happiness there are waters in eight lakes; the water in every lake consists of seven jewels which are soft and yielding. Deriving its source from the king of jewels that fulfils every wish¹, the water is divided into fourteen streams; every stream has the colour of seven jewels; its channel is built of gold, the bed of which consists of the sand of variegated diamonds.

'In the midst of each lake there are sixty millions of lotus-flowers, made of seven jewels; all the flowers are perfectly round and exactly equal (in circumference), being twelve yoganās. The water of jewels flows amidst the flowers and rises and falls by the stalks (of the lotus); the sound of the streaming water is melodious and pleasing, and propounds all the perfect virtues (Parāmitās), "suffering," "non-existence," "impermanence," and "non-self;" it proclaims also the praise of the signs of perfection², and minor marks of excellence² of all Buddhas. From the king of jewels that fulfils every wish, stream forth the golden-coloured rays excessively beautiful, the radiance of which transforms itself into birds possessing the colours of a hundred jewels, which sing out harmonious notes, sweet and delicious, ever praising the remembrance of Buddha, the remembrance of the Law, and the remembrance of the Church ;—such is the perception

¹ Sanskrit *Kīntāmaṇi*, i. e. 'wishing-pearl.'

² For thirty-two signs and eighty minor marks vide *Dharma-saṅgraha* by Kasawara, p. 53 seq. (vol. i, part v, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, 1885).

of the water of eight good qualities, and it is the Fifth Meditation.

§ 14. 'Each division of that (Buddha) country, which consists of several jewels, has also jewelled storeys and galleries to the number of five hundred millions; within each storey and gallery there are innumerable Devas engaged in playing heavenly music. There are some musical instruments that are hung up in the open sky, like the jewelled banners of heaven; they emit musical sounds without being struck, which, while resounding variously, all propound the remembrance of Buddha, of the Law and of the Church, Bhikshus, &c. When this perception is duly accomplished, one is said to have dimly seen the jewel-trees, jewel-ground, and jewel-lakes of that World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvati);—such is the perception formed by meditating on the general (features of that Land), and it is the Sixth Meditation.

'If one has experienced this, one has expiated the greatest sinful deeds which would (otherwise lead one) to transmigration for numberless millions of kalpas; after his death he will assuredly be born in that land.

§ 15¹. 'Listen carefully! listen carefully! Think over what you have heard! I, Buddha, am about to explain in detail the law of delivering one's self from trouble and torment. Commit this to your memory in order to explain it in detail before a great assembly.' While Buddha was uttering these words, Buddha Amitâyus stood in the midst of the sky

¹ § 15. Hereafter, for brevity's sake, I take the liberty of omitting several passages which seem to be unnecessary repetitions.

with Bodhisattvas Mahāsthāma and Avalokitesvara, attending on his right and left respectively. There was such a bright and dazzling radiance that no one could see clearly; the brilliance was a hundred thousand times greater than that of gold (*Gāmbūnada*). Thereupon Vaidehī saw Buddha Amitāyus and approached the World-Honoured One, and worshipped him, touching his feet; and spoke to him as follows: 'O Exalted One! I am now able, by the power of Buddha, to see Buddha Amitāyus together with the two Bodhisattvas. But how shall all the beings of the future meditate on Buddha Amitāyus and the two Bodhisattvas?'

§ 16. Buddha answered: 'Those who wish to meditate on that Buddha ought first to direct their thought as follows: form the perception of a lotus-flower on a ground of seven jewels, each leaf of that lotus exhibits the colours of a hundred jewels, and has eighty-four thousand veins, just like heavenly pictures; each vein possesses eighty-four thousand rays, of which each can be clearly seen. Every small leaf and flower is two hundred and fifty *yoganas* in length and the same measurement in breadth. Each lotus-flower possesses eighty-four thousand leaves, each leaf has the kingly pearls to the number of a hundred millions, as ornaments for illumination; each pearl shoots out a thousand rays like bright canopies. The surface of the ground is entirely covered by a mixture of seven jewels. There is a tower built of the gems which are like those that are fastened on Sakra's head. It is inlaid and decked with eighty thousand diamonds, *Kimsuka* jewels, *Brahma-maṇi* and excellent pearl nets.

‘On that tower there are miraculously found four posts with jewelled banners; each banner looks like a hundred thousand millions of Sumeru mountains.

‘The jewelled veil over these banners is like that of the celestial palace of Yama, illuminated with five hundred millions of excellent jewels, each jewel has eighty-four thousand rays, each ray has various golden colours to the number of eighty-four thousand, each golden colour covers the whole jewelled soil, it changes and is transformed at various places, every now and then exhibiting various appearances; now it becomes a diamond tower, now a pearl net, again clouds of mixed flowers, freely changing its manifestation in the ten directions it exhibits the state of Buddha;—such is the perception of the flowery throne, and it is the Seventh Meditation.’

Buddha, turning to Ānanda, said: ‘These excellent flowers were created originally by the power of the prayer of Bhikshu, Dharmākara¹. All who wish to exercise the remembrance of that Buddha ought first to form the perception of that flowery throne. When engaged in it one ought not to perceive vaguely, but fix the mind upon each detail separately. Leaf, jewel, ray, tower, and banner should be clear and distinct, just as one sees the image of one’s own face in a mirror. When one has achieved this perception, the sins which would produce births and deaths during fifty thousand kalpas are expiated, and he is one who will most assuredly be born in the World of Highest Happiness.

§ 17. ‘When you have perceived this, you should

¹ Vide Larger Sukhāvatī, p. 7, § 3.

next perceive Buddha himself. Do you ask how? Every Buddha Tathâgata is one whose (spiritual) body is the principle of nature (Darmadhâtu-kâya), so that he may enter into the mind of any beings. Consequently, when you have perceived Buddha, it is indeed that mind of yours that possesses those thirty-two signs of perfection and eighty minor marks of excellence (which you see in Buddha). In fine, it is your mind that becomes Buddha, nay, it is your mind that is indeed Buddha. The ocean of true and universal knowledge of all the Buddhas derives its source from one's own mind and thought. Therefore you should apply your thought with an undivided attention to a careful meditation on that Buddha Tathâgata, Arhat, the Holy and Fully Enlightened One. In forming the perception of that Buddha, you should first perceive the image of that Buddha; whether your eyes be open or shut, look at an image like Gâmbûnada gold in colour, sitting on that flower (throne mentioned before).

‘When you have seen the seated figure your mental vision will become clear, and you will be able to see clearly and distinctly the adornment of that Buddha country, the jewelled ground, &c. In seeing these things, let them be clear and fixed just as you see the palms of your hands. When you have passed through this experience, you should further form (a perception of) another great lotus-flower which is on the left side of Buddha, and is exactly equal in every way to the above-mentioned lotus-flower of Buddha. Still further, you should form (a perception of) another lotus-flower which is on the right side of Buddha. Perceive that an image of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is sitting on the left-

hand flowery throne, shooting forth golden rays exactly like those of Buddha. Perceive then that an image of Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma is sitting on the right-hand flowery throne.

‘When these perceptions are gained the images of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas will all send forth brilliant rays, clearly lighting up all the jewel-trees with golden colour. Under every tree there are also three lotus-flowers. On every lotus-flower there is an image, either of Buddha or of a Bodhisattva; thus (the images of the Bodhisattvas and of Buddha) are found everywhere in that country. When this perception has been gained, the devotee should hear the excellent Law preached by means of a stream of water, a brilliant ray of light, several jewel-trees, ducks, geese, and swans. Whether he be wrapped in meditation or whether he has ceased from it, he should ever hear the excellent Law. What the devotee hears must be kept in memory and not be lost, when he ceases from that meditation; and it should agree with the Sûtras, for if it does not agree with the Sûtras, it is called an illusory perception, whereas if it does agree, it is called the rough perception of the World of Highest Happiness;—such is the perception of the images, and it is the Eighth Meditation.

‘He who has practised this meditation is freed from the sins (which otherwise involve him in) births and deaths for innumerable millions of kalpas, and during this present life he obtains the Samâdhi due to the remembrance of Buddha.

§ 18. ‘Further, when this perception is gained, you should next proceed to meditate on the bodily marks and the light of Buddha Amitâyus.

‘Thou shouldst know, O Ânanda, that the body of Buddha Amitâyus is a hundred thousand million times as bright as the colour of the *Gâmbûnada* gold of the heavenly abode of Yama ; the height of that Buddha is six hundred thousand *niyutas* of *koṭis* of *yoganas* innumerable as are the sands of the river *Gaṅgâ*.

‘The white twist of hair between the eyebrows all turning to the right, is just like the five *Sumeru* mountains.

‘The eyes of Buddha are like the water of the four great oceans ; the blue and the white are quite distinct.

‘All the roots of hair of his body issue forth brilliant rays which are also like the *Sumeru* mountains.

‘The halo of that Buddha is like a hundred millions of the Great *Chiliocosms* ; in that halo there are Buddhas miraculously created, to the number of a million of *niyutas* of *koṭis* innumerable as the sands of the *Gaṅgâ* ; each of these Buddhas has for attendants a great assembly of numberless *Bodhisattvas* who are also miraculously created.

‘Buddha Amitâyus has eighty-four thousand signs of perfection, each sign is possessed of eighty-four minor marks of excellence, each mark has eighty-four thousand rays, each ray extends so far as to shine over the worlds of the ten quarters, whereby Buddha embraces and protects all the beings who think upon him and does not exclude (any one of them). His rays, signs, &c., are difficult to be explained in detail. But in simple meditation let the mind’s eye dwell upon them.

‘If you pass through this experience, you will at the same time see all the Buddhas of the ten quarters. Since you see all the Buddhas it is called the Samâdhi of the remembrance of the Buddhas.

‘Those who have practised this meditation are said to have contemplated the bodies of all the Buddhas. Since they have meditated on Buddha’s body, they will also see Buddha’s mind. It is great compassion that is called Buddha’s mind. It is by his absolute compassion that he receives all beings.

‘Those who have practised this meditation will, when they die, be born in the presence of the Buddhas in another life, and obtain a spirit of resignation wherewith to face all the consequences which shall hereafter arise.

‘Therefore those who have wisdom should direct their thought to the careful meditation upon that Buddha Amitâyus. Let those who meditate on Buddha Amitâyus begin with one single sign or mark—let them first meditate on the white twist of hair between the eyebrows as clearly as possible; when they have done this, the eighty-four thousand signs and marks will naturally appear before their eyes. Those who see Amitâyus will also see all the innumerable Buddhas of the ten quarters. Since they have seen all the innumerable Buddhas, they will receive the prophecy of their future destiny (to become Buddha), in the presence of all the Buddhas;—such is the perception gained by a complete meditation on all forms and bodies (of Buddha), and it is the Ninth Meditation.

§ 19. ‘When you have seen Buddha Amitâyus distinctly, you should then further meditate upon Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, whose height is eight

hundred thousands of *niyutas* of *yoganas*; the colour of his body is purple gold, his head has a turban (*ushṛtshasiraskatā*), at the back of which there is a halo; (the circumference of) his face is a hundred thousand *yoganas*. In that halo, there are five hundred Buddhas miraculously transformed just like those of *Sākyamuni* Buddha, each transformed Buddha is attended by five hundred transformed *Bodhisattvas* who are also attended by numberless gods.

‘Within the circle of light emanating from his whole body, appear illuminated the various forms and marks of all beings that live in the five paths¹ of existence.

‘On the top of his head is a heavenly crown of gems like those that are fastened (on Indra’s head), in which crown there is a transformed Buddha standing, twenty-five *yoganas* high.

‘The face of *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* is like *Gāmbūnada* gold in colour.

‘The soft hair between the eyebrows has all the colours of the seven jewels, from which eighty-four kinds of rays flow out, each ray has innumerable transformed Buddhas, each of whom is attended by numberless transformed *Bodhisattvas*; freely changing their manifestations they fill up the worlds of the ten quarters; (the appearance) can be compared with the colour of the red lotus-flower.

‘(He wears) a garland consisting of eight thousand rays, in which is seen fully reflected a state of perfect beauty. The palm of his hand has a mixed colour of five hundred lotus-flowers. His hands have ten

¹ Men, gods, hell, the departed spirits, the brute creation.

(tips of) fingers, each tip has eighty-four thousand pictures, which are like signet-marks, each picture has eighty-four thousand colours, each colour has eighty-four thousand rays which are soft and mild and shine over all things that exist. With these jewel hands he draws and embraces all beings. When he lifts up his feet, the soles of his feet are seen to be marked with a wheel of a thousand spokes (one of the thirty-two signs) which miraculously transform themselves into five hundred million pillars of rays. When he puts his feet down to the ground, the flowers of diamonds and jewels are scattered about, and all things are simply covered by them. All the other signs of his body and the minor marks of excellence are perfect, and not at all different from those of Buddha, except the signs of having the turban on his head and the top of his head invisible, which two signs of him are inferior to those of the World-Honoured One;—such is the perception of the real form and body of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and it is the Tenth Meditation.'

Buddha, especially addressing Ānanda, said: 'Who-soever wishes to meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara must do so in the way I have explained. Those who practise this meditation will not suffer any calamity; they will utterly remove the obstacle that is raised by Karma, and will expiate the sins which would involve them in births and deaths for numberless kalpas. Even the hearing of the name of this Bodhisattva will enable one to obtain immeasurable happiness. How much more, then, will the diligent contemplation of him!

'Whosoever will meditate on Bodhisattva Avalo-

kitesvara should first meditate on the turban of his head, and then on his heavenly crown.

‘All the other signs should also be meditated on according to their order, and they should be clear and distinct just as one sees the palms of one’s hands.

‘Next you should meditate on Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, whose bodily signs, height, and size are equal to those of Avalokitesvara; the circumference (lit. surface) of his halo is one hundred and twenty-five yoganâs, and it shines as far as two hundred and fifty yoganâs. The rays of his whole body shine over the countries of the ten quarters, they are purple gold in colour, and can be seen by all beings that are in favourable circumstances.

‘If one but sees the ray that issues from a single root of the hair of this Bodhisattva, he will at the same time see the pure and excellent rays of all the innumerable Buddhas of the ten quarters.

‘For this reason this Bodhisattva is named the Unlimited Light; it is with this light of wisdom that he shines over all beings and causes them to be removed from the three paths of existence (Hells, Pretas, and the brute creation), and to obtain the highest power. For the same reason this Bodhisattva is called the Bodhisattva of Great Strength (Mahâsthâma). His heavenly crown has five hundred jewel-flowers; each jewel-flower has five hundred jewel-towers; in each tower are seen manifested all the pure and excellent features of the far-stretching Buddha countries in the ten quarters. The turban on his head is like a padma- (lotus) flower; on the top of the turban there is a jewel-pitcher, which is filled with various brilliant rays

fully manifesting the state of Buddha. All his other bodily signs are quite equal to those of Avalokitesvara. When this Bodhisattva walks about, all the regions of the ten quarters tremble and quake. Wherever the earth quakes there appear five hundred millions of jewel-flowers; each jewel-flower with its splendid dazzling beauty looks like the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvati).

‘When this Bodhisattva sits down, all the countries of seven jewels at once tremble and quake: all the incarnate (lit. divided) Âmitâyus’s, innumerable as the dust of the earth, and all the incarnate Bodhisattvas (Aval. and Mahâs.) who dwell in the middlemost Buddha countries (situated) between the Buddha country of the lower region (presided over) by a Buddha called the “Golden Light,” and the country of the upper region (presided over) by a Buddha called the “King of Light,”—all these assemble in the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvati), like gathering clouds, sit on their thrones of lotus-flowers, which fill the whole sky, and preach the excellent Law in order to deliver all the beings that are plunged in suffering;—such is the perception of the form and body of Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, and it is the Eleventh Meditation.

‘Those who practise this meditation are freed from the sins (which would otherwise involve them) in births and deaths for innumerable asaṅkhyā kalpas.

‘Those who have practised this meditation do not live in an embryo state but obtain free access to the excellent and admirable countries of Buddhas. Those who have experienced this are said to have

perfectly meditated upon the two Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma.

§ 20. 'After thou hast had this perception, thou shouldst imagine thyself to be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter, and to be seated, cross-legged, on a lotus-flower there. Then imagine that the flower has shut thee in and has afterwards unfolded; when the flower has thus unfolded, five hundred coloured rays will shine over thy body, thine eyes will be opened so as to see the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who fill the whole sky; thou wilt hear the sounds of waters and trees, the notes of birds, and the voices of many Buddhas preaching the excellent Law, in accordance with the twelve divisions¹ of the scriptures. When thou hast ceased from that meditation, thou must remember the experience ever after.

'If thou hast passed through this experience thou art said to have seen the World of Highest Happiness in the realm of the Buddha Amitâyus;—this is the perception obtained by a complete meditation on that Buddha country, and is called the Twelfth Meditation.

'The innumerable incarnate bodies of Amitâyus, together with those of Aval. and Mahâs., constantly come and appear before such devotees (as above mentioned).'

§ 21. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehi: 'Those who wish, by means of their serene thoughts, to be born in the western land, should first meditate on an image of the Buddha, who is sixteen cubits

¹ Vide Max Müller, *Dhammapada*, Introduction, p. xxxiii, and Kasawara, *Dharmasaṅgraha*, LXII, p. 48.

high¹, seated on (a lotus-flower in) the water of the lake. As it was stated before, the (real) body and its measurement are unlimited, incomprehensible to the ordinary mind.

‘But by the efficacy of the ancient prayer of that Tathâgata, those who think of and remember him shall certainly be able to accomplish their aim.

‘Even the mere perceiving of the image of that Buddha brings to one immeasurable blessings. How much more, then, will the meditating upon all the complete bodily signs of that Buddha! Buddha Amitâyus has supernatural power; since everything is at his disposal, he freely transforms himself in the regions of the ten quarters. At one time he shows himself as possessing a magnificent body, which fills the whole sky, at another he makes his body appear small, the height being only sixteen or eighteen cubits. The body he manifests is always pure gold in colour; his halo—(bright with) transformed Buddhas—and his jewel lotus-flowers are as mentioned above. The bodies of the two Bodhisattvas are the same always.

‘All beings can recognise either of the two Bodhisattvas by simply glancing at the marks of their heads. These two Bodhisattvas assist Amitâyus in his work of universal salvation;—such is the meditation that forms a joint perception of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and it is the Thirteenth Meditation.’

¹ This is said to have been the height of Sâkyamuni; the cubit is Chinese, but as it varied from time to time, it is difficult to determine his real height. Spence Hardy, in his *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 364, says, ‘Buddha is sometimes said to be twelve cubits in height, and sometimes eighteen cubits.’

PART III.

§ 22. Buddha then spoke to Ānanda and Vaidehi: 'The beings who will be born in the highest form of the highest grade (i. e. to Buddhahood) are those, whoever they may be, who wish to be born in that country and cherish the threefold thought whereby they are at once destined to be born there. What is the threefold thought, you may ask. First, the True Thought; second, the Deep Believing Thought; third, the Desire to be born in that Pure Land by bringing one's own stock of merit to maturity. Those who have this threefold thought in perfection shall most assuredly be born into that country.

'There are also three classes of beings who are able to be born in that country. What, you may ask, are the three classes of beings? First, those who are possessed of a compassionate mind, who do no injury to any beings, and accomplish all virtuous actions according to Buddha's precepts; second, those who study and recite the Sûtras of the Mahâyâna doctrine, for instance, the Vaipulya Sûtras¹; third, those who practise the sixfold remembrance². These three classes of beings who wish to be born in that country by bringing (their respective stocks of merit) to maturity, will become destined to be born there if they have accomplished any of those meritorious deeds for one day or even for seven days.

¹ Nanjio's Catalogue of Tripiṭaka, Nos. 23, 24-28, and many others.

² Sixfold remembrance, i. e. of the Three Jewels, the precepts, the charity of Buddha, and Bodhisattvas and the world of Devas.

‘When one who has practised (these merits) is about to be born in that country, Buddha Amitâyus, together with the two Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., also numberless created Buddhas, and a hundred thousand Bhikshus and Śrāvakas, with their whole retinue, and innumerable gods, together with the palaces of seven jewels, will appear before him out of regard for his diligence and courage ; Aval., together with Mahâs., will offer a diamond seat to him ; thereupon Amitâyus himself will send forth magnificent rays of light to shine over the dying person’s body. He and many Bodhisattvas will offer their hands and welcome him, when Aval., Mahâs., and all the other Bodhisattvas will praise the glory of the man who practised the meritorious deeds, and convey an exhortation to his mind. When the new-comer, having seen these, rejoicing and leaping for joy, looks at himself, he will find his own body seated on that diamond throne ; and as he follows behind Buddha he will be born into that country, in a moment. When he has been born there, he will see Buddha’s form and body with every sign of perfection complete, and also the perfect forms and signs of all the Bodhisattvas ; he will also see brilliant rays and jewel-forests and hear them propounding the excellent Law, and instantly be conscious of a spirit of resignation to whatever consequences may hereafter arise. Before long he will serve every one of the Buddhas who live in the regions of the ten quarters. In the presence of each of those Buddhas he will obtain successively a prophecy of his future destiny. On his return to his own land (Sukhâvatt, in which he has just been born)

he will obtain countless hundreds of thousands of Dhāraṇī formulas (mystic form of prayer);—such are those who are to be born in the highest form of the highest grade (to Buddhahood).

§ 23. 'Next, the beings who will be born in the middle form of the highest grade are those who do not necessarily learn, remember, study, or recite those Vaipulya Sūtras, but fully understand the meaning of the truth (contained in them), and having a firm grasp of the highest truth do not speak evil of the Mahāyāna doctrine, but deeply believe in (the principle of) cause and effect; who by bringing these good qualities to maturity seek to be born in that Country of Highest Happiness. When one who has acquired these qualities is about to die, Amitāyus, surrounded by the two Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahās., and an innumerable retinue of dependents, will bring a seat of purple gold and approach him with words of praise, saying: "O my son in the Law! thou hast practised the Mahāyāna doctrine; thou hast understood and believed the highest truth; therefore I now come to meet and welcome thee." He and the thousand created Buddhas offer hands all at once.

'When that man looks at his own body, he will find himself seated on that purple gold seat; he will, then, stretching forth his folded hands, praise and eulogise all the Buddhas. As quick as thought he will be born in the lake of seven jewels, of that country. That purple gold seat on which he sits is like a magnificent jewel-flower, and will open after a night; the new-comer's body becomes purple gold in colour, and he will also find under his feet a lotus-flower consisting of seven jewels. Buddha and the

Bodhisattvas at the same time will send forth brilliant rays to shine over the body of that person whose eyes will instantaneously be opened and become clear. According to his former usage (in the human world) he will hear all the voices that are there, preaching primary truths of the deepest significance.

‘ Then he will descend from that golden seat and worship Buddha with folded hands, praising and eulogising the World-Honoured One. After seven days, he will immediately attain to the state of the highest perfect knowledge (anuttarasamyaksambodhi) from which he will never fall away (avaivartya); next he will fly to all the ten regions and successively serve all the Buddhas therein ; he will practise many a Samâdhi in the presence of those Buddhas. After the lapse of a lesser kalpa he will attain a spirit of resignation to whatever consequences may hereafter arise, and he will also obtain a prophecy of his future destiny in the presence of Buddhas.

§ 24. ‘ Next are those who are to be born in the lowest form of the highest grade : this class of beings also believes in (the principle of) cause and effect, and without slandering the Mahâyâna doctrine, simply cherishes the thought of obtaining the highest Bodhi and by bringing this good quality to maturity seeks to be born in that Country of Highest Happiness. When a devotee of this class dies, Amitâyus, with Aval., Mahâs., and all the dependents, will offer him a golden lotus-flower ; he will also miraculously create five hundred Buddhas in order to send and meet him. These five hundred created Buddhas will, all at once, offer hands and praise him, saying : “O my son in the Law! thou art pure now ; as thou hast cherished the thought of obtaining the highest Bodhi, we come to

meet thee." When he has seen them, he will find himself seated on that golden lotus-flower. Soon the flower will close upon him ; following behind the World-Honoured One he will go to be born in the lake of seven jewels. After one day and one night the lotus-flower will unfold itself. Within seven days he may see Buddha's body, though his mind is not as yet clear enough to perceive all the signs and marks of the Buddha, which he will be able to see clearly after three weeks ; then he will hear many sounds and voices preaching the excellent Law, and he himself, travelling through all the ten quarters, will worship all the Buddhas, from whom he will learn the deepest significance of the Law. After three lesser kalpas he will gain entrance to the knowledge of a hundred (divisions of) nature (*satadharma-vidyâdvâra*) and become settled in the (first) joyful stage¹ (of *Bodhisattva*). The perception of these three classes of beings is called the meditation upon the superior class of beings, and is the Fourteenth Meditation.

§ 25. ' The beings who will be born in the highest form of the middle grade are those who observe the five prohibitive precepts, the eight prohibitive precepts and the fasting, and practise all the moral precepts ; who do not commit the five deadly sins², and who bring no blame or trouble upon any being ; and who by bringing these good qualities to maturity seek to be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter. On the eve of such a person's departure from this life, Amitâyus, surrounded by

¹ There are ten stages which a *Bodhisattva* goes through.

² Childers' Pâli Dictionary, s. v. *abhi/hânam*.

Bhikshus and dependents, will appear before him, flashing forth rays of golden colour, and will preach the Law of suffering, non-existence, impermanence, and non-self. He will also praise the virtue of homelessness that can liberate one from all sufferings. At the sight of Buddha, that believer will excessively rejoice in his heart; he will soon find himself seated on a lotus-flower. Kneeling down on the ground and stretching forth his folded hands he will pay homage to Buddha. Before he raises his head he will reach that Country of Highest Happiness and be born there. Soon the lotus-flower will unfold, when he will hear sounds and voices praising and glorifying the Four Noble Truths (of suffering). He will immediately attain to the fruition of Arhatship, gain the threefold knowledge and the six supernatural faculties, and complete the eightfold emancipation.

§ 26. 'The beings who will be born in the middle form of the middle grade are those who either observe the eight prohibitive precepts, and the fasting for one day and one night, or observe the prohibitive precept for *Sramanera* (a novice) for the same period, or observe the perfect moral precepts, not lowering their dignity nor neglecting any ceremonial observance for one day and one night, and by bringing their respective merits to maturity seek to be born in the Country of Highest Happiness. On the eve of departure from this life, such a believer who is possessed of this moral virtue, which he has made fragrant by cultivation during his life, will see Amitâyus, followed by all his retinue; flashing forth rays of golden colour, this Buddha will come before him and offer a lotus-flower of seven jewels.

‘He will hear a voice in the sky, praising him and saying: “O son of a noble family, thou art indeed an excellent man. Out of regard for thy obedience to the teachings of all the Buddhas of the three worlds I, now, come and meet thee.” Then the new-comer will see himself seated on that lotus-flower. Soon the lotus-flower will fold around him, and being in this he will be born in the jewel-lake of the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter.

‘After seven days that flower will unfold again, when the believer will open his eyes, and praise the World-Honoured One, stretching forth his folded hands. Having heard the Law, he will rejoice and obtain the fruition of a Srota-âpanna¹ (the first grade to Nirvâna).

‘In the lapse of half a kalpa he will become an Arhat.

§ 27. ‘Next are the beings who will be born in the lowest form of the middle grade (to Buddhahood). If there be sons or daughters of a noble family who are filial to their parents and support them, besides exercising benevolence and compassion in the world, at their departure from this life, such persons will meet a good and learned teacher who will fully describe to them the state of happiness in that Buddha country of Amitâyus, and will also explain the forty-eight prayers of the Bhikshu Dharmâkara². As soon as any such person has heard these details, his life will come to an end. In a brief moment³ he

¹ Vide *Vaggrakkhedikâ*, § 9.

² Vide *Larger Sukhâvatî*, §§ 7, 8.

³ Lit. ‘In the time in which a strong man can bend his arm or stretch his bended arm.’

will be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter.

‘After seven days he will meet Aval. and Mahâs., from whom he will learn the Law and rejoice. After the lapse of a lesser kalpa he will attain to the fruition of an Arhat. The perception of these three sorts of beings is called the meditation of the middle class of beings, and is the Fifteenth Meditation.

§ 28. ‘Next are the beings who will be born in the highest form of the lowest grade. If there be any one who commits many evil deeds, provided that he does not speak evil of the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras, he, though himself a very stupid man, and neither ashamed nor sorry for all the evil actions that he has done, yet, while dying, may meet a good and learned teacher who will recite and laud the headings and titles of the twelve divisions of the Mahâyâna scriptures. Having thus heard the names of all the Sûtras, he will be freed from the greatest sins which would involve him in births and deaths during a thousand kalpas.

‘A wise man also will teach him to stretch forth his folded hands and to say, “Adoration to Buddha Amitâyus” (Namo-mitâbhâya Buddhâya, or, Namo-mitâyushe Buddhâya). Having uttered the name of the Buddha, he will be freed from the sins which would otherwise involve him in births and deaths for fifty millions of kalpas. Thereupon the Buddha will send a created Buddha, and the created Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., to approach that person with words of praise, saying: “O son of a noble family, as thou hast uttered the name of that Buddha, all thy sins have been destroyed and expiated, and therefore we now come to meet thee.” After this

speech the devotee will observe the rays of that created Buddha flooding his chamber with light, and while rejoicing at the sight he will depart this life. Seated on a lotus-flower he will follow that created Buddha and go to be born in the jewel-lake.

‘After the lapse of seven weeks, the lotus-flower will unfold, when the great compassionate Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs. will stand before him, flashing forth magnificent rays, and will preach to him the deepest meaning of the twelve divisions of the scriptures. Having heard this, he will understand and believe it, and cherish the thought of attaining the highest Bodhi. In a period of ten lesser kalpas he will gain entrance to the knowledge of the hundred (divisions of) nature, and be able to enter upon the first (joyful) stage (of Bodhisattva). Those who have had an opportunity of hearing the name of Buddha, the name of the Law, and the name of the Church—the names of the Three Jewels—can also be born (in that country).’

§ 29. Buddha continued: ‘Next are the beings who will be born in the middle form of the lowest grade. If there be any one who transgresses the five and the eight prohibitive precepts, and also all the perfect moral precepts; he, being himself so stupid as to steal things that belong to the whole community¹, or things that belong to a particular Bhikshu, and not be ashamed nor sorry for his impure preaching of the Law (in case of preacher), but magnify and glorify himself with many wicked deeds :—such a

¹ The text has ‘saṅghika things,’ which is probably saṅghika lābha, i.e. ‘gains of the whole community’ opposed to gains of a single monk, Childers’ Pāli Dictionary, s. v. saṅghiko, p. 449.

sinful person deserves to fall into hell in consequence of those sins. At the time of his death, when the fires of hell approach him from all sides, he will meet a good and learned teacher who will, out of great compassion, preach the power and virtue of the ten faculties of Amitâyus and fully explain the supernatural powers and brilliant rays of that Buddha; and will further praise moral virtue, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and the thorough knowledge that follows emancipation. After having heard this, he will be freed from his sins, which would involve him in births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas; thereupon those violent fires of hell will transform themselves into a pure and cool wind blowing about heavenly flowers. On each of these flowers will stand a created Buddha or Bodhisattva to meet and receive that person. In a moment he will be born in a lotus-flower growing in the lake of seven jewels. After six kalpas the lotus-flower will open, when Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma will soothe and encourage him with their Brahma-voices, and preach to him the Mahâyâna Sûtras of the deepest significance.

‘Having heard this Law, he will instantaneously direct his thought toward the attainment of the highest Bodhi.

§ 30. ‘Lastly, the beings who will be born in the lowest form of the lowest grade. If there be any one who commits evil deeds, and even completes the ten wicked actions, the five deadly sins¹ and the like; that

¹ The five deadly sins, according to Mahâvyutpatti, § 118, are Mâtṛighâta, Pitṛighâta, Arhatghâta, Saṅghabheda, Tathâgatasyântike dushkaṭṭitarudhirotpâdana, which are unpardonable in the Larger Sukhâvatī; vide Nanjio’s note and Pravidhâna 19 (§ 8), the

man, being himself stupid and guilty of many crimes, deserves to fall into a miserable path of existence and suffer endless pains during many kalpas. On the eve of death he will meet a good and learned teacher who will, soothing and encouraging him in various ways, preach to him the excellent Law and teach him the remembrance of Buddha, but, being harassed by pains, he will have no time to think of Buddha. Some good friend will then say to him: "Even if thou canst not exercise the remembrance of Buddha, thou mayst, at least, utter the name, 'Buddha Amitâyus¹.'" Let him do so serenely with his voice uninterrupted; let him be (continually) thinking of Buddha until he has completed ten times the thought, repeating (the formula), "Adoration to Buddha Amitâyus" (Namo-mitâyushe Buddhâya). On the strength of (his merit of) uttering Buddha's name he will, during every repetition, expiate the sins which involve him in births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas. He will, while dying, see a golden lotus-flower like the disk of the sun appearing before his eyes; in a moment he will be born in the World of Highest Happiness. After twelve greater kalpas the lotus-flower will unfold; thereupon the Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., raising their voices in great compassion, will preach to him in detail the real state of all the elements of nature and the law of the expiation of sins.

Ânantarya sins. Cf. the six crimes enumerated in Childers' Pâli Dictionary, p. 7 b, Abhi/hânam; vide supra, p. 192, § 25.

¹ The Corean text and the two other editions of the T'ang and Sung dynasties have 'Namo-mitâyushe Buddhâya' instead of 'Buddha Amitâyus,' which is the reading of the Japanese text and the edition of the Ming dynasty.

‘On hearing them he will rejoice and will immediately direct his thought toward the attainment of the Bodhi;—such are the beings who are to be born in the lowest form of the lowest grade (to Buddhahood). The perception of the above three is called the meditation of the inferior class of beings, and is the Sixteenth Meditation.’

PART IV.

§ 31. When Buddha had finished this speech, Vaidehī, together with her five hundred female attendants, could see, as guided by the Buddha’s words, the scene of the far-stretching World of the Highest Happiness, and could also see the body of Buddha and the bodies of the two Bodhisattvas. With her mind filled with joy she praised them, saying: ‘Never have I seen such a wonder!’ Instantaneously she became wholly and fully enlightened, and attained a spirit of resignation, prepared to endure whatever consequences might yet arise¹. Her five hundred female attendants too cherished the thought of obtaining the highest perfect knowledge, and sought to be born in that Buddha country.

§ 32. The World-Honoured One predicted that they would all be born in that Buddha country, and be able to obtain the Samādhi (the supernatural calm) of the presence of many Buddhas. All the innumerable Devas (gods) also directed their thought toward the attainment of the highest Bodhi.

Thereupon Ānanda rose from his seat, approached

¹ Vide supra, §§ 8, 22, 23.

Buddha, and spoke thus : ' O World-Honoured One, what should we call this Sûtra ? And how should we receive and remember it (in the future) ? '

Buddha said in his reply to Ânanda : ' O Ânanda, this Sûtra should be called the meditation on the Land of Sukhâvatî, on Buddha Amitâyus, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, or otherwise be called " (the Sûtra on) the entire removal of the obstacle of Karma ¹, (the means of) being born in the realm of the Buddhas." Thou shouldst take and hold it, not forgetting nor losing it. Those who practise the Samâdhi (the supernatural calm) in accordance with this Sûtra will be able to see, in the present life, Buddha Amitâyus and the two great Bodhisattvas.

' In case of a son or a daughter of a noble family, the mere hearing of the names of the Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas will expiate the sins which would involve them in births and deaths during innumerable kalpas. How much more will the remembrance (of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas) !

' Know that he who remembers that Buddha is the white lotus (*pundarikâ*) among men, it is he whom the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma consider an excellent friend. He will, sitting in the Bodhi-*mandala* ², be born in the abode of Buddhas.'

¹ Sanskrit *karmâvarana-visuddhi*.

² Bodhi-*mandala* = Bodhi-*mandâ*, i.e. the Circle of Bodhi ; ' the round terrace of enlightenment,' see Kern, *Saddharmapundarikâ*, p. 155 note. This circle is the ground on which stood the Arvattha tree near which Sâkyamuni defeated the assaults of Mâra, and finally obtained Bodhi or enlightenment. The tree is called Bodhidruma, the ground round its stem the bodhi-*mandala*. In the *Saddharmapundarikâ* VII, 7, it is called Bodhi-*mandâvara*, which

Buddha further spoke to Ānanda : ‘ Thou shouldst carefully remember these words. To remember these words is to remember the name of Buddha Amitâyus.’

When Buddha concluded these words, the worthy disciples Mahāmaudgalyāyana, and Ānanda, Vaidehi, and the others were all enraptured with excessive joy.

§ 33. Thereupon the World-Honoured One came back, walking through the open sky, to the Mount *Grīdhra-kūṭa*. Ānanda soon after spoke before a great assembly of all the occurrences as stated above. On hearing this, all the innumerable Devas (gods), Nāgas (snakes), and Yakshas (demi-gods) were inspired with great joy; and having worshipped the Buddha they went their way.

Here ends the Sūtra of the Meditation on Buddha Amitâyus, spoken by Buddha (Sākyamuni).

Dr. Kern translates by the terrace of enlightenment, *vāra* meaning circuit. A different idea is expressed by *bodhimandapa* in the Buddha-*āraṇa* XIV, 90, which would mean a hall or pavilion, unless we ought to read here also *bodhimandala*.

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

IN THE AMITÂYUR-DHYÂNA-SÛTRA.

- Abhiśānam, page 192 note; 198 note.
- Agâtasatru, 161; 162; 164.
- Amitâbha (or Amitâyus), 166; 195.
- Amitâyus (or Amitâbha), 166; 167; 169; 176; 180; 189; 195; 198; 200; 201.
- Anâgâmin, 167.
- Ânanda, 164; 165; 168; 179, et passim.
- Ânantarya sins, p. 198 note.
- Anutpatikadharmakshânti, 169 note.
- Anuttarasamyaksambodhi, 191.
- Arhat, 178; 195.
- Arhatghâta, 197 note.
- Asaṅkha kalpas, 185.
- Avaivartya, 191.
- Avalokiteśvara, 176, et passim.
- Bhagavat, see World-Honoured One.
- Bhikṣus, 161; 175; 177; 189.
- Bimbisâra, 161; 167.
- Bodhi, 168; 191; 196; 197; 199; the circle of, 200 note.
- Bodhi-maṇḍala, 200.
- Bodhisattvas, 161, et passim.
- Brahma-maṇi, 176.
- Brahman (god), 165; 172.
- Brute creation, 165; 182 note; 184.
- Buddha, spiritual body of, 178; the height of Buddha Śākyamuni, 187; the charity of, 188.
- Chiliocosm, 173; 180.
- Depravities (five), 165 note.
- Devadatta, 161; 165.
- Dhârani, 190.
- Dharmadhātu-kāya, 178.
- Dharmākara, 177; 194.
- Enlightenment, the round terrace of, 200.
- Existence, the five paths of, 182; non-, 171; 174; 193.
- Five deadly sins, 192; 197 note.
- Gambudvîpa, 165.
- Gāmbûnada (gold), 173; 176; 178; 180; 182.
- Gaṅgâ, 180.
- Garlands, 162; 163, et passim.
- Gîva, famous physician, 163; 164.
- Grîdhrakrûra, 161; 162; 164; 201.
- Hardy (Spence), 187 note.
- Hells, 165; 182 note; 184.
- Hungry spirits (Pretas), 165; 182 note.
- Impermanence, 171; 174; 193.
- Indra, 165; 173.
- Kâlayas, a Sramana from India, 161.
- Kaṇḍâla, 164.
- Kandraprabha, minister of king Bimbisâra, 163.
- Karma, 183; 200.
- Karmâvarana-viuddhi, 200 note.
- K'-kô (Chisha-daishi of Ten-dai), 161 note.
- Kimsuka, 176.
- Kintâmani, 174 note.
- Kshânti (Anutpatikadharma-), 169.

Kshatriyas (the kingly race), 163.
Kumārabhūta, 161 note.

Lapis lazuli, 169, et passim.
Law, prince of the, 161; remembrance of the, 174; eternal Law, 169 note.

Mahāmaudgalyāyana (mokuren), 162; 163; 164; 165; 201.

Mahāsthāma, 176; named Unlimited Light, 184, et passim.

Mahāvīyutpatti, 197 note.

Mahāyāna, 168; 188; 190; 191; 195; 197.

Maheśvara Deva, 166.

Mañjuśrī, 161.

Marks (minor), 174.

Mātrighāta, 197 note.

Meditation, 167, et passim.

Nāga, 201.

Nirvāna, 167; 169; 194.

Noble Truths (the four), 193.

Non-existence, 171; 174; 193.

Non-self, 171; 174; 193.

Padma (lotus), 184.

Parāmitā, 174.

Pitrighāta, 197 note.

Prayer, of Dharmākara, 177; mystic form of, 190; the forty-eight, 194.

Precepts, the eight prohibitive, 162; 192; the ten prohibitive, 167 note; the five prohibitive, 192.

Pretas, 165; 184.

Pundarika, 200.

Pūrṇa (Furuna), 162.

Rāgagriha, 161.

Remembrance (sixfold), 188; of the Buddha, 174, et passim.

Resignation (spirit of), 169; 181; 189; 191; 199.

Saddharmapundarīka, 161; 200 note.

Sakra (Indra), 165; 173; 176.

Sakrābhilagnamāniratna, 173 note.

Sākyamuni, 165; 182; the height of, 187 note; 201.

Samādhi, 171; 181; 191; 199.

Saṅghabheda, 197 note.

Saṅghika lābha, 196.

Satadharmavidyādvāra, 192; 196 (where the Sanskrit is omitted).

Scriptures, the twelve divisions of, 186; 195.

Shān-tāo (Jen-do Daishi), 162; 163 note.

Signs of perfection, 174; 178.

Siva, 166.

Spells, 163.

Sramanas, 163.

Sramanera (a novice), 193.

Śrāvakas, 189.

Srota-āpanna, 194.

Sufferings, the five worldly, 169; 171; 174; 193.

Sukhāvatī, 166; 167; 168; 171; 175; 185; 200.

Sumeru, 166; 177; 180.

Tathāgata (Nyo-rai), 164; 178; 187.

Tathāgatasyāntike dushrakittaru-dhirotpādana, 197 note.

Three Jewels (Ratna-traya), 167; 188 note; 196.

Ushnīshajiraskatā, 182.

Vaidehī, consort of Bimbisāra, 161; 164, et passim.

Vaipulya Sūtra, 188; 190; 195.

Veda, 163.

World-Honoured One, 162; 164, et passim, being a translation of Bhagavat, the Blessed One.

Yaksha, 201.

Yama, 177; 180.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.			II Class.								III Class.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.												
1 Tenuis	k				क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh				ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g				ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗		
4 " aspirata	gh				घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘		
5 Gutturo-labialis	q					𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙		
6 Nasalis	h (ng)				ङ	{ 𐬚 (ng) 𐬛 (n) }						
7 Spiritus asper	h				ह	𐬜 (h)	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,											
9 " asper faucalis	ʔ											
10 " lenis faucalis	ʔ											
11 " asper fricatus	'h											
12 " lenis fricatus	'h											
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis		k			𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	k	
14 " aspirata		kh			𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	kh	
15 Media		g			𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠		
16 " aspirata		gh			𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡		
17 " Nasalis		ṅ			𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢		

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	ਯ	𐬶 𐬶𐬵 𐬶𐬵	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	י	י
19 Spiritus asper	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	ਸ	𐬶𐬵	𐬶𐬵	𐬶𐬵	𐬶𐬵	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	s	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	ਤ	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ת	ת
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	ਥ	𐬵𐬵	𐬵𐬵	𐬵𐬵	𐬵𐬵	תת	תת
25 " assibilata	d	...	TH	ਦ	...	...	...	...	ד	...
26 Media	dh	...	...	ਧ	...	...	...	...	ד	...
27 " aspirata	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata	...	...	DH	ਧ	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	ਨ	...	...	...	...	נ	נ
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ਲ	...	...	...	...	ל	ל
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	L	ਲ	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	ਸ	...	...	...	...	ש	ש
34 " asper 2	...	...	s	...	...	...	...	...	ש	ש
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ז	ז
36 " asperimus 1	...	...	z (g)	...	...	...	...	...	ז	ז
37 " asperimus 2	...	...	z (g)	...	...	...	...	...	ז	ז

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

38 Tenuis	t	ṭ
39 " aspirata	th	ṭh
40 Media	d	ḍ
41 " aspirata	dh	ḍh
42 Nasalis	n	ṇ
43 Semivocalis	r	ṛ
44 " fricata	f	ḥ
45 " diacritica	.	ḷ
46 Spiritus asper	sh	ś
47 " lenis	zh	ṣ
Labiales.		
48 Tenuis	p	ph
49 " aspirata	b	bh
50 Media	m	w
51 " aspirata	hw	f
52 Tenuissima	v	
53 Nasalis	m	
54 Semivocalis	w	
55 " aspirata	hw	
56 Spiritus asper	f	
57 " lenis	v	
58 Anusvāra	m	
59 Visarga	h	

Labiales.

48	Tennis	p	.	.	.	प	.	.	.
49	" aspirata	ph	.	.	.	फ	.	.	.
50	Media	b	.	.	.	ब	.	.	.
51	" aspirata	bh	.	.	.	भ	.	.	.
52	Tenisissima		.	.	.		.	.	.
53	Nasalis	m	.	.	.	म	.	.	.
54	Semivocalis	w	.	.	.		.	.	.
55	" aspirata	hw	.	.	.		.	.	.
56	Spiritus asper	f	.	.	.	फ	.	.	.
57	" lenis	v	.	.	.	व	.	.	.
58	Anusvāra		.	.	.		.	.	.
59	Vīśarga		.	.	.		.	.	.

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			ॐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	h			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	h			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rf			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY

VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

** * This Series is published with the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State for India in Council.*

REPORT presented to the **ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS**, May 11, 1883, by **M. ERNEST RENAN**.

'M. Renan présente trois nouveaux volumes de la grande collection des "Livres sacrés de l'Orient" (Sacred Books of the East), que dirige à Oxford, avec une si vaste érudition et une critique si sûre, le savant associé de l'Académie des Inscriptions, M. Max Müller. . . La première série de ce beau recueil, composée de 24 volumes, est presque achevée. M. Max Müller se propose d'en publier

une seconde, dont l'intérêt historique et religieux ne sera pas moindre. M. Max Müller a su se procurer la collaboration des savans les plus éminens d'Europe et d'Asie. L'Université d'Oxford, que cette grande publication honore au plus haut degré, doit tenir à continuer dans les plus larges proportions une œuvre aussi philosophiquement conçue que savamment exécutée.'

EXTRACT from the **QUARTERLY REVIEW**.

'We rejoice to notice that a second series of these translations has been announced and has actually begun to appear. The stones, at least, out of which a stately edifice may hereafter arise, are here being brought together. Prof. Max Müller has deserved well of scientific history. Not a few minds owe to his enticing words their first attraction to this branch of study. But no work of his, not even the

great edition of the *Rig-Veda*, can compare in importance or in usefulness with this English translation of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been devised by his foresight, successfully brought so far by his persuasive and organising power, and will, we trust, by the assistance of the distinguished scholars he has gathered round him, be carried in due time to a happy completion.'

Professor H. HARDY, *Inaugural Lecture in the University of Freiburg, 1887.*

'Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft datirt von jenem grossartigen, in seiner Art einzig dastehenden Unternehmen, zu welchem auf Anregung Max Müllers im Jahre 1874 auf dem

internationalen Orientalistencongress in London der Grundstein gelegt worden war, die Übersetzung der heiligen Bücher des Ostens' (*the Sacred Books of the East*).

The Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING, '*Words on Existing Religions.*'

'The recent publication of the "*Sacred Works of the East*" in English is surely

a great event in the annals of theological literature.'

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

FIRST SERIES.

VOL. I. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. The *Khândogya-upanishad*, The *Talavakâra-upanishad*, The *Aitareya-âranyaka*, The *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, and The *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Upanishads contain the philosophy of the Veda. They have become the foundation of the later Vedânta doctrines, and indirectly of Buddhism. Schopenhauer, speaking of the Upanishads, says: 'In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.'

[See also Vol. XV.]

VOL. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas,

As taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâya. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. Âpastamba and Gautama. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Sacred Laws of the Âryas contain the original treatises on which the Laws of Manu and other lawgivers were founded.

[See also Vol. XIV.]

VOL. III. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. The *Shû King*, The Religious Portions of the *Shih King*, and The *Hsiâo King*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

Confucius was a collector of ancient traditions, not the founder of a new religion. As he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. his works are of unique interest for the study of Ethology.

[See also Vols. XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL.]

VOL. IV. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part I. The *Vendîdâd*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Zend-Avesta contains the relics of what was the religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, and, but for the battle of Marathon,

might have become the religion of Europe. It forms to the present day the sacred book of the Parsis, the so-called fire-worshippers. Two more volumes will complete the translation of all that is left us of Zoroaster's religion.

[See also Vols. XXIII and XXXI.]

VOL. V. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast lâ-shâyast. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

The Pahlavi Texts comprise the theological literature of the revival of Zoroaster's religion, beginning with the Sassanian dynasty. They are important for a study of Gnosticism.

VOLS. VI AND IX. The Qur'ân.

Parts I and II. Translated by E. H. PALMER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation, carried out according to his own peculiar views of the origin of the Qur'ân, was the last great work of E. H. Palmer, before he was murdered in Egypt.

VOL. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu.

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

A collection of legal aphorisms, closely connected with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the Kathas, but considerably added to in later time. Of importance for a critical study of the Laws of Manu.

VOL. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtîya, and The Anugîtâ.

Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The earliest philosophical and religious poem of India. It has been paraphrased in Arnold's 'Song Celestial.'

VOL. X. The Dhammapada,

Translated from Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and

The Sutta-Nipâta,

Translated from Pâli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Dhammapada contains the quintessence of Buddhist morality. The Sutta-Nipâta gives the authentic teaching of Buddha on some of the fundamental principles of religion.

VOL. XI. Buddhist Suttas.

Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 1. The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta; 2. The Dhamma-ṭakka-ppavattana Sutta. 3. The Tevigga Suttanta; 4. The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta; 5. The Ketokhila Sutta; 6. The Mahā-sudassana Suttanta; 7. The Sabbāsava Sutta. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

A collection of the most important religious, moral, and philosophical discourses taken from the sacred canon of the Buddhists.

VOL. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part I. Books I and II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

A minute account of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedic age. It contains the earliest account of the Deluge in India.

[See also Vols. XXVI, XLI.]

VOL. XIII. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. The Pātimokkha. The Mahāvagga, I-IV. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Vinaya Texts give for the first time a translation of the moral code of the Buddhist religion as settled in the third century B.C.

[See also Vols. XVII and XX.]

VOL. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas,

As taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishṭha, and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XV. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. The Kaṭha-upanishad, The Mundaka-upanishad, The Taittirīyaka-upanishad, The Brīhadāraṇyaka-upanishad, The Svetāśvatara-upanishad, The Prasṇa-upanishad, and The Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XVI. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. The Yî King. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.]

VOL. XVII. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. The Mahāvagga, V-X. The Kullavagga, I-III. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. The *Dādistan-i Dīnik* and The Epistles of *Mānūskthar*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XIX. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king.

A Life of Buddha by *Asvaghosha Bodhisattva*, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by *Dharmaraksha*, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by *SAMUEL BEAL*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

This life of Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, A.D. 420. It contains many legends, some of which show a certain similarity to the Evangelium infantiae, &c.

VOL. XX. Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and *HERMANN OLDENBERG*. Part III. The *Kullavagga*, IV–XII. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XXI. The Saddharma-pundarīka ; or, The Lotus of the True Law.

Translated by H. KERN. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

'The Lotus of the true Law,' a canonical book of the Northern Buddhists, translated from Sanskrit. There is a Chinese translation of this book which was finished as early as the year 286 A.D.

VOL. XXII. Gaina-Sūtras.

Translated from Prākṛit by *HERMANN JACOBI*. Part I. The *Ākārāṅga-Sūtra* and The *Kalpa-Sūtra*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The religion of the Gainas was founded by a contemporary of Buddha. It still counts numerous adherents in India, while there are no Buddhists left in India proper.

Part II, in preparation.

VOL. XXIII. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by *JAMES DARMESTETER*. Part II. The *Sirôzahs*, *Yasts*, and *Nyâyis*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

VOL. XXIV. Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. *Dīnâ-i Mainôg-Khirad*, *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, and *Sad Dar*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

SECOND SERIES.

VOL. XXV. Manu.

Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation is founded on that of Sir William Jones, which has been carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native Commentaries. An Appendix contains all the quotations from Manu which are found in the Hindu Law-books, translated for the use of the Law Courts in India. Another Appendix gives a synopsis of parallel passages from the six Dharma-sûtras, the other Smṛitis, the Upanishads, the Mahābhārata, &c.

VOL. XXVI. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part II. Books III and IV. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOLS. XXVII AND XXVIII. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. The *Lî Kî*, or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or Ceremonial Usages. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d. each.

VOL. XXIX. The Grihya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part I. Sāṅkhâyaṇa, Âsvalâyana, Pâraskara, Khâdira. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

These rules of Domestic Ceremonies describe the home life of the ancient Âryas with a completeness and accuracy unmatched in any other literature. Some of these rules have been incorporated in the ancient Law-books.

VOL. XXX. The Grihya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part II. Gobhila, Hiranyakesin, Âpastamba. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Âpastamba, *Yagña-paribhâshâ-sûtras*. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta.

Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Âfrînagân, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

VOL. XXXII. Vedic Hymns.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 18s. 6d.

- VOL. XXXIII.** The Minor Law-books.
Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nārada, Br̥haspati.
8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXIV.** The Vedānta-Sūtras, with the Commentary by Saṅkarācārya. Part I.
Translated by G. THIBAUT. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXV.** The Questions of King Milinda. Part I.
Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.
8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXVI.** The Questions of King Milinda. Part II.
[*In the Press.*]
- VOL. XXXVII.** The Contents of the Nasks, as stated in the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Dinkard.
Part I. Translated by E. W. WEST. 8vo, cloth, 15s.
- VOL. XXXVIII.** The Vedānta-Sūtras. Part II. [*In the Press.*]
- VOLS. XXXIX AND XL.** The Sacred Books of China.
The Texts of Tāoism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. 8vo, cloth, 21s.
- VOL. XLI.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Part III.
Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XLII.** Hymns of the Atharva-veda.
Translated by M. BLOOMFIELD. [*In preparation.*]
- VOLS. XLIII AND XLIV.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
Parts IV and V. [*In preparation.*]
- VOL. XLV.** The Gaiṇa-Sūtras. Part II. [*In the Press.*]
- VOL. XLVI.** The Vedānta-Sūtras. Part III. [*In preparation.*]
- VOL. XLVII.** The Contents of the Nasks. Part II.
[*In preparation.*]
- VOL. XLVIII.** Vedic Hymns. Part II. [*In preparation.*]
- VOL. XLIX.** Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts. Buddha-karita, translated by E. B. COWELL. Sukhāvati-vyūha, Vagracchēdikā, &c., translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra, translated by J. TAKAKUSU. [*Now ready.*]

Anecdota Oxoniensia.

ARYAN SERIES.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. I. Vagrakkhedikā ; The Diamond-Cutter.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Small 4to, 3s. 6d.

One of the most famous metaphysical treatises of the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. II. Sukhāvati-Vyūha : Description of Sukhāvati, the Land of Bliss.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO. With two Appendices: (1) Text and Translation of Saṅghavarman's Chinese Version of the Poetical Portions of the Sukhāvati-Vyūha ; (2) Sanskrit Text of the Smaller Sukhāvati-Vyūha. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

The *editio princeps* of the Sacred Book of one of the largest and most influential sects of Buddhism, numbering more than ten millions of followers in Japan alone.

Buddhist Texts from Japan. III. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Pragñā-Pāramitā-Hridaya-Sūtra and the Uṣṇiṣa-Vigaya-Dhāraṇī.

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER, C.I.E. With many Plates. Small 4to, 10s.

Contains facsimiles of the oldest Sanskrit MS. at present known.

Dharma-Saṃgraha, an Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms.

Prepared for publication by KENJIU KASAWARA, a Buddhist Priest from Japan, and, after his death, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WENZEL. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramant of the R̥gveda.

With Extracts from Shadgurusishya's Commentary entitled Vedārthadīpikā. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

